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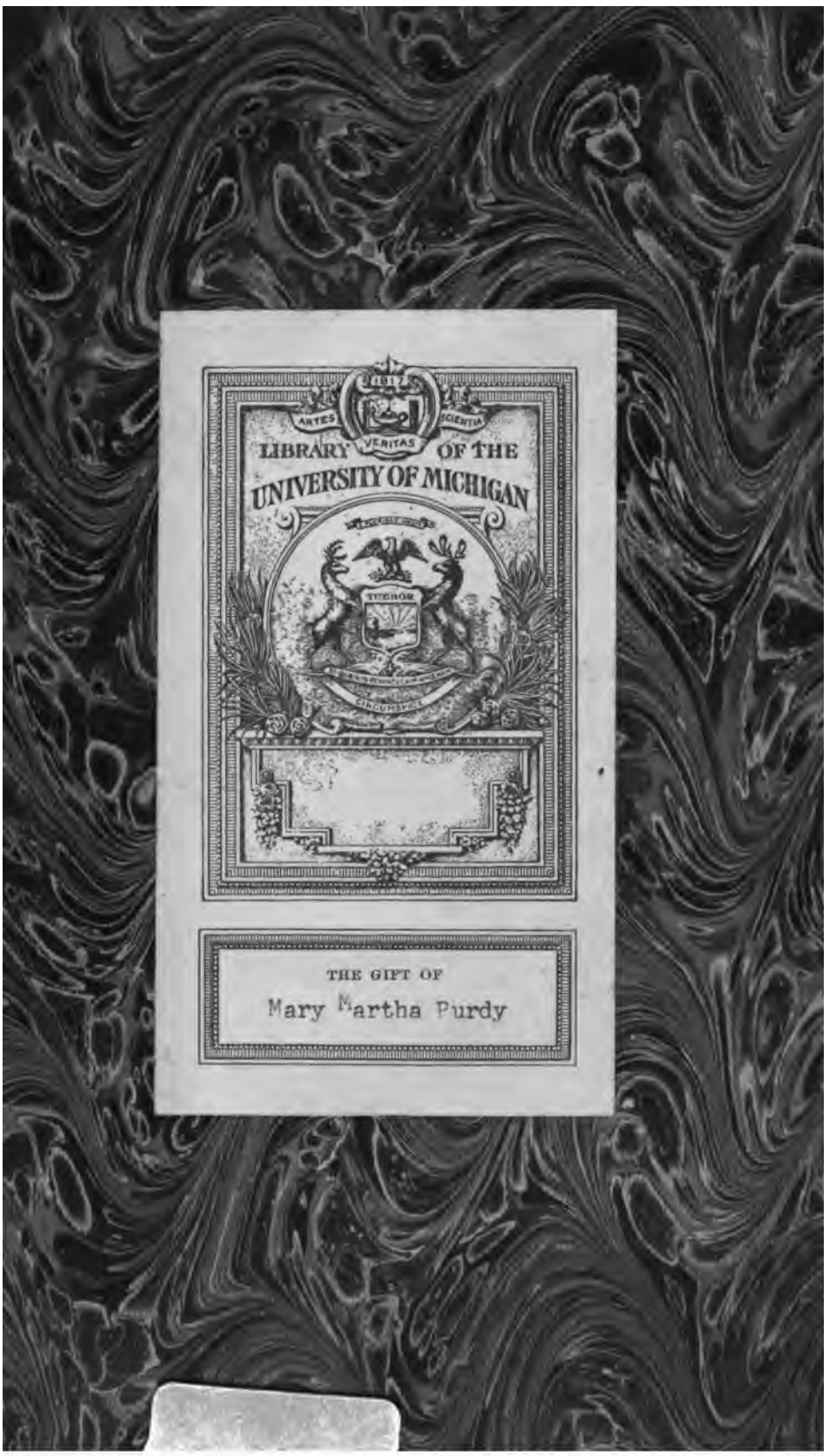
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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

A RELATION

OF

THE LATE WICKED CONTRIVANCE

OF

STEPHEN BLACKHEAD AND ROBERT YOUNG,

Against the Lives of several Persons, by forging an Association under their Hands.

WRITTEN BY THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

IN TWO PARTS.

The first part being a relation of what passed at the three examinations of the said Bishop by a Committee of Lords of the Privy-Council. The second being an account of the two above-mentioned authors of the forgery. In the Savoy: printed by Edward Jones, 1692. Quarto, containing seventy-six pages.

I THINK it becomes me, as a duty which I owe to my country, and to the character I have the undeserved honour to bear in the church, to give the world some account how my innocency was cleared from the late wicked contrivance against me, in hopes that this example of a false plot, so manifestly detected, may be, in some sort, beneficial to the whole nation on the like occasions for the future. However, that the enemies of the church may have no reason to cast any blemish upon it, from the least suspicion of my guilt, and that this faithful memorial may remain as a poor monument of my own gratitude to Almighty God; to whose immediate protection I cannot but attribute this extraordinary preservation.

Perhaps my reader, at first view, will look on this relation as too much loaded with small particulars, such as he may judge scarce worth my remembering or his knowing; but he will pardon

me, if I presume that nothing in this whole affair ought to appear little or inconsiderable to me, at least, who was so nearly concerned in the event of it.

I have therefore made no scruple to discharge my weak memory of all it could retain of this matter; nor have I willingly omitted any thing, though ever so minute, which I thought might serve to fix this wonderful mercy of God the more on my own mind, or did any way conduce to the saving of divers other innocent persons' lives, as well as mine.

I cannot indeed promise, that I shall accurately repeat every word or expression that fell from all the parties here mentioned: or that I shall put all down in the very same order as it was spoken, having not had the opportunity to take notes of every thing as it passed; but this I will say, if I shall not be able to relate all the truth, yet I will omit nothing that is material: I will, as carefully as if I were upon my oath, give in all the truth I can remember, and nothing but the truth.

What I write I intend shall consist of two parts: the first to be a narrative of the plain matter of fact, from my first being taken into custody, May the 7th, to the time of my last dismission, June the 13th. The second to contain some account of the two perjured wretches that were pleased, for what reasons they know best, to bring me into this danger.

For the truth of the substance of what I shall recollect on the first head, I am bold to appeal to the memories of those honourable lords of the council, by whom I was thrice examined. And, touching the second, I have by me so many original papers, or copies of unquestionable authority, (which I am ready to shew any worthy persons who shall desire the satisfaction) as are abundantly sufficient to justify all that I shall think fit for me to say against Blackhead and Young, especially against Young.

It was on Saturday the 7th of May, of this present year 1692, in the evening, as I was walking in the orchard at Bromley, meditating on something I designed to preach the next day, that I saw a coach and four horses stop at the outer gate, out of which two persons alighted. Immediately I went towards them, believing they were some of my friends, coming to give me a visit. By that time I was got to the gate, they were entered into the hall: but, seeing me hastening to them, they turned, and met me about the middle of the court. The chief of them, perceiving me to look wistly on them, as being altogether strangers to me, said, My Lord, perhaps you do not know me. My name is Dyve, I am clerk of the council, and here is one of the king's messengers. I am sorry I am sent on this errand. But I am come to arrest you upon suspicion of high treason.

Sir, said I, I suppose you have a warrant for so doing; I pray let me see it. He shewed it me. I read it; and the first name I lighted on being the Earl of Nottingham's; I said, Sir, I believe this is my Lord Nottingham's own hand, and I submit. What are your orders how to dispose of me? My lord, said he, I must first

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search your person, and demand the keys you have about you. My keys I presently gave him. He searched my pockets, and found no papers, but some poor notes of a sermon, and a letter from Mr. B. Fairfax, about ordinary business.

Now, says he, my lord, I must require to see the rooms to which these keys belong, and all the places in the house, where you have any papers or books. I straight conducted him up stairs into my study. This, sir, said I, is the only chamber where I keep all the books and papers I have in the house. They began to search, and with great readiness turned over every thing in the room, closets, and presses, shaking every book by the cover, and opening every part of a chest of drawers, where were many papers, particularly some bundles of sermons; which I told them were my proper tools: and that all, that knew me, could vouch for me, it was not my custom to have any treason in them. They read several of the texts, and left them where they found them. But, in one corner of a press, which was half open, they met with a great number of letters filed up. I assured them they were only matters of usual friendly correspondence, and most of them were of last year's date. Mr. Dyve, looking on some of them, found them to be so; and said, if he had time to view them all, he might, perhaps, see reason to leave them behind: but, being expressly commanded to bring all letters, he must carry them with him. I left him to do as he pleased; so they sealed them up.

Then they went into my bed-chamber and the closets adjoining, doing as they had done in my study, feeling about my bed and hangings, knocking the wainscot in several places, to see if there were any private hole or secret conveyance.

After that they came down stairs and searched the parlour and drawing-room on that side of the house, with the like exactness. In all these rooms, I observed, they very carefully pried into every part of the chimnies; the messenger putting his hand into every flower-pot, which I then somewhat smiled at; but since I found he had but too much reason so to do.

When they had done searching in all those rooms and in the hall, as they were going out, and had taken with them what papers they thought fit, they carried me away in the coach that brought them. By the way, we met my servant Mr. Moor coming from London. I called out to him, have you any letters for me? He gave me three or four, which I delivered to Mr. Dyve to open, who found nothing in them but matters of private concernment, or ordinary news. And so, between ten and eleven at night, we arrived at Whitehall, and I was brought to my Lord Nottingham, whom I found alone in his office.

My lord, said I, I am come upon your warrant; but certainly there must be some great mistake, or black villainy in this business: for I declare, as in the presence of God, I am absolutely free from any just accusation relating to the government. His lordship told me, he himself was much surprised when he heard my name men-

tioned. I intreated him I might be examined that night if any witnesses could be produced against me. He said, that could not possibly be, because the lords who had the management of such affairs were separated, and gone home: but, that I was to appear before them the next day, and in the mean time all the civility should be shewn me that could be expected by a man in my condition.

My lord, said I, I hope, it being so very late, you will suffer me to lie at my own house at Westminster. He replied, you shall do so; but you must have a guard of soldiers and a messenger with you. A guard of soldiers, said I, my lord, methinks it is not so necessary to secure one of my profession; I should rather offer, that I may have two or more messengers to keep me, though that may put me to greater charges. My lord, said he, I, for my own part, would be glad if I might take your parole: but I must do what I may answer to others; and therefore I pray be content.

At this I acquiesced; only adding, my lord, here are divers papers brought up with me, which, upon my credit, are but of common importance; yet, because they are most of them private talk among friends, there may be some expressions which no man, if it were his own cause, would be willing to have divulged; and therefore I desire your lordship will take care they may not be shewn to the prejudice of any. He answered, you have to do with men of honour, and you shall have no occasion to complain upon that account.

And so I was conveyed home to Westminster, by Mr Dyve and Mr. Knight the messenger in the coach with me, and a guard attending on each side. After we came to the deanery, Mr. Dyve having diligently surveyed my lodgings and the avenues to them, left me about midnight, with a strict charge to the messenger and soldiers not to give me any unnecessary disturbance, but to watch carefully at my bed-chamber door till further orders, which they did.

The next day, being Sunday, May the 8th, Mr. Dyve came again to me, about noon, to acquaint me that I was to attend the committee of the council that evening, by six of the clock. And, says he, my lord, I suppose you have here, also at Westminster, a room where you keep the rest of your books and papers. I told him I had. Then, said he, I have commission to search there likewise, particularly in your cabinet. I shewed him my library, and gave him the keys. He opened all the presses of books, and viewed particularly every shelf, and examined every drawer in the cabinet: but finding nothing there of a late date, or that might afford any the least shadow of a traiterous correspondence, he went away without removing any one paper thence.

At the time appointed I was brought by the messenger and guard to Whitehall, where a select number of the lords of the council were assembled at my Lord Nottingham's lodgings. There were present, as I remember, the Earl of Devonshire, lord steward; the

Earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain; the Earl of Nottingham, secretary of state; the Earl of Rochester; the Earl of Portland; the Lord Sidney, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and Sir Edward Seymor.

When I was entered the room, and come to the end of the table, my Lord Nottingham began. But now, for the greater perspicuity of the whole proceedings, and to avoid the too frequent repetition of, said I, or said such an one, or said they, I will henceforth give all the questions and answers, and the rest of the discourses, in the name of every person as they spoke, and by way of dialogue.

Earl of Not. My lord, you cannot but think it must be some extraordinary occasion, which has forced us to send for you hither in this manner.

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I submit to the necessities of state in such a time of jealousy and danger as this is.

Earl of Not. My lord, I am to ask you some questions, to which we desire your plain and true answers.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I assure you mine shall be such; as I hope I have been always taken for a man of simplicity and sincerity.

Earl of Not. Have you composed a declaration for the present intended descent of the late King James into England?

Bishop of Roch. I call God to witness I have not.

Earl of Not. Did you ever draw up any heads, or materials for such a declaration?

Bishop of Roch. Upon the same solemn asseveration I never did.

Earl of Not. Were you ever sollicited, or applied to, by any person, for the undertaking such a work?

Bishop of Roch. I never was.

Earl of Not. Do you hold any correspondencies abroad in France?

Bishop of Roch. I do not hold any.

Earl of Not. Have you ever signed any association for restoring the late King James?

Bishop of Roch. I never signed any.

Earl of Not. Do you know of any such association? Or any persons that have subscribed one?

Bishop of Roch. Upon the word of a christian and a bishop, I know of no such thing; nor of any person who has subscribed any paper of that nature

Sir Edw. Seymour. My Lord Bishop of Rochester, we have examined the papers that were seized in your closet at Bromley. We find nothing in them but matters of ordinary and innocent conversation among friends; only we have one scruple, that there are few or no letters among them written since Lady-day last.

Bishop of Roch. Sir, I suppose there may be some of a date since that time in the bundles. If I had preserved more, they would have been of the same nature with the rest that you have, that is, concerning common intelligence, and the talk of the town:

not any secrets of state, or against the government. My lords, I hold no correspondencies of that kind. When I am in the country I desire some friend or other here to let me know how the world goes, that I may inform myself and the neighbouring gentlemen of the truth of things, and prevent the spreading of false news: and afterwards I file up such letters according to their dates, as you may perceive I did these, that at any time I may have a present recourse to them, to refresh my memory in any past transaction.

My lord, those are all I thought worth keeping of this kind these two last years. And I hope the clerk of the council has done me the justice to acquaint your lordships how I was apprehended out of my house; and how narrowly I myself, and my study, and lodging-chamber, and other rooms, were searched: so that it was impossible for me to have suppressed or smothered any one writing from you. And really, I believe there was not a note, or least scrip of paper of any consequence in my possession, but they had a view of it.

Earl of Devonshire. But, my lord, it is probable a man of your interest and acquaintance, must have received more letters since, than are here to be found. We see here are many concerning affairs that passed just before that time.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, a little before the conclusion of the last session of parliament, I obtained leave of the house of lords to retire into the country, for the recovery of my health. During my abode there, as long as the parliament continued, I was somewhat curious to learn what passed in both houses, and therefore, as your lordship has observed, letters came thicker to me about that time. But when the parliament was up, very little happening that was remarkable in that interval, I was not so mindful to preserve the letters that came to me, whilst all things, both abroad and at home, were rather in preparation than action.

Besides that, since the time your lordships speak of, I was twice or thrice in town for several days together; once especially, upon a publick occasion, the annual election of Westminster school, which detained me here about a week. And these are the true reasons why you find so few letters to me since the date of time your lordships have mentioned.

Earl of Not. Will it please your lordships to ask the Bishop of Rochester any more questions?

They being all silent, I said, my lords, I cannot imagine how it comes to pass that I should be thus suspected to be guilty of any contrivance against the government; I think I may appeal to all that know me, I am sure I may to all my neighbours in the country where I live, that there has no man submitted to it more peaceably and quietly than I have done ever since the revolution; and I must own, I did it both upon a principle of conscience and gratitude. Of conscience, because I cannot see how the church of England and the whole protestant religion can be preserved, but upon this constitution; since an invasion from France cannot but

be destructive to both. And of gratitude, because, as you all know, I happened to be in the late reign ingaged in an affair, which since I have been taught was illegal. And though I may say I stopped betimes, and did no great hurt, but hindered as much as I could whilst I acted; yet I acted so long that I might have expected to be severely punished for what I did. But the king's and queen's part in the general pardon was so gracious and benign in making it their own act, and not excluding me out of it, that their majesties have thereby laid upon me an obligation never to be forgotten.

Upon this I was bid to withdraw; and, about an hour after, the same clerk of the council was sent out to tell me, the lords had ordered I should return to my own house, and be under the same confinement as before, of a messenger and a guard of soldiers: and there I should shortly hear what their lordships would determine concerning me. He likewise told the messenger and the guards, that he had a strict command to them to use me with all respect; only to take care that I should be safely kept and forth-coming. Nor, indeed, had I any thing to object against their behaviour: for, as Mr. Dyve demeaned himself always to me like a gentleman, and the messenger was very civil, so the soldiers themselves were as easy and quiet to the rest of my family, as if they had been a part of it.

The same evening, Mr. Dyve came home to me, and brought me all my papers, telling me, that the lords had heard him read them over; and, having no exception against them, had sent him to return them all safe to me again.

Thus guarded, I continued from that day till the 18th of May under the custody of a messenger and of four centinels, who watched day and night, and were relieved every eight and forty hours.

But then, having heard nothing in the mean time from the lords, I wrote this letter to the Earl of Nottingham.

MY LORD,

'AS I have all this while, according to my duty to their ma-
'jesties' government, with patience and humility submitted
'to my confinement under a guard of soldiers and a messenger; so
'now, fearing that my longer silence may be interpreted as a mis-
'trust of my innocency, I think it becomes me to make this appli-
'cation to your lordship, earnestly intreating you to represent my
'condition and request to the most honourable board, where I was
'examined. I intirely rely on their justice and honour, that, if they
'find nothing real against me, as God knows I am conscious to
'myself they cannot, they would be pleased to order my enlarge-
'ment. I am forced to be the more importunate with your lordship
'in this business, because it is very well known in what a danger-
'ous condition of health I went out of town towards the latter end
'of the session of parliament: and I find my distemper very much

'increased by this close restraint, in a time when I was just enter-'ing upon a course of physick in the country.

My lord,
I am your lordship's most humble
May 18, Westm. and most obedient servant,
THOS. ROFFEN.

To the Right Honourable the
Earl of Nottingham, Prin-
cipal Secretary of State.

This letter was read in the cabinet council that day, and it had the desired effect; for, thereupon, I was ordered to be discharged that evening; which accordingly was done about ten at night, by Mr. Shorter, a messenger of the chamber, coming to my house, and dismissing the messenger, and taking off the guard.

The next morning, being May 19th, to prevent any concourse or congratulations, usual upon such occasions, I retired early to Bromley, where I remained quiet till June the 9th, little dreaming of a worse mischief hanging over my head.

But that day, being Thursday, as I was upon the road coming to Westminster, to the meeting of Dr. Busby's preachers, who assemble once a term at my house there, I was stopped by a gentleman that brought me this letter from my Lord Nottingham.

MY LORD, Whitehall, June 8, 92.

I MUST desire your lordship to be at my office on Friday morning by ten of the clock.

I am your lordship's
most humble servant,
NOTTINGHAM.

For the Right Reverend the
Lord Bishop of Rochester,
at Bromley.

I asked the bearer whether he had any farther orders concerning me; he answered no, but was forthwith to return. I desired him to acquaint his lord, that I was now going to town upon other business, but that I would presently wait on him at Whitehall. Accordingly, from Lambeth I went to his office. When my lord came to me, I told him, that having met with his lordship's letter accidentally in my way to Westminster, I thought it best to come presently to know his pleasure.

Earl of Not. My lord, there is a mistake, I gave you notice to be here to-morrow morning: and that is the time you are appointed to appear before the committee of the council.

Bishop of Roch. However, my lord, being in town occasionally, I thought it became me to present myself to you as soon as I could. And I now make it my request, if your lordships have any thing farther to say to me, I may be convened before you this day.

Earl of Not. I fear you cannot be so, for there is much business to be this afternoon, both at the great council and the committee: but I will send you word to the deanery, if you can be called this evening. In the meantime you have your full liberty to go where you please.

Thus I went home; but having no notice from my lord that night, the next day, being June the 10th, about ten of the clock, I came to his lordship's office, where were met the same lords as before; only I think the Earl of Portland was not there, and the Earl of Pembroke, lord privy seal, was.

When I was called in, besides the privy councellors that sat about the table, there was standing against the wall a very ill-favoured man, who afterwards proved to be Blackhead; with whom I strait perceived I was sent for to be confronted.

For, as soon as I was in the room, my Lord Nottingham said, My lord, do you know that person?

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I have seen this man's face, but I cannot immediately recollect where.

Earl of Not. I pray view him well. Has he never brought you any letters from one Mr. Young?

Bishop of Roch. I do call to mind, he has brought me a letter. I cannot in a moment remember from whom it was.

Earl of Not. He says it was from one Young.

Bishop of Roch. I think it was at my house at Bromley, that he delivered it me; but I verily believe it was not from any of the name of Young.

Blackhead. I was with the Bishop of Rochester at Bromley: I brought him a letter from Mr. Young, and I received an answer to Mr. Young back again from the bishop.

Thus far, during the beginning of this examination, I stood with my face against the window, and my eyes being so very tender and feeble as they are, I had not a perfect view of Blackhead; but he so confidently affirming, that he had of late carried letters between me and one Young, I changed my station, and got the light on my back; and then immediately, having a true sight of his very remarkable countenance and habit, and whole person, and being also much assisted by his voice, which is very loud and rude, I did, by God's blessing, perfectly call him to mind; and said, now, my lords, by the advantage of this light, I do exactly remember this fellow, and part of his business with me at Bromley. What he says of Young cannot be true. I know not for what purpose he affirms this; but, upon my reputation, it is utterly false, that he ever brought me a letter from one Young.

Earl of Not. My lord, he says particularly, it was upon a fast-day.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I do remember this fellow was with me at Bromley on a fast-day: by the same token, I told him he should stay till after evening-prayers, and must expect only a fasting kind of meal. But then I would return an answer to his business.

Blackhead. It was upon a fast-day. I did eat with the bishop's servants; and I received an answer from his own hand to the letter I brought him from Mr. Young.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, this that he says of Young is a wicked lye. All my correspondencies are so innocent (as I hope your lordships can testify) that, if I had received a letter from any Mr. Young, I should have no reason so positively to deny it. I beseech you, examine this fellow throughly, and I doubt not but you will discover some impudent knavery. I stand to it; I am sure there is no person, whose name is Young, with whom I have of late years maintained any intercourse by letters.

Earl of Devon. My lord, is there no person of the name of Young, a clergyman, with whom you are acquainted?

Bishop of Roch. Oh! my lord, there are two excellent persons of the name of Young, both clergymen, to whom I have the good fortune to be very well known: the one was your brother Ossery's chaplain, and is now prebendary of Winchester; the other was canon of Windsor, when I was a member of that church, and is there still. But I suppose neither of these are the Youngs, whose correspondence this man objects to me. I should take it for an honour to correspond with them. But in truth it has so happened, that I have neither written to, nor received one letter from either of them these many years, to the best of my knowledge.

Blackhead. The bishop, if he please, may remember it was Robert Young from whom I brought a letter.

Earl of Not. How long ago say you it was?

Blackhead. It was about two months ago.

Bishop of Roch. I have indeed, my lords, some obscure remembrance, that, some years ago, there was one writ to me out of Newgate, under the name of Robert Young, pretending to be a clergyman; and I recal something of the contents of this letter. It was to tell me, that he and his wife lay in prison there upon a false accusation, of which he hoped they should be speedily cleared. In the mean time he desired me to recollect, that he had officiated some weeks for the chaplain at Bromley college, and had preached once or twice in the parish church there. He intreated me to give him a certificate of this, because it would stand him in much stead in order to his justification: and withal, that I would send him something out of my charity, for his and his wife's relief in their great distress.

This, my lords, I dare say was the whole substance of that letter, and this was two or three years ago at least.

To that letter I am sure I made no reply in writing. Only, having not the least remembrance of him myself, I inquired in the neighbourhood, and among the widows in the college; intending to have sent him some alms suitable to his condition and mine, had I found him worthy.

But, upon inquiry, I received from all hands so very ill a character both of this Young and his wife, that I resolved to give him no

answer at all; and I have never heard any thing more of him to this day.

But now, I beseech your lordships, to give me leave to speak to this person myself: and they intimating I should do as I thought best, I said to him:

I conjure you, in the presence of these noble lords, and especially of the great Lord of heaven and earth, that you will declare the truth of what I am going to ask you.

When you came to my house at Bromley, upon a fast-day it was, I think the first fast of this year; did not you desire to speak with me, as having a letter for me? When I came to you into my hall, did not you first kneel down, and ask me blessing? Did you not then deliver me a letter, affirming it was from a country minister, a doctor of divinity? Did not you tell me you were his servant, or bailiff? And that your master had sent you on purpose many miles, to receive an answer yourself to that letter from my own hand?

Blackhead. I never brought a letter to the Bishop of Rochester from a country minister; I know no such doctor of divinity: nor ever was servant to any: I only brought a letter to the bishop from Mr. Young.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, what I say is most certainly true. This man had never any other business with me, but in relation to that letter, pretended by him (for now I find it was but a pretence) to be written to me by an eminent country divine, in Buckinghamshire, a person of a considerable estate, as he told me. My lords, I cannot yet call to mind the doctor's name; but the business of the letter I am, in great part, master of; and it was to this purpose:

That there was a person (naming him) who had applied to him to be his curate; but that he had reason to suspect he had counterfeited my hand and seal for holy orders; therefore he desired me to send him word, under my own hand, by the bearer, his man, whether I had ordained such a one, in such or such years: that if I had, he would encourage and entertain him; if not, he would take care he should be punished for his forgery.

Now, my lords, upon the receipt of so friendly a letter, by this very messenger, I bid him stay a little, and I would give his master satisfaction out of my books, whether I had ordained any man of that name, which I thought I had not. Accordingly my secretary and I did severally turn over all my papers relating to such affairs, as carefully as we could; and finding no such man's name in them, in which we could not easily be deceived, because I keep methodically (as no doubt every bishop does) all recommendations, subscriptions, testimonials, and titles of those I admit into orders; I wrote the supposed author of the letter as civil an answer as his seemed to deserve.

That I was extremely pleased and thankful, that a meer stranger to me should be so careful of my reputation: that my secretary and I had diligently examined all the books, where such things are recorded: and I could assure him I never had ordained any such person, either priest or deacon, within the space limited in his let-

ter, or at any other time: that I should look upon it as a signal service done to the church in general, and a special favour to me in particular, if he would, as he promised, cause the counterfeit to be apprehended, so that the course of law might pass upon him.

This letter, my lords, all written with my own hand, I delivered to the person here present: and he went away with it, asking me blessing again upon his knees, and promising I should speedily be made acquainted with the success.

Earl of Devonsh. I pray, my lord, how was the letter superscribed you sent back by this man?

Bishop of Roch. My lord, it was to the same person, with the same superscription as he subscribed himself, and directed to the same place where he said he was minister; though the name of place or minister I cannot yet recover. But let that letter of mine be produced, and it will put an end to this whole controversy.

Blackhead. The letter I received from the bishop was superscribed to Mr. Young, and to no other.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, this is a horrid falshood. I well remember now, this fellow was at my house a second time some weeks after the first. When he came, I was in the garden, with some gentlemen, my neighbours, where, first asking me blessing, he told me his master, the doctor, had taken up the person who had forged my orders: that the man stood upon his vindication; but that his master was bringing him up to London; and then I should hear farther from him: adding, that his master was a man of such a spirit, and such a plentiful estate, that whenever he suspected a man to be a rogue or a cheat, he would spare no pains to discover him, nor think any cost too much to get him punished. These, my lords, I well remember, were the knave's very words: and I hope your lordships will likewise deal with him in the same manner. I took this second message still more kindly, and ordered my servants to entertain the messenger very civilly.

Blackhead. I brought no such message. All my business with the bishop was from Mr. Young, which I suppose was of another nature.

Bishop of Roch. What I say is so true, that I am confident several of my servants do remember the particulars. For this man stuck not to declare his business before them all; very much magnifying his master, and his housekeeping, and vapouring what an example he would make of the counterfeit priest, without putting me to any trouble, or expence.

Earl of Devonsh. Has your lordship none of those servants near at hand?

Bishop of Roch. My lord, some of them are in town; and one, my secretary, Mr. Moore, by an accidental good fortune, came hither with me: he was without when I was called in. I doubt not but he will satisfy your lordships what was this man's errand to me: he is a young man of great honesty, and, I believe, would not tell a lie to save my life; I am sure I would not have him.

Whilst they were calling in Mr. Moore, I added, my lords, I ap-

peal to the great God of heaven to judge between me and this wretch, touching the truth or falshood of what we say, and to deal with us both accordingly at the last day of judgment: and I dare also appeal to your lordships to judge between us, by what appears to you; for did you ever see greater villany and consciousness of guilt in any man's countenance than in his?

By this time Mr. Moore being come in, I said, Moore, apply yourself to my Lord Nottingham. I charge you do not, for any consideration of me, speak any thing which you cannot justify for truth.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, do you know that person there? pointing to Blackhead.

Mr. Moore. My lord, I do know him so far, that I have seen him once or twice at my lord's house at Bromley.

Earl of Not. What business had he at Bromley?

Mr. M. The first time he brought a letter to my lord.

Earl of Not. From whom?

Mr. M. My lord, it was from a country minister in Buckinghamshire, a doctor of divinity, as he wrote himself; his name was Hooke.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I now very well remember, that was the name, Hooke, or something very near it; there may be the difference of a letter, I will not stand upon that; nor can it be expected, I or my servant should be positive as to every letter of a name in so sudden a question.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, what was the business of that letter?

Mr. M. My lord, it was concerning one that offered himself to be the doctor's curate, whom he suspected to have counterfeited my lord's letters of orders. The doctor desired my lord to look into his books, whether he had ordained any such person; my lord and I did thereupon search all the places where the memorials of such affairs are kept, and we found no such name; and so my lord himself wrote back to the doctor, by this very man that stands here.

Earl of Not. Mr. Moore, will you take your oath of all this?

Mr. M. I am ready to take my oath of it, if you please to give it me.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead? You see here is a young man, the bishop's secretary, comes in by chance, and confirms punctually what the bishop had said before, concerning your message to his lord; and he offers to take his oath of it: if you did bring a letter from one Doctor Hooke, why do you not confess it? It can do you no hurt.

Blackhead. I know of no such divine as Dr. Hooke, nor any thing concerning one that counterfeited the bishop's orders; the letter I brought was from Mr. Young.

Mr. M. My lord, this fellow cannot but know, that what he says is shamefully false; I assure you I have the original letter at home to produce, and doubt not, but divers of my lord's servants

remember him and his business as well as I do; for he was a second time at Bromley, some weeks after.

Earl of Not. What was his business then?

Mr. M. He said he came to acquaint my lord, that his master, Dr. Hooke, had seized on the person who had forged his orders. My lord asked him whether he had also seized the false instrument; and, if he had, desired it might be transmitted to him. This man answered, he believed his master had got it; that he was coming up to London, and bringing the cheat with him; and had been there sooner, had he not sprained or hurt his leg; but, when he was come, the doctor would give my lord notice, or himself wait upon him. My lord was much pleased with this second message, and gave orders to have the bringer of it well used. He was so, and freely discoursed with the butler, and the other servants, touching his business there; so that I am verily persuaded, several of them remember all these circumstances of it, and, perhaps, more than I do.

Upon this, Blackhead being again urged by the lords with so plain a testimony, perfectly agreeing with what I had said, and he still persevering obstinately to deny every part of it, I and Mr. Moore were ordered to withdraw, Blackhead staying behind.

As I was going out, I said, 'My lords, I cannot comprehend to 'what purpose this fellow persists in this lie; I am sure he can 'never prove that I have injured the government, in word, or 'deed, or writing.' Then I could not but again observe to the lords, what visible marks of falshood and treachery there were in Blackhead's face; for, indeed, all the while he looked as if he would have sunk into the ground, though (as I was told afterwards) before I came into the room, he had appeared very brisk, and bold, and full of talk. But, upon my first coming in, his complexion, which was naturally very sallow, turned much paler and darker; and he was almost speechless, saying nothing to any purpose, more than what he thought was necessary to keep him firm to the main lie: that he had brought me a letter from one Young, and no other.

But, after my being withdrawn about half an hour, I was called in again, and Blackhead sent forth.

Earl of Not. Now, my lord, the business is out, the fellow has confessed he brought the letter to you, written not in the name of Young, but as from one Dr. Hookes; Hookes was the name, not Hooke; your lordship was in the right in saying you would not stand upon a letter.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I could not trust my memory so far as to a letter; but one thing I was sure of: that was the only letter this rascal ever brought me, and it was not from any one whose name was Young.

Earl of Not. Well, that business is over, he has confessed it; and now, my lord, pray take a chair and sit down.

Earl of Devonsh. Pray, my lord, sit down.

Bishop of Roch. No, my lords, I desire you to excuse me.

Earl of Not. My lord, we have some few questions to ask you, and therefore pray repose yourself.

Bishop of Roch. If you please to permit me, I had rather answer what your lordships have farther to say, standing thus as I am at the table.

Earl of Not. Then, my lord, we shall ask you: have you ever written to the Earl of Marlborough within these three months?

Bishop of Roch. I think I may safely affirm, I never writ to my lord Marlborough in my life; but I am certain, and upon the faith of a bishop I declare, I have not written one word to him these three months.

Earl of Not. Have you received any letter from my Lord Marlborough within these three months?

Bishop of Roch. I protest solemnly I have not received any.

Earl of Not. Have you received any written or printed papers from my Lord Marlborough, within that space of time?

Bishop of Roch. As in the presence of God, I declare, I have not. My lords, I have had some acquaintance with my lord Marlborough, both in King James's court, and in the parliaments since; but I cannot call to mind, that ever I wrote to him, or he to me.

Earl of Not. Then, I think, my lords, we have nothing more to do, but to wish my lord bishop a good journey to Bromley.

With that, they all rose up and saluted me, testifying their great satisfaction that I had so well cleared myself, and confounded my adversary: more especially, two noble lords of the company, to whom, I said, I would now particularly appeal, gave me an ample testimony of their belief of my innocency in this accusation, and of my dutiful disposition to the government.

My Lord Nottingham then told me, in the name of all the rest, they had no farther trouble to give me. I intreated them to suffer me to add a few words; they permitting me, I said:

My lords, I heartily thank you for confronting me with this fellow; else I could not so well have made out my innocency, but I might still have lain under a suspicion, whereof I had not known the least ground. Had this been a trial for my life, I should have been glad to have such honourable persons for my judges; but now I have much more reason to bless God, that you have been my compurgators; that you are witnesses, as well as judges, of the detection of this villainy against me; whereof, I must acknowledge, as yet I do not fathom the bottom: wherefore I must intreat, that I may put myself under your protection for the future; for, although this fountain of wickedness has been now stopped in this particular, as to myself, yet it seems to run under ground still; and, unless especial care be taken, it may break forth again in some other place, on some other occasion, to the ruin, if not of me, yet of some other innocent person.

Earl of Devonsh. No, my lord, you need never fear this fountain can break forth any more, to do you, or any other good man

any prejudice, he having been so palpably convicted of knavery and lying.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I hope so: as for myself, I take my own innocency to be abundantly vindicated by this your general declaration in my favour. I make no question, but your lordships will next vindicate yourselves, and the justice of the government, by bringing this wicked man to condign punishment, and by examining the main drift of his design, and who have been his accomplices.

They all assuring me, I might rely upon them for it, I withdrew.

All this while I had not the least conjecture or imagination who this Young should be, with whom Blackhead pretended I held so close a correspondence.

But my next appearance before the committee of the council, will clear up what remains of the whole wicked mystery.

In the mean time, returning home that evening to Bromley, I presently met with a plentiful concurrence of evidence from most of my servants, of their discourse with Blackhead, and their knowledge of his business, in reference to Dr. Hookes's letter.

First, the butler, Thomas Warren, told me, that according to my order to use him kindly, he had done so both times he was with us: particularly the second time, he had entertained him with one of the petty canons of Windsor, who came thither by chance, in the parlour next the garden: that thence he brought him down into the cellar, where Blackhead drank my health with knees almost bended to the ground: that then he earnestly desired him to shew him my study; saying, I have heard your lord has a very good study of books: my master Hookes has a very good one: he often lets me go into it, and I doubt not but you have the same liberty: I pray let me see his books. The butler answered, my lord has but few books here, only such as he brings from time to time from Westminster, for present use, and they are locked up in presses, so that I cannot shew them if I would. I pray then, said Blackhead, let me see the room, I hear it is a very fine one. The butler said, he could not presume to do it without my leave. Then, said Blackhead, let me see the rest of the house. The butler excused his not being able to do it then, because there were some ladies with his mistress. The same request, he assured me, Blackhead repeated almost twenty times; but still he denied him.

Then Thomas Philips, my coachman, and John Jewel, my gardener, confirmed most of what the butler had said: all of them agreeing, that both the times he was at Bromley, especially the second, he had talked publickly with them of the business he came about from his master Dr. Hookes: enlarging much in commendation of the said doctor, what a worthy man he was: what hospitality he kept; and how he would never rest till he had brought to punishment the knave that had forged my hand and seal for orders. They added, that, after I had dismissed him, he lingered about in the garden, the hall, and the great parlour a long time; and was full of such discourses.

Moreover, the gardener, and William Hardy, the groom, and Thomas French, and one or two of the other servants, who remained at Bromley whilst I was in custody at Westminster, did all assure me, that this man, who brought first the letter, and then the message from Dr. Hookes, had been a third time at my house, whilst I was under confinement. That it was upon a Sunday, which by computation proved to be Whit-sunday, May 15th, that they found him in the midst of the house, before they knew he was entered. He told them, that passing that way, he came to condole for my mishap, and to inquire what the matter was; hoping it was not so bad as was reported at London. They answered, they knew nothing of particulars; yet doubted not but I was innocent. That he then again desired to see the house; but all the doors were locked, except the great parlour, which has no lock upon it. That he would have inticed them to town to drink with him; which they refused, but made him drink there; and he coming after dinner, they persuaded a maid-servant to provide him some meat: which she did, but unwillingly, telling them she did not like the fellow's looks; that, perhaps, he might come to rob, or to set the house, now so few servants were at home: that he rather looked (as indeed he did) like some knavish, broken tradesman, than an honest rich clergyman's bayliff, or steward, as he also called himself; and it has proved since, that her conjecture was true.

All this, and more, my servants repeated to me, touching Blackhead's behaviour in my house, and his discourse concerning his master Dr. Hookes. And they offered to depose it all upon oath. And, above all, the next day, being Saturday, June the 11th, Mr. Moore coming from London, immediately found the original letter, that Blackhead had brought me from the pretended Doctor.

Wherefore, being furnished with all these fresh materials, especially with the letter itself; and being not a little surprised to hear that the rogue had, the second time of his coming, been so earnest to get into my study, or any of the other rooms; and that he had the diabolical malice against me, to come to my house a third time, on pretence of condoling my misfortune, which I then thought it was probable had chiefly proceeded from his malicious perjury against me. All this considered, I resolved to go to London on Monday morning with these servants, and to carry the letter that he brought me as from Dr. Hookes, to lay the whole business before the lords of the committee, and to desire their farther examination of Blackhead upon these particulars.

Accordingly on Monday, June the 13th, I went, and attended the meeting of the lords that morning in the usual place. When there was a full committee, I sent to them by a clerk of the council, intreating that I might have a short audience. After some time, I was introduced. There were present (besides most of the lords before mentioned) three others, whom I had not seen there since my first appearance before them, the Marquiss of Caermarthen, Lord President, the Lord Godolphin, and Sir John Lowther.

When I came into the room, and was just going to propose the business that brought me thither, my Lord Nottingham prevented me, and said:

My Lord, do you know that person there? (pointing to a man who stood behind the privy-counsellors, near the door which leads into the publick room.)

Bishop of Roch. My Lord, I do not know him.

Earl of Not. My Lord, I pray observe him well.

Bishop of Roch. Upon my credit I never saw this man before in my life, to the utmost of my knowledge.

Then the person standing there looked boldly upon me, and said, do you not know me my Lord? do not you remember that I officiated some weeks at Bromley College, for Mr. Dobson, in King James's time? And that I preached in the parish church there once or twice?

Bishop of Roch. My Lords, I solemnly affirm I do not know this man: I never saw him before: I never knew that he officiated in Bromley-College: I never heard him preach in the church there: he is a mere stranger to me: he may have served for the chaplain of that college, in King James's time; but I was not then concerned who officiated there. He may have preached in the Church, and I not have heard him; for about that time I was clerk of the closet, and was seldom or never at Bromley on Sundays, by reason of my attendance on the Princess Anne of Denmark, either at Whitehall or Windsor, or Hampton-Court, or Richmond.

The same person presently took me up, with insolent confidence, you will know me better when Captain Lawe appears; I warrant you don't know captain Lawe neither.

Bishop of Roch. My Lords, if any of your lordships please to ask me any thing, I shall answer with all respect. But I do not understand that I am bound to satisfy this saucy fellow's questions; yet, because he has asked me so familiarly, touching my acquaintance with one captain Lawe, I assure you I know not any such man in the world as captain Lawe.

But, my Lords, by this person's discourse, I am induced to believe he may be the Young with whom the other knave, Blackhead, pretended the last time that I held a strict correspondence by his means.

Earl of Not. This man's name is Young, Robert Young.

Bishop of Roch. Then, my Lords, because my Lord President, and some of the other lords, were not here then, I must beg leave of those that were, that I may repeat what I then remembered concerning one Robert Young. Whereupon I recollected the substance of what I had said, of a letter I had received some years since, dated at Newgate, from one of the same name, who pretended himself to be a clergyman.

I added, It seems, my Lords, by his own confession, that this is the very same Young. But, as I never saw him before he was in Newgate, so I declare, upon the faith of a christian, I never saw, or heard from him since that letter;- however, I am very glad you

have him now; I make no doubt but he will be found in the end such another villain as Blackhead was proved to be on Friday last.

But, my Lords, said I, the business that brought me to wait on you now is to intreat you to take that same Blackhead into further examination, and to inquire a little more into his part in this wicked contrivance, whatever it is.

My Lords, since I went to Bromley, my servant, Mr. Moore, has had the good fortune to retrieve the very original letter that Blackhead brought me from his counterfeit master, doctor Hookes. Then I delivered the letter in at the table, and my Lord Nottingham read it aloud. And to shew with what a treacherous insinuation, and plausibility of style it was written, to draw from me an answer under my own hand, I here set down the very letter itself, word for word:

My Lord,

'BEING destitute of a curate, one Mr. James Curtis came to me, 'who produced letters dimissory (bearing date, March 13th. '91) and likewise letters of orders under your hand and episcopal 'seal. Now, my lord, willing I am to employ any that your lord-'ship shall recommend, and give him all the encouragement imagin-'able; but being since, by his own words, suspicious that his in-'struments are forged, I have therefore on purpose sent my man to 'know the truth thereof, and, in order thereunto, I humbly beg your 'lordship to give an account in yours by this bearer, promising, for 'the church of England's credit, and likewise your lordship's honour, 'that, if he be an impostor, I will see him brought to condign 'punishment for such his forgery; but, if he be not, I beg your 'lordship's pardon for this trouble, occasioned by my candid af-'fection for your lordship, and all clergymen, being not willing to 'have them imposed upon.'

'I am your lordship's

'most obedient servant,

Windgrave,
Apr. 6. --92. 'ROBERT HOOKES, D. D.

Now, my lords, proceeded I, I thought it would be for your service to acquaint you, that I have received, from divers of my servants, a farther account of all Blackhead's demeanor, the first, second, and third time he was at my house at Bromley; for he was there a third time also, which I knew not of, before I went home on Friday.

Then I summed up what has been said before, my servants were ready to depose to that purpose: concluding thus, my lords, my servants are attending without; I pray that Blackhead may be brought before them face to face, and that they may be admitted to give it upon oath, what they have to say concerning him.

Upon this several of the lords said, send for Blackhead; and he was sent for.

But, before he came, they called in Mrs. Young, the wife, it seems, of the aforesaid Robert Young; but what a kind of wife, and which of the two wives he had at one and the same time, will appear in what follows.

When she was come in, my Lord Nottingham said to her, Mary Young, whence received you this paper? taking up a paper that lay upon the table.

Mary Young. I had it from captain Lawe.

Earl of Not. What did he say when he gave it you?

Mrs. Young. He bid me deliver it to my husband.

Earl of Not. What did he say it was?

Mrs. Young. He said it was a sociate, or some such word.

Earl of Not. What! Did he deliver you a paper of this treasonable nature, in the manner as it is, to be given to your husband, without sealing it up, or inclosing it in another paper.

Mrs. Young. Yes, my lord, he did.

Earl of Not. Did he tell you any of the names to it.

Mrs. Young. Yes: he said there were the late Archbishop of Canterbury's, the Bishop of Rochester's, and some other lords names to it.

Earl of Not. What passed afterwards between you about it?

Mrs. Young. I gave it my husband, and, when captain Lawe came for it again, my husband said, No, these lords, whose names are subscribed, have not been so liberal in the relief of my wants as formerly; and therefore I will make another use of this paper; and so locked it up.

By this time Blackhead was brought in, and the woman ordered to withdraw, and to be kept by herself.

Earl of Not. Blackhead. The last time you confessed you brought the Bishop of Rochester a letter from Robert Young, under the false name of doctor Hookes.

Blackhead. Yes, I did.

Earl of Not. Can you know that letter when you see it?

Blackhead. I cannot tell, I doubt I cannot know it.

Earl of Not. Here it is; (and it was given into his hand) is that the same letter you delivered the bishop?

Blackhead. I am not sure it is.

Earl of Not. Consider it well; look on the superscription, you cannot but remember that. You began to be somewhat ingenuous last Friday; if you relapse, it will fare the worse with you.

Blackhead. Yes, this may be the letter; this is the very same letter.

Earl of Not. And you received an answer to this from the bishop, for Doctor Hookes, which you carried to Robert Young?

Blackhead. Yes, I did, I own it.

Earl of Not. But, what made you, when you were at Bromley the second time, so earnestly desire of the bishop's butler, and his other servants, that you might see the rooms in the house, especially his study?

Blackhead. No, I do not remember that I desired to see the study; the house I might, out of curiosity.

Earl of Not. But here are some of the bishop's servants without,

who are ready to swear, that you pressed very often to get a sight of his study; saying, you had the freedom at your master Hookes, to shew any stranger his books, and you doubted not but the butler could do the same there.

Blackhead. I cannot deny that I did desire to see the bishop's study; the other rooms I am sure I did.

Earl of Not. What reason had you to be so importunate to see that, or any of the other rooms? Had you any paper about you, that you designed to drop, or leave in any part of the bishop's house.

Here Blackhead stopped, as very loth to out with it; till divers of the lords urged him to tell the truth. At last he went on, though with much hesitancy.

Blackhead. Yes, I must confess I had a paper in my pocket, which I designed to put somewhere in the house.

Earl of Not. What did you with it?

Blackhead. I did leave it in the parlour next the kitchen.

Earl of Not. In what part of the parlour?

Blackhead. In the flower-pot in the chimney.

Good Lord bless me, cried I, I seriously protest, I never heard that any paper was found there by my servants. To be sure they would have brought it me.

Earl of Not. But, my lord, it will be worth your while to send presently to Bromley, to see whether there be any paper still, and what it is.

Bishop of Roch. My lord, I will send one away immediately. Only my servants are without, expecting to be sworn. Be pleased first to call them in, and dispatch them.

Earl of Not. Nay, my lord, there is no need of that testimony now. For this fellow has said already more than they know. He has confessed, not only that he desired to see your house, and particularly your study, but that he did it with an intention to leave a paper somewhere in it; and that he did leave one in your parlour, and in the flower-pot of the chimney.

Bishop of Roch. Then, my lord, I will send away forthwith.

Earl of Not. Stay, my lord, let us first examine him a little farther. *Blackhead,* what paper was it you left in the bishop's chimney, in the flower-pot?

Blackhead. It was the association.

Earl of Not. Was it this paper here? Shewing the association that lay upon the table.

Blackhead. Yes, it was.

Earl of Not. How came you by it? and who advised you to lodge it there?

Blackhead. I had it from Mr. Young, and he advised me to leave it in the bishop's house, as I did.

Earl of Not. Did Young direct you to put it into the flower-pot in the parlour?

Blackhead. Yes, he did, and I put it there accordingly in the flower-pot.

Earl of Not. But were you not a third time in the bishop's

house? It was upon a Sunday, which it seems was Whit-Sunday.'

Blackhead. I was.

Earl of Not. You pretended to condole for the bishop's imprisonment: it is manifest that could not be your business. What was it?

Blackhead. I was desired by Mr. Young, seeing the association was not found by those who apprehended the bishop, to go to Bromley, and try to recover it, that being the original. I did so, I came into the house before any of the servants were aware, I went into the parlour unseen, and took the paper out of the same place where I had put it, and delivered it again to Mr. Young.

Bishop of Roch. My lords, I am very much surprised at all this. I cannot but admire the wonderful goodness of God, in this my extraordinary deliverance. It appears, by what this fellow confesses, that this forged association was in my house, in a flower-pot, for many days together; and that it was there at the very time I was seized on by your lordship's order. For he says he put it there the second time he was at Bromley, which was a pretty while before I was in hold, and took it not out till the third time, which was upon Whit-sunday, the ninth day after I was under confinement; and, by a strange and marvellous providence, that parlour, where he says it lay so long in the chimney, was never searched or inquired after by the clerk of the council, or the messenger.

The other part of the house, on the left-hand of the hall, where my study is, and bed-chamber above stairs, and a parlour and drawing-room below, all these they searched very accurately; particularly, I well remember, the messenger thrust his hand into the flower-pots in every chimney; which seemed very odd to me then, but I now understand the meaning of it.

At this, my Lord Sydney, my Lord Nottingham, my Lord Devonshire, and some others of the council affirmed, that they perfectly remembered, both Blackhead and Young did especially direct them to give order to those, who should be sent to take me, to search all the flower-pots.

By this time it was thought seasonable by the lords to confront Blackhead with Young.

But, in the mean while, the counterfeit association, being handed about the table, was at length delivered to me; it was to this purpose, as much of it as, by a transient view, I could carry away in my memory:

'THAT we, whose names were subscribed, should solemnly promise, in the presence of God, to contribute our utmost assistance towards King James's recovery of his kingdoms: that, to this end, we would have ready to meet him, at his landing, thirty-thousand men well armed; that we would seize upon the person of the Princess of Orange, dead or alive; and take care, that some strong garrison should be forthwith delivered into his hands; and furnish him with a considerable sum of money, for the support of his army;' or to this sense.

March 20, —91.

And the forged subscriptions were, as I remember, after this manner:

Marleborough. *Salisbury.* *W. Cant.* *Tho. Roffen.* *Cornbury.*

Basil Firebrace. *John Wilcoxe.*

Now, upon the first sight of this paper, I presently said, I protest, my lords, I am very much amazed to see my hand so well counterfeited; all the difference is, they have done me the favour to write it finer, than I can: otherwise, I acknowledge it is so like, that I verily believe, I myself, had I seen it in another place, should have been apt to doubt, whether it were of my writing, or no. I am confident it might, upon the first blush, deceive the best friends I have.

But, my lords, here is another innocent person's name, whose hand I know very well, and I dare venture to say, it is even better forged than mine; I mean, Archbishop Sancroft's.

Lord Godolphin. My lords, I am very well acquainted with Archbishop Sancroft's hand, and really it is here most exactly counterfeited.

Moreover, my Lord Godolphin, my Lord Sydney, and others said, that the Earl of Marleborough's hand had been so well feigned, in a letter pretended to be written to Young himself, that it was very difficult for his most intimate friends to observe any distinction; and, in that letter, the Bishop of Rochester was said to have the paper in his keeping; which appears now to have been meant of the false association's being in my custody.

Nay, my Lord Sydney assured me, these very impostors had brought him a letter, supposed also to be written by me to Young; which, being but of ordinary matters, he thought not worth the keeping, but he well remembered, the subscription of my name was very like this in the association, as well indeed it might.

By this time, Young being come into the room, my Lord Nottingham spoke to him:

Young, look upon that letter (shewing him his own to me, under the name of Dr. Hookes) do you know that hand?

Young. No, I don't know it.

Earl of Not. Did not you send that letter to the bishop of Rochester, by Blackhead?

Young. No, I know no Hookes; I never writ to the Bishop of Rochester, but in my own name, with my own hand.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead?

Blackhead. I did receive that very letter from Mr. Young's own hand, and delivered it to the Bishop of Rochester with mine.

Earl of Not. (Taking up the association, and shewing it to Young) did not you give this paper to Blackhead, and order him to put it into a chimney in the Bishop of Rochester's house, and into a flower-pot, if there were any?

Young. No, I never desired him to carry it thither, or to put it into a flower-pot.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead?

Blackhead. Mr. Young did give me that paper, and directed me to leave it in the bishop's house; and, if I could, to put it in a flower-pot in some room; which I did, in the parlour.

Young. There is no such matter, I absolutely deny it.

Upon this, the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Sydney, and some others of the counsellors, asked Young, Why then did you give us such express directions, to send, and search the flower-pots, among other places, in the bishop's house?

Young. I said nothing of flower-pots. I bid you take care that the bishop's person should be exactly searched; because, when he went abroad, he carried the association about him; when he was at home, he put it in some private place, for fear of surprise; perhaps, I might say, in the chimney.

The lords replied, Nay, we all well remember, you particularly mentioned the flower-pots.

Earl of Not. Young, when you perceived that the persons sent to seize on the bishop had missed the association, did not you then desire Blackhead to go a third time to the bishop's house, and to take it out of the pot, where he had laid it?

Young. No, I know nothing of it.

Earl of Not. What say you, Blackhead?

Blackhead. At Mr. Young's request, I went to the bishop's house a third time; it was upon a Sunday; I privately got into the parlour, and took out the association out of the same flower-pot where I had laid it, and returned it back to Mr. Young.

Young. This is a combination between the Bishop of Rochester and Blackhead, to baffle the whole discovery of the plot.

Which saying of Young's could not but raise a general smile among all the company, they lifting up their hands with great indignation at his unparalleled impudence.

Bishop of Roch. I thought, my lords, the last time I was here, Blackhead was the most brazen-faced fellow that ever I saw; but now I find this same Young to be a much viler miscreant than he. This is so base a suggestion against me, and so impossible for me to be guilty of, and I know your lordships so little suspect it of me, that I need not make any answer to it in my defence.

Lord President. Young, thou art the strangest creature that ever I heard of: dost thou think we could imagine, that the Bishop of Rochester would combine with this thy confederate, to have an association written, with his own hand to it, and then laid in his own house, in a flower-pot there? which, if it had been found, must have endangered his life: and we see it was the most remarkable good fortune to him that almost ever happened to any man, that it was not found there.

But Young still persisting, that he believed I had taken Blackhead off, they were both ordered to withdraw. And, I assure my reader, that, during this whole examination, though Young's

forgery was so evidently convicted by the confession of his own companion, and instrument, yet he behaved himself with a daring unconcerned confidence, with a bold and erect countenance, though it had naturally very much of a villain in it. His whole carriage, indeed, was such, as became the discipline he has undergone for these divers years; having so long been almost a constant inhabitant, together with his wife, of many of the common gaols in England and Ireland; as you shall find before I leave them.

But to make haste to the conclusion of this narration; the Lord president called for the letter which Young had sent to me under the name of Hookes. When his lordship had viewed it deliberately, he asked also for the association, and, having compared them for some considerable time, he broke forth in these words, Really, my lords, it is a very great providence, that this letter, sent by Young, under the name of Hookes, to the Bishop of Rochester, was preserved by his servant: For this very letter, and the association, were both, apparently, written by the same hand; you may perceive there is no manner of difference in the writing, but only, that the letter is written in a less hand, as letters are wont to be, and the association in a greater, as a publick instrument.

At this, the whole board, one after another, had a perfect sight of both, and all applauded the happiness of the discovery: for it was as clear as light to all that were present, that the letters, and words, of both, were of the very same form and figure. Particularly, my Lord Godolphin farther observed, and made it plain to them all, that the *W* in *W. Cant.* in the subscription, was the very same letter with the *W* in *Whereas*, which was the first word of the counterfeit association.

For my part, I could not forbear exclaiming, Great is truth, and it will prevail.

After all this, I asking the lords, Whether they had any farther service to command me? And they saying, No, I spoke these few words:

My lords, I must always acknowledge, that, next the signal providence of God, in so visibly protecting an innocent man, your lordships' fair and honourable way of proceeding with me, in not shutting me up close in the Tower immediately upon my first accusation; but, in openly confronting me with these varlets, whilst the matter was fresh in my memory; and in so strictly and impartially examining them now, has been the principal occasion, that my innocency has met with a vindication as publick and unquestionable, as I myself could have wished and prayed for. But still, my good lords, I do again most humbly recommend to your lordships, the prosecution of this black contrivance to the bottom, for the sake of truth and justice, and for the safety of every other honest man, whose lot this might have been as well as mine. I am sure your lordships all believe, that there can be no greater service to the government, especially at this time, than to have such perjured informers, so plainly discovered, to be severely punished according to their demerits.

And so I took my leave of their lordships.

This is the substance of what I can remember, as far as my part goes in this surprising adventure. As to the account I promised of my wicked accusers, my reader shall have it as fast as my weak eyes will give me leave to write it.

Aug. 1, 1692. *THO. ROFFEN.*

Bromley.

THE

SECOND PART OF THE RELATION

OF

THE LATE WICKED CONTRIVANCE

Against the Lives of several Persons, by Forging an Association under their Hands.

BEING

A farther Account of the said Forgery, and of the two Authors of it,

STEPHEN BLACKHEAD AND ROBERT YOUNG,

Alias Youngs, alias Brown, alias Hopkins, alias Hutt, alias Green, alias Jones, alias Smith, alias, &c.

WRITTEN BY THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Quo teneam Vultus mutantem Protea Nodo ?

Imprimatur November 25, 1692, *Edmund Bohun.*

TO THE READER.

IT is well known to divers persons of worth and honour, that this second part was finished, and has lain by me some considerable time: excepting the addition of some very few original papers lately come to my hands, which serve only to explain and confirm some passages I had written before.

The cause of my not printing it sooner, was an expectation of Robert Young's speedy trial. But that being now deferred till the next term, upon occasion of Mr. Aaron Smith's sickness, I have been prevailed with no longer to delay the publication of it.

If any shall still surmise, that I might have done better to let him alone yet a little while, till the justice of the nation had passed upon him: I answer, That well-nigh all, that I say of him, relates to such of his crimes, which the justice of this, or a neighbouring nation, has already passed upon.

And though I can prove, this villainous contrivance of his plot has been at least of a year and a half standing; and do know

many steps of it more than are hitherto commonly known; and have seen many letters to this effect, all written by Robert Young's hand, some in his own name, some forged for me, and divers other persons far more considerable; yet my reader will find, I pass all, or the greatest part of that by, and leave still enough to be produced against him at his trial.

I do indeed briefly touch upon his late endeavours to suborn one Holland, to support his perjuries by perjuring himself. But his discourse with Holland to that purpose, and the instructions he sent him to swear by, having been both averred already upon oath, in an open court of justice, before a great assembly at Hicks's-Hall, I know no pretence, why I should be bound to conceal what was then, in so solemn a manner, made publick.

The truth is, the chief reason that urges me, at this time, to make known to the world the certain discoveries I have made of Robert Young's detestable villainies of all kinds, is, that I am assured, this infamous man does still persist in his causeless and wild malice against me, and other innocent persons; and attempts, at this time of day, to justify his forged association, by the false testimonies of others like himself.

Wherefore, since he will not give me over, it is high time I should begin with him: and whilst he goes on in such a barbarous manner, to strike at my life, surely none can blame me if I debase myself so much as to write his.

But if any one shall still suggest, that I have troubled myself too much, and spent too many words on so inconsiderable a rascal: I have this yet to say, that since he could think himself so considerable, as to hope to be an evidence against mine, and several other's lives; I should be wanting to myself, to them, and indeed to the publick, should I not prove him to be a dangerous rascal, now it has come so unexpectedly into my power to do it.

It seems also the more seasonable for me at this very time to shew him to the world; since Blackhead has made a second escape out of the messenger's hands; and since there goes about a letter (forged, one would think, by Young himself, among his infinite other forgeries) wherein it is declared in Blackhead's name, but in Young's English, that Blackhead has done no wrong to no man upon earth but Young.

Whether this can possibly be true, I leave to any man upon earth, that has read my first part. to judge. And whoever shall peruse this my second part, I doubt not but he will be convinced, that whatever Blackhead has done, I have done Young no wrong.

IN the former part, I promised to give some account and character of those wicked wretches, that brought me into the troubles there described.

I come now to make good my promise. Only I fear, let me do what I can, the account of them, which I at first designed, should be very short, will be much longer, and rise to a far greater bulk than I intended; especially, in what I have to say of Robert Young.

But for that, I hope, my reader will reckon it to be his fault, and only my penance: since his life has been so highly criminal, and this is so clearly attested, that I must be somewhat large, or else I cannot do him all the right he deserves, and fully satisfy the world, concerning him.

I must confess, I could never have been brought to foul my fingers with so base a subject, had I not been provoked, and almost challenged to it, by this same Young's intolerable insolence, even after he found himself detected of manifest forgery.

For, the last time I was discharged by the lords at Whitehall, on June the 13th, whereof I have already given a full relation; whilst I was passing through the outer room, in my way home, there being a crowd of people; I stopped, and said, I pray gentlemen, Is Mr. Young here? I would fain have another sight of the man, who has put himself upon me as my old acquaintance, and intimate friend: though I never saw him in my life, till this very day.

Divers of the company presently shewing me, where he was, sitting by himself; I said to him, Robert Young, your conscience cannot but condemn you, for having thus mortally injured me, and other innocent persons. I cannot call to mind, that ever I gave you the least provocation; I am sorry now for your own sake, that you are still so obstinate in defending your forgeries, after they have been so undeniably detected. For you know, there is one of your own confederates within, who has plainly confessed them.

At this he briskly, and most audaciously replied to me, without the least concernment, that I could observe, Confessed! No; you shall find to your sorrow, all is not confessed yet: A parliament will come, and then you shall hear more from me. I left him, praying God to give him grace to repent; and only adding, that else he was more in danger of his own damnation, than I of his accusation in parliament.

Now therefore, because of this impudent defiance, I have taken some pains to inquire into the man, and his former course of life.

And notwithstanding the time of my inquiry has been so short (for he was never personally known to me, till I saw him at Whitehall, on the 13th of June last) nay, though the scene of his impious actions has been so large, that I have been forced to collect my intelligence, from far and near; yet I have been so fortunate in my discoveries of him, and his meet-help, that now I look upon the loathsome heap of scandalous materials, I have got together against him, I am almost ashamed to make it publick.

But, perhaps, it may be no unacceptable, I am sure it will be no unseasonable service to my country, to present it with a faithful picture of one of the most graceless wretches, that ever yet entered upon the stage of evidencing; which I think is as bad as can be said of him, in so few words.

As to a discovery of the whole plot and contrivance against myself and others, I have been able to penetrate no farther yet, than to find that it was hatched and ripened in Newgate, wherever it was first laid, or designed.

Of the managers or abettors of it, there are but very few, hitherto, come to my knowledge; though, no doubt, there are more still behind the curtain. And many other honest men, in all likelihood, had been accused after the same manner, had this first attempt taken effect.

For how can it be imagined, they would only have introduced the good Archbishop Sancroft, and the poor Bishop of Rochester, and joining us with three or four persons of honour, and a citizen or two, have then supposed us to be so mad as to engage under our hands, to seize on the Queen's person; to surprise the Tower; to raise a mighty army; and to bring the city of London into subjection.

No; without all question, if this false association had once passed for authentick, many other papers of the same nature would soon have been produced out of the same forge: to the involving of many other innocent persons, both of clergy and laity, in the like counterfeit guilt.

But, till time shall bring to light more of this detestable work of darkness, the whole ignominy of it must be shared at present among the pretended witnesses, whom I have already heard named.

Of these there was one Captain Lawe, mentioned both by Young and his wife. And they boasted much of his concurring testimony, when he should appear. Yet of him I have nothing more to say, than that I find, there really was such a man as Lawe, a prisoner too in Newgate; and freed from thence the fifth day of August, 1691: a captain, Young said, he was; and he might as easily make him one as he made himself a priest; which (I thank God for the church's sake) he was no otherwise than in fiction.

How this captain got his liberty, I have yet no reason, that I know of, to examine strictly; seeing he has hitherto had either the modesty or the cunning to withdraw himself, and not to venture being an evidence in so bad a cause.

For the present, therefore, I leave Captain Lawe, as I found him, with no other mark of disgrace, but what his friend Young has fixed upon him, by naming him as a man likely to deserve the title of the third discoverer of his plot.

Of Blackhead too, besides what relates to myself, which the reader has had before, I have but one story more to insert here; though that indeed is home, and to the purpose. For this very Stephen Blackhead was prisoner also in Newgate, and condemned on January 15, 1689, to stand in the pillory, and to lose his ears, together with one Lewis and one Patrick, being all three convicted of one and the same forgery.

Lewis and Patrick, it seems, were so ill befriended, as to have the rigour of the law pass upon them. By what favour, Blackhead came to be reprieved and pardoned, it is not now my business overcuriously to inquire: else I could perhaps tell a story, how the knave, being himself a broken taylor, and employed in the soliciting of others' debts; and having, as is usual, some bills and letters of attorney intrusted with him for that purpose, had the good luck,

and the honesty, by delivering up, and cancelling one of them to save his ears, and purchase his pardon.

But, perhaps, I do not well to anticipate any part of Blackhead's other knaveries, not doubting, but he will, in time, supply abundant matter, to deserve a like history of himself. It is more than probable, that some other good and peaceably-minded man, having been as vilely trepanned by him, as I have been, though perhaps, by some other way than a flower-pot, will have the same reason to search into all his tricks, and to set them out with as much variety, in as ample a manner, as I shall now endeavour to do Robert Young's.

It is this Robert Young, that, I conceive, has most merited to be my proper subject. By what appears yet, Blackhead was only the tool, and the instrument; Young was the chief, if not the first contriver of this treacherous design. Blackhead was touched with some remorse, so far as to reveal some part of the truth: Young persisted to the last, without any relenting. And, when one would have thought he should have been quite overwhelmed with what his colleague confessed, he had the face, in so honourable a presence, with a prodigious and inimitable turn of impudence, to impute Blackhead's confession to my having suborned him.

As to Robert Young therefore, I will first give a true draught, in little, of his whole life; that my reader, keeping the principal passages of that in his memory, may know where to require satisfaction in any particular, from my original papers.

But now, in the very beginning of Robert Young's story, I might be at some loss, what is really his name; for, in several places, he has gone under divers names; and behaved himself so, as quickly to wear them all out, and to make it necessary for him to change them often.

Thus, on sundry occasions, he has passed under the names of Brown, Smith, Hutt, Jones, Green, &c. In Dublin, he sometimes called himself Marsh: In Raphoe, Hopkins, to render himself more acceptable, in his ill projects; taking the true names of the worthy archbishop and bishop of those sees, at that time.

Yet, after all, I find the name of Young is most likely to pay all his scores; for, notwithstanding his many divings, under other disguises, it has so happened, that he has still risen up again at last, in his own true name of Robert Young.

There may be also as great a controversy raised, what countryman he is. In some of the original papers in my keeping, he passes for an Irishman; in some, for a Scotchman; in his own letters (which I have the least reason of all to believe, and, being myself an Englishman, I am most unwilling to believe) he gives himself out for an Englishman, born at Chester. Wherefore, till I am more familiarly acquainted with him, than he himself says I am, I must be forced to leave his country uncertain: though I am confident, there will be no great contention or emulation between the three kingdoms, to which of them he owes his birth.

In the same letters, wherein he says he was born at Chester, he affirms, that his grandfather was Sir Peter Young's son, and his grandmother the Duke of Lenox's daughter. Had he really been descended from Sir Peter Young, I might still urge, that he is the more to blame in rendering an honest stock, as he calls it there, infamous, by making it degenerate into the most enormous crimes.

But how can I credit him in this matter of his extraction from Sir Peter Young, and the illustrious house of Lenox; when, in the very same paper, there follows immediately, that which, to my knowledge, is a horrid lie: that he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Clogher? For I shall give infallible proof, that his priest's orders he only imposed on himself, by his own false hand.

But, to clear up this whole business, I have also by me a true copy of an account, he gave of himself; wherein, quite forgetting this romance of his being a Cheshire man, and his near kindred to the Duke of Lenox, he gives this narrative of his own life.

It is dated, May 26, 1683; and declares that he was born at Warrington in Lancashire; that he went over into Ireland, and to school at Iniskillin: that he thence removed to Dublin college, being eighteen years old; where he continued seven years, and was made Master of Arts, eleven years since; that thence he went to be curate in Leighlin, and, for three years last past, was chaplain to the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin: that he preached all the courses, for the dean and prebends, at ten shillings a sermon: that he had all the book-money, that is, the fees for marriages, burials, and christenings, there being no other parish-church, but the cathedral: that he lived in the bishop's house, till his death, since Christmas: that, two years before, he married the bishop's house-keeper: that he had testimonials from the college of Dublin, and was ordained by his own bishop.

Now would not any plain honest man take this to be a simple and true narrative of the man's birth, his education, and conversation? But nothing is more certain than that every line almost of all this is full of gross falshoods. And, as ill-luck would have it, after he and his reputed wife had rambled over England for divers years, and cheated multitudes of well-disposed persons, by the help of false and lying certificates, they being at last apprehended and imprisoned at Bury, as you will hear, confessed before the magistrates, that all their testimonials and recommendations were false, and forged.

Wherefore it is time for me to leave still in the dark, as I find it, that age of Mr. Young's life, which he has made either to be merely fabulous, or so mixed with truth and fable, that there is no distinguishing between them. I now apply myself to that part of it, which, from undoubted testimony, I can affirm to be historical. And I shall date the beginning of this period about the year 1680.

In that year, or near thereupon, his first famous exploit, that occurs to me worthy of himself, was his marrying a second wife, Mary Hutt, whilst his first lawful wife Anne Yeabsly was living; with whom he had cohabited five years, and had three children by her.

Then, to qualify himself for employment in the church of Ireland, and to maintain his family (which he had taken such a way to increase) he did really insinuate himself into deacon's orders by the hands of the Bishop of Killaloo; whom he circumvented by forging the Archbishop of Cashell's, the Bishop of Waterford's, and other clergymen's hands, to false, but very ample testimonials of his morals and learning.

But, as for his priest's orders, he was beholden to no bishop for them: he had only recourse to his own incomparable faculty of counterfeiting hands and seals: so that, if that same Dr. Hookes, you wot of, had been but an honest man, he might easily have found out the false priest, without ever troubling himself to write to me about him.

However, being after this manner ordained deacon, and having ordained himself priest, he got to be entertained as a curate, first at Tallogh in the diocese of Waterford; whence, for divers crimes, he ran away with another man's horse, which he never restored: then at Castle-Reah in the county of Roscommon, whence he was forced to flee for getting a bastard; and, lastly, at Kildallin in the diocese of Kilmore.

Nor had he been long in this last cure, but he was accused, for many heinous offences, before the bishop of that see, who, at the time of my writing this, is the most Reverend Archbishop of Dublin; whose just description of the man I shall give in its due place; wherein his grace has represented him, as the most impudent, lying, profligate wretch on the face of the earth.

Wherefore, to escape the justice of his diocesan, who knew him so thoroughly, he fled into the diocese of Raphoe. But, being pursued thither, and traced out by the notoriety of some of his new pranks, he was apprehended by my old friend Bishop Hopkins, and first imprisoned at Lifferd; then removed to the gaol of Cavan, where he was presently loaded with many of his former crimes, especially for having two wives then living; Simon Hutt, the father of the second, being then an inhabitant and inn-keeper in Cavan.

Whereupon the good Bishop of Kilmore, now Archbishop of Dublin, fearing Robert Young might come to be hanged in his gown, degraded him from his orders; if I may call them his, since the one of them he had surreptitiously gotten, the other was really none at all.

Shortly after he was indicted, and should have been tried for his having two wives: but he had so ordered the matter, by an admirable artifice (which I shall tell by and by) that the two women could never be brought together at his trial, to own him for their husband.

By this means he was discharged of a crime, whereof I shall presently give manifest proofs, besides his own confession, under his own hand; which, I hope, the reader will not think he did counterfeit too.

But, still being in Cavan gaol for fees and debts contracted there, to free himself thence he made application to the Duke of Ormond,

at that time lord-lieutenant of that kingdom; pretending, that if he were once out of prison, and had leave to appear before his grace, he could make notable discoveries of dangerous plots against the government; in which some of the nobility, and several bishops, were concerned.

Whereupon, the popish plot having been just before in full vogue there, as well as here, the duke thought it expedient to grant him his liberty, in order to his coming up to Dublin, to make good what he had so confidently promised.

But the knave had his end, and having got out of gaol, by a pretence so plausible, he never thought of calling at Dublin, but retired secretly to Iniskillin, and let the discovery of that plot shift for itself: which, they that knew him best may think, was the honestest action of his life; to break only a promise, that he might avoid being an Irish evidence: and perhaps some of my friends may be apt to say, *Si sic omnia.*

Whilst he was lurking at Iniskillin, he inticed thither his second wife Mary Hutt, who has ever since run the same fortune with him, and been the inseparable companion of all his frauds, and was the very woman that appeared against me before the lords, to justify the association. So that from that time we hear nothing more of his true wife, Anne Yeabsley. It seems he then intirely cast her off, after he had allured her by the most solemn vows of living with her alone, and for ever renouncing the other, to be the chief instrument of his not being convicted at Cavan; and that by no less than a downright perjuring herself for his sake.

But, whatever became of her, it is certain, that it was with Mary Hutt he fled into England, in or about the year 1683. And, from that time to this, they have run a constant uninterrupted race of all kinds of wickedness in this kingdom, scarce ever passing a month, or a week, of these eleven years, without either being actually in some prison, or committing such crimes as deserved the deepest dungeons.

The first news I hear of him after his arrival in England, was upon his making application to the venerable Archbishop Sancroft, for some employment in our church. This he did in the garb, and under the character of a distressed Irish clergyman: and, to prove himself such, he exhibited his counterfeit orders from the Bishop of Clogher. And I must not omit, that, as a testimony of his modesty, this his first visit at Lambeth, and the producing his orders there, was within a month after he had been degraded in Ireland.

But the wise and wary archbishop immediately suspected him and his letters of orders, they being not in form, or the usual style, nor the seal fixed in its due place. Against all which exceptions the falsary fenced as well as he could with a shameless lye. Yet he received no other answer, but that his grace had no cure void in his gift.

But Young would not be put off so; shortly after he came again, desiring and pressing the archbishop to recommend him to be a

chaplain to some ship, or to some cure in one of our western plantations. Which his grace again refused, and upon surer grounds than before: for, in the mean time, he had sent to Dr. Foley, chaplain to the Archbishop of Dublin, then in England, for a better information concerning this bold and importunate man, which produced the letters hereafter set down from the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and the Lord Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, touching his forging of orders, his degradation, his double marriage, and other his good qualities.

Thus failing at the archbishop's, he forthwith sent his woman to Windsor, where the court then resided, with a petition to the king; therein she sets forth, that her name was Mary Green, the wife of one Robert Green, an Irish minister; who, going into the West-Indies, upon urgent affairs, was taken captive by the pyrates of Sallee. Therefore she prays that the king would be graciously pleased to recommend her sad condition to the clergy of England; and that his Majesty would request them (so her secretary words it) to contribute their charity toward her husband's ransom.

This petition was read in council, June 18, 1684, and referred to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Bishop of London. But we may be sure the petitioner, or her husband, came no more to Lambeth for an answer to the reference. They took a shorter way, and much easier to themselves; they forged a favourable report upon the petition, under the Archbishop and Bishop of London's hands and seals; by vertue of which (together with the archbishop's true hand and seal, which they had gotten by chance, and affixed a false recommendation to it) they wandered a long time over England, sometimes together, sometimes asunder, he passing for her brother, sometimes under the name of Robert Hutt, sometimes of Robert Green: and so cheated the king's subjects of very considerable sums.

But at length this plot was unluckily spoiled by their coming in their progress to play their pranks in Suffolk, the archbishop's native country, especially in Bury; where exhibiting their false recommendations to Mr. Cleggat, the minister of that town, the vagabond and his quean were seized upon suspicion; and, being severally examined, they themselves confessed before divers justices of the peace the whole train of their forgeries in this particular. Whereupon they were tried, and found guilty, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in the market of Bury, October 6, 1684; he going under the name of Robert Young, alias Hutt; she of Mary Green, alias Hutt, alias Peirson, alias Young.

Some time after this, having made a property of the name of Green, and of the captive Irish minister long enough, and squeesed out of it as much money as it would afford; and not being to be terrified from so gainful a traffick by one pillorying at Bury, they still carried it on, only changing the scene, and altering their style: she, that before was Mary Green, is again sent out, and furnished by her friend, with a new set of forged instruments and names.

In some of her false recommendatory papers, she passed for Mrs. Mary Jones, wife of Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford: in others, for Mrs. Mary Smith, wife of Mr. John Smith, supposed rector too, at the same time, of the same Ashford, in the diocese of Canterbury: whereas neither Jones, nor Smith, was ever rector there, no more than Doctor Hookes is rector of Wingrave in Buckinghamshire.

However, each of these her new husbands was pretended to be a prisoner for a vast debt, upon the account of suretiship: and she carried about with her divers counterfeit letters of the hand still of Archbishop Sancroft, desiring (and in one of her papers making his grace humbly to beseech) the contributions of the bishops and clergy for the poor man's enlargement.

This cheat was indeed more gainful to them than the former. The archbishop's hand was so admirably well imitated, especially in the subscriptions of his name, that she generally met with a very kind reception; and particularly applying herself to three bishops, who, of all the bench, were the archbishop's most intimate friends, even they were deceived by a legerdemain so well devised, and nothing doubting, but it was his grace's true hand (though they knew it almost as well as their own) they and their clergy were very bountiful to her.

Nor was Robert Young himself all this while idle, but sometimes he accompanied this Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Smith, as her brother; sometimes he came after her as her receiver: sometimes he went a different road from her, as her agent deputed to sollicit good people's charity to so pious a work: shewing another false letter under the hand of Dr. Faulconberge, secretary to the archbishop; wherein were set down divers sums, as given by several of the clergy, to draw in others; and, among the rest, I think her, she owns the receipt of 4l. from the Bishop of Rochester.

I admire how it was possible this their wicked trade was not sooner discovered; which it had been in a nation less charitable than ours. But here they successfully drove it on the better part of the year 1687, till at length the archbishop was alarmed from divers quarters, by notice that his hand and seal went a begging about the kingdom; which occasioned the advertisements, that were given to the whole nation, in the Gazettes of September and October 1687, to beware of Mrs. Jones and Robert Smith; and to apprehend them, that they might be dealt with according to law: whereupon Mrs. Jones was very closely traced to Chester, and searched for there by the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph's order. But she prevented the diligence of his messenger, and escaped to London.

Not long after this, they both came to Bromley. The occasion of it was (as I have understood since) that Mr. Goodwin, [illegible] ciated sometime for Mr. Dobson, falling suddenly ill, [illegible] London for cure: and being at a loss for the supervol[illegible] at the College of Widows, had by chance the [illegible] him, as a grave Irish clergyman, of good [illegible]

church, but at present out of business, having fled that kingdom with his family, upon the beginning of the Duke of Tyrconnel's rage against the protestants.

By help of this imposture he and his wife were entertained at Bromley, though, by good hap, they made a very little stay here. Yet, as short as it was, he has left signal marks behind him of his wickedness, and particularly of his owning that he had the knack to counterfeit any man's hand in England.

However, during his small time in the college, the good widows had respected him, and his fellow traveller so kindly, that he remembered it two or three years after, when he was in Newgate. I will presently produce the very letter written thence, in which he is not ashamed to beg of an hospital, and in a canting strain, to intreat they would make a collection among them, towards his being removed to the king's bench.

The whole letter is full of prevarications: but there is one I cannot forbear mentioning now. For though the true cause of his and his reputed wife's being clapped up in Newgate, was their forging several bills of exchange, and receiving the money upon them, for which they both then stood convicted, and had been pilloried; yet he solemnly protests, and thanks God, that he was not a prisoner for any ill thing, but only because an Irishman (whom I pray God forgive, these are his very words) swore against me, that, by virtue of bills, I raised money for the use of King James: whereas (says he) you all remember I stood up for the church of England, and stood in the gap against the Roman Catholicks in the worst of times.

But after a short time of sojourning here, of about six weeks, or two months, in the year 1687, Robert Young soon perceived, that the poor town of Bromley was not a proper seat for him to set up his rest in; where he could only expect a bare subsistence by reading prayers, as a substitute to one who was himself a substitute to the chaplain of the college: whereas he knew, and had practised, a far more ready way of getting a plentiful livelihood: whether honest or dishonest he mattered not.

Wherefore, removing hence to Wapping, and thence to Whitechapel, he began to look out for some fitter place for a new scene of action; where he might more profitably exercise his best-beloved faculty of counterfeiting hands and seals.

At length he cast his eye on St. Albans, a town, which, by reason of its great trade, and convenient distance from London, and, being so great a thorough-fair, he pitched on to practise in it some of the cleanliest feats, I must say, of his knavish dexterity in that kind.

Between St. Albans and London, he began to ply in the beginning of the year 1688, and it was not long before he crept into a great familiarity in the post-house there. By what arts of courtship he became so intimate on a sudden in the family, I leave it to the ensuing papers to inform my reader.

However, by this means, he procured the absolute command of

all the mails of that road; and so had the opportunity of opening and perusing, and taking out, and putting in, what letters he pleased, between the chief traders of those parts, and their correspondents in London.

Having thus furnished himself with proper tools, and chosen as fit a shop to work in, as any in England, he presently fell to his usual way of commerce; whereof I shall only mention three or four instances; they being the very same for which he and his supposed wife were afterwards condemned of forgery at the Old Bailey.

His first cheat was thus: in July 1688, he went to Northampton, and, under the name of Robert Smith, paid to Mr. John Clarke, an inhabitant there, the sum of twenty pounds, and took his bill of exchange for it, to one Mr. Jonathan Kendall of London: Mr. Clarke also sending a letter of advice, that he had drawn such a bill upon him for the use of Mr. Robert Smith.

Robert Young, whom we must now call Robert Smith, forged another bill verbatim by the true one, for the same sum of twenty pounds, payable to himself under the same false name; and, straight coming up to London, delivered the forged bill to Mr. Kendall; which being so very exactly done, Mr. Kendall made no delay of paying it, and had Robert Smith's receipt, dated July 16.

As soon as this was over, honest Robert immediately took horse, and hasted down to Northampton; where, arriving on July 17, he forthwith went to Mr. Clarke, and told him, that he had offered his bill at London, but Mr. Kendall refused to pay it, and therefore desired his money again, producing the true bill; which Mr. Clarke receiving, and seeing no imaginable cause of distrust, paid the twenty pounds without demurr.

Thus far Mr. Clarke and Mr. Kendall only sustained the loss of twenty pounds, and, perhaps, somewhat smiled at the clever contrivance. But that which next follows, was more extraordinary, and struck deeper into their purses.

And how can my reader now think it probable, that both Mr. Clarke and Kendall should be again cheated by the same hand, of a much greater sum, within less than three months after? Yet so it really happened; and, in such a manner, that it was almost impossible for the wit of man to prevent it.

His second St. Albans cheat, therefore, was this. Being now become perfect in the exact character of Mr. Clarke's writing, he forged a bill, dated October 5, 1688, as drawn by Mr. Clarke on Mr. Kendall, for one hundred and fifty pounds, payable at sight to his own Mary Young, under the name of Mrs. Mary Clarke.

And, because there was a necessity that a letter of advice should go before the bill, he counterfeited one also in this manner: In the Northampton bag, which he opened at St. Albans, he found a long letter written to Mr. Kendall by Mr. Clarke, touching divers particular affairs then transacting between them. This letter he intercepted, transcribed it throughout, and, about the middle of his false copy, inserted these words, that he had drawn on Mr. Kendall a bill of one hundred and fifty pounds, to be paid upon sight to

Mrs. Mary Clarke; and so went on with the other business, as in the true letter. This forged letter he put into the Northampton mail; so it went safe to Mr. Kendall at London.

The next morning after, Mrs. Mary Clarke came to him with her bill. Whereupon Mr. Kendall, not in the least suspecting that the bill or letter of advice were forged, because he was confident, they were both of Mr. Clarke's own hand writing, and the letter giving him an account of several other bnsinesses, which he thought could not possibly be known to any, but to Mr. Clarke, and himself, he presently paid to Mary Clarke the one hundred and fifty pounds, and so lost the whole sum beyond recovery.

His third cheat on the same road was in this manner; about the latter end of February, in the same year, 1688, he sent his second false-self now again under the name of Mary Young, to Mr. Jonathan Mathew of Daventry in Northamptonshire. She paid him nine pounds; for which he gave her a bill of exchange upon Mr. Richard Shipton of London, payable to the said Mary Young, which she received March the 14th.

By this true original of Mr. Mathew's own hand, on the 18th of March following, he forged another bill in the name of the said Mr. Mathew, for two hundred pounds, charged also on the said Mr. Shipton. And having still the liberty to search the Daventry mail at St. Albans, and finding there a letter from Mr. Mathew to Mr. Shipton, he made the same use of it as he had done that of Mr. Clarke's to Mr. Kendall; transcribed it intirely, and, in the same surreptitious manner as before, put in an advice of his having drawn a bill of two hundred pounds, and for whom, which letter was immediately sent by the post to Mr. Shipton.

The false bill and letter of advice, I am assured, was so accurately counterfeited, that Mr. Mathew himself could not discover the difference, nor disown it upon view; but only in that he was certain he had never drawn any bill of that importance.

Mr. Shipton therefore was easily deceived by the similitude of hands; and Robert Young having sent Mary to London, to receive the money, he paid it without the least scruple; since this letter of advice also mentioned other things which Mr. Shipton knew to be true.

Mr. Mathew, as soon as Mr. Shipton sent him word, that he had paid in his name a sum so considerable, dispatched immediately a servant up to London, to let him know, he had never drawn any such bill upon him, and had given him this timely notice, that, if possible, he might retrieve the money.

Thenceforth, they both used all imaginable endeavours to discover the authors of the fraud. Which Mary Young perceiving, by their frequent letters to each other, Robert having still the advantage of opening at St. Albans; she wrote Mr. Mathew a most insulting letter; telling him, that she had made bold to borrow of Mr. Shipton two hundred pounds upon his credit, but would repay it, when she was able. And, to amuse him the more in his search, she added a flam story, that she had got his hand by corrupting

one of the letter-carriers in London; and that, therefore, he need not trouble himself to enquire any farther about the matter: subscribing herself, Mary Young, alias Brown, alias Stewart, alias Forbes, alias Boner, &c. of which pretty piece of impudent raillery, my reader shall have the true copy, when it comes in its course.

His last forgeries practised at St. Albans, that have come within my observation, were upon Mr. Olds of Coventry, and Mr. Billers of London.

But, before I proceed to these, I must acquaint my reader, that Robert Young had owed Mr. Olds aud Mr. Billers an ancient grudge, of as long standing as the year 1683; because then he could only defraud them of ten pounds, and a ring, and not of one hundred pounds, as he designed. The case was thus:

Robert Young, in June 1683, forged a bill in the name of Mr. Joseph Olds of Coventry, for one hundred pounds, upon Mr. John Billers of London, payable at sight.

He likewise forged a letter of advice of the said bill, which he procured to be put into some post upon the road. And accordingly it was delivered in London to Mr. Billers, on June the 12th.

The next day, being June the 13th, Robert Young, in a canonical habit with a scarf on, presented to Mr. Billers the forged bill for one hundred pounds; the counterfeit was exact, and Mr. Billers had received a letter of advice before; whereupon he straight ordered his cash-keeper to pay the Reverend Mr. Young his bill.

Robert, seeing the money come so freely, would have taken it upon content; the servant would not pay it, except he would tell it over; which at length he did.

But, before he could carry it away, the servant whispering this to his master, and Mr. Billers himself observing something in the bill, that gave him reason to suspect it, came to them, and said to Robert, that he desired to be better satisfied in the said bill, and that he was the person, whose right it was to receive it, since he knew him not.

Robert replied, he was a country minister, altogether a stranger in town, and known to none but the Archbishop of Canterbury. 'Well, said Mr. Billers, when you bring me any of the archbishop's 'gentlemen to give me an account of his grace's knowledge of you, 'you shall presently have the money.'

But Robert pretended very urgent occasions for it, and that he was to pay away some of it that night; and therefore earnestly intreated he might have the whole, or at least ten pounds of it for the present. Mr. Billers consented to this last request; Mr. Young gave a receipt for the ten pounds; and, to prevent a farther trouble of telling the money again, Mr. Billers desired him to seal the rest up in the bag where it was put. Mr. Young had no seal. Mr. Billers pulled off his finger a gold ring set with a cornelian stone; bid Mr. Young seal the bag with it; gave the ring into his keeping, and appointed him to bring it again the next day, when he came for the residue of the money. Mr. Young very fairly went away with the ten pounds and the ring, but never came again for the

remainder of his bill, or to bring witness, that he was acquainted with the archbishop.

Having now set forth this matter of fact of Mr. Billers's keeping back ninety pounds from Mr. Robert Young, even just when he was in the very act of receiving it, I leave it to my reader to judge, whether Robert did not owe him a good turn. My next business is to shew how he paid it him: some years, indeed, had passed, before he took his revenge; which I somewhat wonder at; but he took it at last to some purpose.

The manner how it was done I shall express as briefly as I can, because the circumstances of this were very near the same with his other aforementioned St. Albans, forgeries.

About the middle of February. 1688, he sent his faithful instrument Mary, under the name now of Mrs. Sarah Harris, to pay the same Mr. Olds ten pounds at Coventry, for which he gave her a bill of exchange upon the same Mr. Billers, payable at sight: So, for very good cause, Robert took care all, or most of his bills should be worded.

By this means Robert renewed his acquaintance with Mr. Olds's hand, and soon perfected himself in it, by watching over all his letters of correspondence with Mr. Billers, which must come from Coventry through St. Albans, where he governed those who governed the post-house.

Being thus prepared, he began at first to play at small game, that he might keep his hand in use; for, finding in one of Mr. Olds's letters two bills, the one of fourteen pounds ten shillings, the other of twenty pounds, both payable to Mr. Billers, he took possession of the letter, forged indorsements on the bills, in the name of Mr. Billers, that they should be paid to his servant, James Moreton (whose true name was James Young, and he was really Robert's servant) and accordingly both these bills were paid, Aug. 5, 1689, to James Moreton, alias Young; as, it seems, nothing can belong to Robert Young, without being intitled to an alias.

This James Moreton, alias Young, I say, did actually receive both the bills; and, thinking it was but reasonable he should have a share in the profit, as he had in the knavery, paid the sum of the one bill to his master, and kept the other to himself: the first cheat (and the last, I believe) that was ever put upon Mr. Robert Young.

But, after these less gainful experiments, it seems, Robert Young thought it now a fit season, that his main plot upon Mr. Olds and Mr. Billers should begin to work; for, by his long familiarity with the northern mails, he had learned, that, at this time, there was a considerable cash of Mr. Olds remaining in the hands of Mr. Billers.

Wherefore, by the same method which he had used in his other cheats of this kind, he forged a bill of two hundred pounds to be paid at sight to the same Mrs. Sarah Harris, proceeding in the same steps as before; that is, he intercepted one of Mr. Olds's letters, transcribed it, adding an advice of having drawn the said bill of two

hundred pounds for Mrs. Sarah Harris; then suppressed the true letter, and put the false one into the post; which was delivered to Mr. Billers, at London, upon August the 11th, 1689.

The next morning came Mrs. Sarah Harris to Mr. Billers, and produced her forged bill. He could discover no deceit in the hand, owned he had received the letter of advice, and was just giving order for the payment; when, by good fortune, he recollected, that he had heard Mr. Shipton of Friday-street had, not long before, been defrauded after the same manner, by a woman coming, as this did, in the morning, and of the same sum of two hundred pounds.

The fresh remembrance of this gave him just grounds of being jealous of the like trick; so that, while the money was telling out, he thought it would not be amiss to send and desire Mr. Shipton to come and take a view of this Mrs. Harris, intimating the reason why he sent for him.

Mr. Shipton came accordingly, and, upon the first sight, declared her to be the same Mary Young, that had lately cheated him of his two hundred pounds.

She, being thus unexpectedly charged with this crime, confessed it upon the place; whereupon she was apprehended, and committed to the King's-bench, after she had received above five-hundred pounds, in a short space, by the like ways, whilst she was such a kind of agent at London for Robert Young as my reader will find she owned upon oath afterwards at Litchfield.

But in the King's-bench I must leave her for a short time, that I may look out after her dear friend, and inquire how he behaved himself, in this sad catastrophe of their affairs, after they had so long proceeded smoothly and prosperously.

It was high time for him now to intermit his correspondencies at St. Albans, and to remove to a greater distance from London; so that the next footsteps, I have traced of his rogueries, were at Litchfield; whither, I find also, he had made some excursions in the year 1688: but now, in the year 1689, it seems, he went thither, resolving to settle there for some time.

There he appeared in a genteel habit, with his man, James Young, alias Moreton, to wait upon him: there he personated again an Irish clergyman, of considerable preferments in that church, and a plentiful temporal estate. He kept two horses, rode often abroad in an equipage, rather fitting a highway-man, than a divine. He had plenty of gold and silver, and some plate; the product, no doubt, of his late cheats upon Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Mathew, and Mr. Olds, besides some remains, probably, of what was collected for Mr. Green, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Smith, whilst they, good men, perhaps, lay in prison for it, all the while.

During his abode at Litchfield, he professed himself to be a single man, and, upon that pretence, made love to divers women, in the way of marriage; believing, that his former Mary was lodged so safely in the King's-bench, that she could never get out to disturb his designs.

But there he was deceived: for, when the fire broke out in Southwark, she made her escape, and so had leisure to look out after him, and came time enough, to prevent his intended marriage.

For just then he was in close pursuit of a young woman at Tamworth, who had at least one thousand pounds to her portion, and he was in great probability of obtaining her. But Mary, having got loose by the above-mentioned accident, wrote him divers letters, that all her money was spent; that she would be with him shortly, though she begged by the way. Which, at last, she made good, and arrived there, some few days before his new-designed wedding, and challenged him for her husband. Or else, undoubtedly, he had served Mary Hutt the same trick, for the sake of a thousand pounds, as my reader will find, he really served Anne Yeabsly, for one hundred and fifty pounds.

But this had like to have cost Mary her life: for Robert, being inraged at the disappointment, practised with his man, to meet her in her coming down; and either to cut her throat, or drown her. And, when he refused (which was a wonderful honesty in any one, that could submit to be his man) Robert's next attempt was to dispatch and kill his man, as he went abroad, one day, with him a shooting.

My reader, no doubt, will be amazed at this horrible story; yet I say no more than what his man himself declared upon oath, at Litchfield, and what all the country thereabout believes to be true.

But, the gun not going off, his man fled from him, first to Litchfield, and thence to Coventry; where he acquainted Mr. Olds, a mercer there, whom I have already so often mentioned, with the several cheats, that his master Robert Young had formerly acted upon him, by forging bills of exchange.

Mr. Olds, having never before, by all his search, been able to discover the contrivers of those forgeries, without delay, repaired to Litchfield, and lighted upon Robert Young, whilst he was yet in flush of money and plate;-which he pretended to have brought out of Ireland, where he affirmed, he was a dean.

Mr. Robert, being thus unawares charged with all these cheats, freely confessed them all to Mr. Olds: and, that he might not lose his new-gotten reputation in the church there, and all his hopes at once, privately made up the business, and repaid to Mr. Olds all he could demand: that is to say, the fourteen pounds, ten shillings; the twenty pounds; and the ten pounds; and the value of the gold ring: which unlucky blow to his fortune made him, for the future, be content to be served without plate.

But this was also the occasion of a worse mischief, that shortly after befel Robert Young and Mary; I say Mary also. For, before this, she arrived safe at Litchfield; and though, at first, he positively denied her to be his wife, and forswore her too, according to his custom; yet, in a short time, I know not how, they were pieced together again, as seeming indeed to be born for one another's society.

I have already told my reader, that Mr. Mathew of Daventry had used all possible industry, and written a vast number of letters, and made many fruitless journies, in quest of the author of his two-hundred pound forgery. But all in vain, till now the noise of it, spreading all over the country, came, at length, to Mr. Olds at Coventry. He presently gave intimation by letter to Mr. Mathew, how he himself had likewise been cheated of divers less sums, and recovered them again, by composition: and that his knave was still in a flourishing condition at Litchfield; and he might probably be the same man.

Mr. Mathew, upon this intelligence, quickly posted down to Litchfield: beset the house, over night, where Robert and Mary lodged; the next morning Mary was soon taken, and Robert also, after above an hour's search, was pulled out from under a heap of furz, in a corner of the cellar.

They both immediately confessed the fact; and Robert would fain have stopped Mr. Mathew's mouth, as he had done Mr. Olds's, with the small relicks of his ill-gotten wealth.

But, that not sufficing for a sum so considerable, Robert stoutly denied all again, and defied him to do his worst: whereupon they were both clapped up in Litchfield gaol.

During this time, news was come to the secretaries' office at Whitehall, of the aforesaid violations on the post office, at St. Albans: and that the persons offending were in custody at Litchfield. Whereupon, the Right Honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury, then principal Secretary of State, granted a warrant to Mr. Legatt, the king's messenger, to bring them up to town, as being accused for dangerous practices against the government: the persons, abused by the former forgeries, giving their consent, that they should be so removed.

Mr. Legatt brought them up, and laid them first in the Gatehouse in Westminster; whence, by a warrant of the lord chief justice, they were removed into London, and lodged safely (one would have thought) in Newgate.

To Newgate, they had directly steered their courses the greatest part of their lives; and thus, at last, wrought their way thither, *per varios casus, per tot discrimina.* There they were tried and condemned for those forgeries, and underwent again the punishment of the pillory; he being fined, for one fault, a hundred marks; for the other, a hundred marks; and she twenty marks.

If my reader shall ask, why Robert was found guilty of no more than two of these cheats? It was, because there was no other proof against him for the rest, but the confession of Mary, who plainly confessed him to be the author of all. But that, it seems, in law, is not evidence sufficient, because they supposed her to be his wife; it was a pity the judges and jury had not known how little she was his lawful wife.

However, in Newgate they continued above two years, for want of payment of these fines, till the 25th of May last, when his fines were paid: I suppose his wife's fine was discharged too. For

they both came forth in triumph, and new cloaths on, that day, with the association in their hands; after they had prevailed with Blackhead to steal it in, and steal it out of my chimney.

Thus, according to the fashion, I have given a true pourtraict of these precious evidences of a new plot. My next business will be to exemplify all this more largely, by authentick proofs: which, if I mistake not, I shall do so unquestionably, that none shall be able to disbelieve what I say against Young, but such as can believe what Young has said against me.

But first I will dispatch Blackhead: touching whom, I will only give a copy of the record of the sessions at the Old Bailey, where he was condemned for forgery.

London ss. Deliberat' Gaol' Dominor' Regis & Regin' de Newgate tent' pro Civitat' London, apud Justice-Hall in le Old Bayly, London, die Jovis (scil.) 15° die Januarii, Anno Regni Will' & Mar' nunc Regis & Regin' Angl' prim' &c.

'Felix Don Lewis, Thomas Patrick, Steph. Blackhead, Convict' 'pro fabricand' & publicand' falsum Script' Obligator' in Nomine 'cujusd' Thom' Faulkener pro summ' 60l. ponantur & quilibet 'eor' ponatur supra Pillor' uno die in Cornhill prope Excamb' 'London ab hora undecima ante Merid' usq; ad hor' prim' post 'Merid' ejus diei: Et quilibet eor' habeant un' aur' ibid' absciss' & 'quod quilibet eor' habeat & sustineat imprisonament' in Gaol' de 'Newgate per spatium unius anni integri sine Bal' vel Manucaptur' 'juxta form' Statut' ejusd'.'

By this it appears, Blackhead and his two companions were convicted of cheating one Mr. Faulkener of sixty pounds, by a false bill or bond; and were condemned to stand in the pillory in Cornhill near the Exchange, for two hours; to lose each of them an ear; and to continue prisoners, for twelve months, without bail or mainprize in Newgate: where, no doubt, that intimacy between Blackhead and Young was contracted, which had been so fatal to me, had not God marvellously defeated their conspiracy against me.

Having thus, for the present, rid my hands of Blackhead, I proceed next to Young. And, the first scene of his villainies, that have come to my knowledge, having been in Ireland, I will now give certain demonstration of the particulars, out of the original papers themselves: which seem to me to describe the caitiff so plainly, that I need only set them down in their order, without any comment of mine upon them.

The principal crimes, I have already objected against him in Ireland, were his marrying a second wife, whilst his first was alive: his counterfeiting certificates for deacon's orders; his intirely forging of his priest's orders; and his feigning the knowledge of a dangerous plot, in that kingdom; wherein he would make out, that divers great persons were engaged.

There are, also, several others of his rogueries, such as his having a bastard by a kitchen-wench, at Castle-Reah, whilst he was, a short

time, curate there; his lewd life, and cheating divers people of money by counterfeit bills, at Tallogh, where he was also sometimes curate: his running away with another man's horse, when he was forced to flee thence, for his other pranks, and the like. All these, and more such, will come in, as by the by; and it will be enough for me only to give my reader this notice, to mark them in the papers I am going to produce: the method of which shall be this:

First, He shall have Robert Young's general character, in a letter from the present Lord Archbishop of Dublin; and another from the Lord Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin: both written so long ago, as the year 1683: whilst he was only under suspicion at Lambeth; and before he had entered upon so many vile practices in England.

In these letters, he is, even then, described to be as wicked a lyar, as the little Carmelite friar Moor, and to be as very a rogue as the Spanish wits have fancied their Gusman. Who the Carmelite friar was, I knew not; Gusman is sufficiently known. But, in the sequel, it will appear, that our rogue has far outdone the very Spanish romance of theirs.

Secondly, He shall have the Lord Bishop of Raphoe Hopkins's letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, when R. Young was apprehended in that diocese, under the name of Robert Hopkins; for which name also he shewed his forged letters of priest's orders, upon his examination by the said bishop, which shall also follow.

Thirdly, Here are the copies of the original certificates confirming the truth of both his marriages.

Fourthly, Here are divers letters of Robert Young's own hand, when he was imprisoned at Cavan, and in danger of his life for having two wives.

1. A letter to one Justice Waldrum, to offer him a bribe, if he would take bail for him.

2. Another letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, confessing some of his knaveries, but solemnly denying his having married two wives.

Next, here is a letter to Roger Yeabsly, brother to his first wife Ann Yeabsly, alias Apsly.

Then another to George Yeabsly, her father; then two letters to herfelf.

In all these he confesses his two marriages: however, proposes, to her and her brother, a way to save his life by forswearing themselves: that they should get a certificate at Cork, signed by a publick notary, that Ann Yeabsly was really married to one Robert Young, and that Roger her brother was present at the marriage, and that then they should both come to Cavan, and, upon his trial, deny that he was the man; and, if they did him this service, he promised, with horrible imprecations upon himself, that he would only stay to receive Mary Hutt his second wife's portion, and then run away with Ann Yeabsly, his first wife, into England.

Lastly, To compleat all, I will produce two of his letters to his

second wife Mary Hutt; the one after he had fled out of the diocese of Kilmore; the other after he had got to Iniskillin out of Cavan gaol.

The first is full of the like blasphemous curses and execrations upon himself, if ever he was married to any other woman but her; therefore inviting her to come and relieve him, with dreadful promises and vows of never forsaking her.

In the second, to say nothing of his impudent reviling of the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, he desires her to steal away from her friends to him, and to bring the bond with her (a true one, without doubt) to bring also all the money she could get, and to be sure to pay no body; which was accordingly done, and so with her he fled, and took sanctuary in England.

A Letter from Dr. Foley, containing part of a letter from the present Lord Archbishop of Dublin, concerning Robert Young; written in the Year 1683, *to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Tunbridge, June 27, 1683.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

LAST night I received a letter from my Lord Archbishop of Dublin, concerning Mr. Young; part of it runs thus:

'If he be Robert Young whom I degraded, he is the veriest villain alive: he has now, or had when I knew him, several wives living. A notorious cheat, has counterfeited several hands and seals, by which he has deceived men of money, and stolen into credit and holy orders. He has been in several gaols, as namely Lifferd, where he was laid up by the Bishop of Raphoe, now Derry, who is going now for London; and, if you can procure him to see him, I am confident he remembers him well enough. He was long in Cavan gaol, and to be tried for his life; where I got, and have by me, very many of his papers, which would enable any man to write the Scotchman's life, which I think would transcend the Spanish rogue. For fear he should hang in his gown, by the advice of the lord primate, I degraded him for the least of his villainies; because the canon was express, and he guilty, as was proved, of marrying without license. In brief, he is a notorious wicked man, and so well furnished with the necessary instruments of it, that I think friar Moor, the late convert, cannot exceed him in lying. He is a black swarthy man, of a suspicious countenance. He has several names. He assumed mine at some places; Hopkins' at Raphoe; and was here lately by the name of Brown; but, hearing that I was here, I suppose, made off again. The last wife he married was one Simon Hutt's daughter, of Cavan. I send you the inclosed, which I pray reserve for me. It is a letter he wrote to his second wife, after he fled from me. Keep the letter for me; I send it, because I am mightily of opinion he is the man. Here is another letter to his former wife, Ann Yeabsly, at the same time; by which you will be satisfied that Robert Young is a very

'ingenious person, and a man of deep contrivance. Had he been 'in time and place, he would have made an excellent evidence; 'and, had that trade gone on, I had doubtless been in a plot; for 'he declared he had a plot to discover, in which some noblemen 'and several bishops were concerned. I am confident I had been 'one; and the Bishop of Waterford (whose hand and seal he coun-'terfeited to me, and the Bishop of Elphin) another; from whom 'he pretended orders, and the bishop disowned upon my letter to 'him.'

Dublin, *June* 2, 1683. Thus far the Archbishop.

I send inclosed to your grace the two letters, which my lord sent me, and beg your grace will please to keep them by you, till I can wait on you for them; because he desires to have them again. I am bold to say, that your grace will hereafter be a little suspicious of clergymen who come out of Ireland, without better testimonials; and that it will be for the honour of our clergy and university, that wicked and ignorant men, who pretend to be of them, and are not, be animadverted on by your grace, with some severity. I beg your grace's blessing, and am,

Your grace's, &c.

SAM. FOLEY.

'*A Letter from the Lord Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, now Archbishop of Cashel, to Dr. Foley, concerning the same Robert Young; written in the Year* 1683.

SIR, *Dublin, June* 2,

ACCORDING to your desire, I waited on my Lord Archbishop of Dublin, to inquire of his grace concerning one Young, whom he degraded for several notorious crimes; as having two wives, counterfeiting the Archbishop of Cashel's hand to the Bishop of Killaloo, for his being made deacon; which the bishop (not discovering the cheat) did; and then his counterfeiting the Bishop of Clogher's hand for the order of priesthood, which he never had: he went likewise under several names, and was in several gaols, particularly in that at Cavan for a great while. The man, my lord says, is about his grace's own stature, that is, somewhat tall; neither lean nor corpulent; of a pretty long, black, ill visage; his hair, if his own, is black, thin, pretty long, and hangs flag without any curls. He is a Scotchman, about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age; and will lye as fast as the little Carmelite fryer Moor (to use his grace's own expression). And this is all I can say of him. I am,

Yours, &c.

NARCISSUS FERNS and LEIGHLIN.

A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, from Bishop Hopkins, then Lord Bishop of Raphoe; written in the Year 1680, *concerning Robert Young's apprehension in his Diocese, under the name of R. Hopkins.*

MY LORD, *Raphoe, Nov.* 11, 80.

YOUR lordship's to me came very seasonably, that is, one day before Mr. Young: and he came very confidently, expecting much kindness for name's-sake: for he thought it fit to assume mine; and, at his first accost, thrust into my hands letters dimissory, lewdly forged, as from the Bishop of Killaloo; with the seal to them vilely cut, and the date of *octo die Octobris*. This alone would have given me suspicion of an imposture; but, being forewarned by your lordship, I was certain I had the man, though he lurked under another name. The contents of the letters were the amplest form of commendations, which I keep by me, but shall remit when your lordship requires it. I put many cross interrogatories to him, till, at last, one lye so contradicted another, that the man was perfectly confounded, and began to speak truth. There were two other justices then with me: we took his examination, a copy of which I have sent here inclosed. When I pressed him upon the point of polygamy, he utterly denied it, as indeed it concerned him; as also that he ever was at Londonderry, much more that ever he was school-master there; and this some who were present believe to be truth. Besides, some affirm, that, to their knowledge, Sarah Mallon, who was afterwards married to one Young, was upon his decease, married to one Mr. Laughtin, a minister in the diocese of Londonderry, with whom she now lives. I know not whether he can be so well vindicated from others, for your lordship speaks of two or three more. However, his misdemeanors and forgeries were so many, that we committed him to the county-gaol, where, I hope, he will not long continue. For, as at your lordship's desire I have secured him, so I must desire that your lordship would speedily take order to have him sent where the fullest evidence may be given against him.

I am,

Your lordship's, &c.

EZECHIEL RAPHOE.

The Examination and Confession of R. Young, before the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, and others, in the Year 1680.

County Donegal.

THE voluntary examination of R. Young, late of the parish of Kildallin, in the diocese of Kilmore, and county of Cavan, clerk, taken at Raphoe the 10th of November, 1680, before the Right Reverend Father in God, Ezechiel Lord Bishop of Raphoe, Richard Inett, clerk, and Matthew Cocken, Esq; justices of the peace of the said county of Donegal.

Who being voluntarily examined, upon suspicion of being guilty

of several forgeries and misdemeanors, saith, that he was curate at the said parish of Kildallin for three quarters of a year; that he came thence in October last; that he had not any certificate or dismiss from the bishop of that diocese; that he confessed the counterfeiting of letters dimissory from the Lord Bishop of Killaloo, and the seal and subscription thereof are false; as also the name of R. Hopkins in those letters dimissory mentioned, he intended to have taken on him; but that his own name is Robert Young; that he was about three years since ordained deacon by the Bishop of Killaloo. That he is a married man; and that his wife's name is Hutt, daughter to Simon Hutt, and is now with her father in the town of Cavan; that he was never married before: and saith, that he is not guilty of counterfeiting any letters of orders: but confessed, that he did counterfeit and forge a letter from one Dr. Smith of Limerick, to the Bishop of Killaloo, upon which letter, he ordained the said examinate deacon, as aforesaid, and further saith not.

Capt. coram nobis — *Robert Young.*
Ezechiel Rapotenei.
Rich. Inett.
Mat. Cocken.

Copies of the original Certificates and Papers, confirming the truth of both Robert Young's Marriages, and both his Wives being alive at the same Time.

The Certificate upon oath of George Yeabsly, or Apsly, his first Wife's Father, concerning R. Young's first marriage, with three other certificates of his Cheats.

Memorandum, *Jan.* 17, 1680.

THE day and year above written, George Apsly, of the Breedas, in the parish of Arda, in the county of Cork, yeoman, came before me, Richard Pine, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, and made oath, that on, or about the 18th of May last was five years past, he, this deponent, was present, and gave his daughter, Ann Apsly, in marriage with one Mr. Robert Young, clerk, at Ralph-cormack in the county aforesaid: and that he saw them lawfully joined in matrimony (Dr. Smith, minister) and lived together several years afterwards. He afterwards, that is to say, about two years last past, was curate under Mr. Francis Beecher, in the parish of Tallogh, in the county of Waterford; and that his daughter Ann had three children born and begot by him, and that she, his daughter, is now living,

Jurat. coram me R. Pine. — GEORGE APSLY.
17 *Die* Jan. *Ann. Dom.* 1680.

Thom. Neesham, *Notario publico præsente.*

Jan. 17, 1680.

I Richard Burt of Tallogh, in the county of Waterford, Esq.; do certify, that (upon perusal of the within contents) the within

named Robert Young was entertained and licensed as a curate in the parish abovesaid, and afterwards deposed for reasons unknown to me; but did soon after, viz. about Christmas 1679, feign and counterfeit my name and hand writing to an acquaintance and kinsman of mine at Fealber, for seven pounds (Mr. Cook by name) and did, by vertue of his other counterfeit letter in my name, receive (as I am assuredly told) the sum of three pounds of one Henry Russel of Clonmell. The truth of all which I certify under my hand and seal, the day and year above written.

RICHARD BURT, Vice Com.

Jan. 17, 1680.

I Thomas Elms of Tallogh in the county of Waterford, feltmonger, do certify, that the aforenamed R. Young, on, or about the first of December, 1679, did hire an horse, with bridle and saddle, to ride to Cashel, of me, at the rate of twelve pence per day; all which he hath deceived me of to my great damage. And I certify under my hand the day and year abovesaid.

his
THOMAS † ELMS,
mark.

Being present,

Richard Burt, *Vice Com.* — Garret Roche.
Francis Foulke. — Roger Power.
Thom. Neesham, *Notarius Publicus.*

The counterfeit Bill of Mr. Burt.

SIR, *Tallogh*, 17 *Dec.* 1679.

THE bearer hereof, Mr. Robert Young, minister of our town, is bound for Cashel to the archbishop, to pay some money. Therefore I intreat you to do me that great kindness, as to let him have three pounds, and I will pay you, when you call for it. If you do me this courtesy I will requite you for it; so hoping you will not fail, I rest your loving friend,

RICHARD BURT.

To Mr. Henry Russel,
Goldsmith, at Clonmell.

December 18, 79.

RECEIVED of Henry Russel the Summ of three pound: I say, received by me.

R. YOUNG, Clerk.

The Certificate of divers other Persons, touching Robert Young's first Marriage.

WE, whose names are subscribed, do hereby certify all whom it may concern, that R. Young, who lately supplied the cure

at Tallogh, was, as we are credibly informed, married at Rathcormack, by Dr. William Smith, to Ann, the daughter of George Yeabsly, about five years since; during which time, the said Robert Young and Ann did cohabit, or dwell together, as man and wife, at the house of the said George Yeabsly; where they had three children; which said George Yeabsly and Ann his daughter do now dwell at Monoth, within four miles of this town of Tallogh. All which we do certify this twenty-first day of January, 1680.

Thomas Peecher, *Prebend. de* Clashmore.
Richard Gist. Richard Giles.
John Yeabsly. George Oburn,
William Gist Robert Benger.
William Page. Francis Cooper.
Thomas Clark. Thomas Bateman.
Richard Burt, *Vice Com.*

The Certificate of the Dean of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young's second Marriage with Mary Hutt.

I Edward Dixy, Dean of Kilmore, do hereby own and acknowledge, that I married Robert Young, formerly clerk and curate of Kildallin, in the diocese of Kilmore, and Mary Hutt, daughter of Simeon Hutt, of the town of Cavan, vintner, on the first day of July last, in the presence of the under-named persons, and others, who, with myself, do hereby certify the same, and subscribe hereunto this 5th of March, Ann. Dom. 1680.

Edward Dixy, *Decan.* Kilmor. Lettis Hart, jun.
Hen. Gillorist, *Notar. Public.* Ann Hollend.
Simeon Hutt. Alexander Makeland.
Lettis Hart, sen. Thomas Lavender.

AT the request of Mary Young, alias Hutt, we do hereby certify, that Robert Young, in the abovesaid certificate mentioned, lieth in the gaol of Cavan, and standeth charged with being the husband of two wives, viz. Mary Hutt, now resident in the corporation of Cavan, and one Ann Absly, in the county of Cork, unknown to us. And we do hereby desire some of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Cork, that they will be pleased to bind over the said Ann Absly, her father, and some other persons, who were present at the inter-marriage of the said Ann to the said Robert Young; that they may appear the 30th instant, to give their evidence against the said Robert Young,

Dated at Cavan, the 5th of March, 1680.

Humphry Perriot, *Vice Com.*
Richard Lewis.
Samuel Townly.
John Maxwell.
Henry Waldram, *Sov.* of Cavan.
Mer. Hart.

An Order of the Justices to summon George Yeabsly, his Son Roger, and Ann Young his Daughter, to appear at the Assizes at Cavan, at the Tryal of Robert Young.—By his Majesty's Lords Justices of the Assize for the Province of Munster.

WHEREAS George Absly of Breedas, in the parish of Arda, in the county of Cork, yeoman; Roger Absly of the same, in the said county, Yeoman, son to the said George Absly, and Ann Young, are material evidences in his majesty's behalf, against Robert Young, now prisoner in his majesty's goal of the county of Cavan, and charged with being married to two wives, both being alive: these are therefore, in his majesty's name, to will and require you, George Absly, Roger Absly, and Ann Young, to appear before his majesty's lords justices of assize for the north-west circuit of Ulster at Cavan, on the thirtieth day of this instant, then and there to give your evidence, in his majesty's behalf, against the said Robert Young. Whereof you may not fail, at your peril.

Dated at Cork, this seventeenth day of March, 1680.

Hen. Hen. WILLIAM DAVIS.

Robert Young's Letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, confessing his guilt of some Crimes, but denying his double Marriage.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

HAVING deliberately considered the evils I have really done, and the greater evils that have been mis-reported of me to your lordship, I cannot but acknowledge the justice of your lordship's displeasure; and I am now so far from making any defence for the disingenuous shifts, my necessities and fears have put me upon, that I have already been my own accuser, and do as much condemn myself as the severest judge can do. And I hope no temptation of secular advantage shall ever hereafter make me so far swerve from the severe rules of vertue, becoming a christian and a clergyman. But though I am willing, in all humility, to submit myself to your lordship's censure, for what I have done amiss: yet I hope your lordship's goodness will be my sanctuary, where I am manifestly wronged. There are so many persons of credit here, that knew the gentlewoman, that was affirmed, and, as I hear, sworn to be my wife in these parts; that I doubt not but it will be made clear to your lordship, that that report was the issue of ignorance and malice; and I hope a little time wil acquit me of what other reports I suffer under in that matter. But while I am here in confinement, I am in a manner debarred of all expedients to clear my innocence, at least to do it speedily. And, in the mean while, I suffer all the hardship of a goal amongst people, from whom I can expect no relief, and at so great a distance from such as might relieve me, that I can hope for little comfort from them. May it therefore please your lordship, so far to favour my innocence in this matter, as that I may be brought to hearing before your lordship:

where, if it appear that I have any other wife but her, with whom I have lived in your lordship's diocese, I shal quietly submit myself to the severity of the laws; if not, I hope my penitence and reformation may in time mitigate your lordship's just displeasure for the confessed faults of

Your lordship's

Lifford, Nov. 26, most humble suppliant,

1680. ROBERT YOUNG.

A Letter from Robert Young to Justice Waldram, offering him a Bribe to let him be bailed.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR WORSHIP,

MY mind I thought your worship understood, therefore if your worship does not understand what I mean (as I suppose you do) I will discover it to your worship. For may it please your worship, I have not any to make my complaint to, but to your worship. Therefore I most humbly beg your worship to take bayl, and I will give you forty shillings. Moreover, my brother will bring a letter from Captain Sanderson, that my brother is sufficient bayl, and that Captain Sanderson is satisfyed to take him, provided I get any other: and I, not being acquented with any, in these parts, fears I cannot procure another easily; but, if your worship will take any other bondsman with my brother, I will give you the aforesaid summ of money, before you take bayl: and I will take my oath to your worship, that I will not tell it to any body. Dear Mr. Waldram, do me that charity, for I ly in a sad condition; indeed, you will do me a singular kindness, and shew a great deal of charity, in so doing; for I know, if your worship please, it lys in your hands. I desire your worship not to discover any thing, to the bearer, or any other. I intreat your worship to write your worship's mind to me by the bearer, that I may send him for Captain Sanderson's letter to your worship. So I rest

Your worship's most humble suppliant to command,

ROBERT YOUNG.

A Letter from Robert Young to Roger Yeabsly, his Brother-in-law, to come and save his Life, by forswearing himself.

DEAR BROTHER, *Cavan, Feb. 5,* 1680.

COME along with me, with your sister, for I have fallen under a sad business, and I will loose my life, if you and your sister does not come to deny, that I am not the man. For Christ's sake, dear brother, come along with her, and I hope you shall not be the worse for it; for my life lyes in my wife's, and your hands: so that I am certain, you will do what lyes in you; if you do not come, I wil be put to death; but, if you and my wife comes, you may have many a merry day with me hereafter. So I rest

Your loving brother,

ROBERT YOUNG.

A Letter from Robert Young out of Cavan Gaol, to his first Wife, An Yeabsly, to the same Purpose.

WHEN I left you last, I came to Belturbet in the county of Cavan, where I served as curate for the space of half a year, and had thirty-five pounds a year. Upon which, I spoke to my brother-in-law to bring you down to me, but he seemed unwilling to go so far. At which time, I used too oft, which is my sorrow this day, at one Simon Hutt's in Cavan, cursed be the time, that ever I went there. Whereupon Simon Hutt profferred me a hundred and fifty pound with his daughter; and he getting me drunk one night, I was married to her, and was ready to cut my own throat, the next day; but I seeing what a priminary I had by my ludness brought myself in, I saw that it could not be avoided: whereupon I resolved only to stay till I had gott the money promised, and then to come to you, my dear honey, and so for you and I to go for England, where we should never be known. But my journey was stopt, for Simon Hutt heard something of my marriage to you, before the portion was paid, and so sent up to know, whether it was so, or no. And so the messenger brought word, that one Robert Young, a minister, was married to one Ann Yeabsly, daughter to George Yeabsly, near Tallogh: but, for all that the messenger brought, they knew not whether I was the man or no. So that it may be denied with safety, to preserve my life. For they have clapt me in gaole upon suspition, where I lye in a deplorable condition, and nobody to help me. Therefore, dear honey, for Christ's sake come to me, and bring my brother Roger along with you; for the assizes is the sixth of March; where I will be tried for my life, and there is not any in the world can preserve it, only you, my dear honey, if you come and say, that I am not the man, you were married to, and bring my brother Roger along with you to justifie the same; I wil be set at liberty, and then I shal get what money is promised, and go over to England with you. And I wish, that I may never thrive in this world, if ever I leave you hereafter; for I care no more for this husy, than for the durt under my shoo. O curse of God light on me if ever I leave you hereafter, if you prove so real to me, as to come and deny that I am none of your husband! for there is no way to save my life but that. I wish that I may never see the kingdome of God, if I do not prove as real, constant, and loving husband to you, as ever man did to woman. Dear heart, I know that I have committed a grievous and abominable fault; but I may blam bad company, and my drink for it. Therefore, for Christ's sake, dear honey, forgive me, and come along with the bearer, and clear me. And the curse of God light on me, if I prove false to you, after saving my life; for now my life lyes in your hands. I will earnestly repent for what I have done, and I hope God Almighty wil forgive me. If I had a hundred wives, it is you alone that is my lawfull wife, and shal be to my dying day; for Christ's sake, come and say, that I was not the man you were married to. I say, dear heart, come along with the bearer, and bring my brother Roger along with you. If you do not clear me,

I wil be put to death; and is it not better for you to come, and tell a ly to preserve your husband's life, and to enjoy him, as long as you live, and I lives; than for to have him put to death, and never to see him again? And this I will assure you, that there wil be an order from my lord chief justice to bring you down against the assizes: so that I sent the messenger to prevent that, by giving you timely notice; for you may come and stay in my brother-in-law's house, until such time as we do get our business done. And I wil go with you unknown to any body; so hoping you wil come and save the life of your loving husband; I rest, dear heart,

Your loving husband, and till death,

Cavan, Feb. 5,
1680. ROBERT YOUNG.

Here I have sent you the enclosed to my father, and my brother Roger.

Pray present my duty to my mother, and my love to my brother John, and William Haskins, and my sister Else; and my blessing to my poor child, if she be alive.

A Letter to her Father George Yeabsly from Robert Young, proposing the Means, how he might get off, by his Son and Daughter's perjuring themselves.

DEAR FATHER, *Cavan, Feb. 5,* 1680.

I Have declared the reasons and causes of my marriage, in my wife's letter, which you may peruse; therefore, dear father and mother, forgive me, for it was a folly of youth-hood, and, if you come to prosecute to put me to death, I cannot help it. But if you give your consent to my wife, to preserve my life, this shal be a warning to me so long as I live. O! dear father, you know that *David*, a man after God's own heart, was guilty of both murder and adultry. And therefore, dear father, preserve my life, if you please; and I protest to God Almighty, I wil never forsake my poor wife, your daughter, so long as life continues; for it is she, that is my lawfull wife. And therefore, for Christ's sake, dear father, send my dear wife and my brother Roger, to clear me by the same means, that I have prescribed in my wife's letter. If I were cleared, I could gett mony enough to do you and I good, as the bearer can tell you. After I am cleared, I will carry my wife and my brother Roger down to se my grany, whom I dare not as yet write to. If you have a mind to save my life, do not come yourself; but send my wife and my brother Roger down to me: and go to Tallow, and gett a certificate drawn, to have it signed by Mr. Burt, and Mr. Neesham, that Ann Yeabsly is your daughter, and that she was married to one Robert Young, that they may believe, she is the same woman; and that Roger Yeabsly is your son, and that he was standing by, when Robert Young was married to your daughter: and if you have a mind to save my life, they must deny, that I am the man: for there is no way to preserve my life, but that. Write also to

Simon Hutt, in Cavan, that you would a com't to se if it were the same person, to prosecute him, but only you fell sick; and therefore you sent your son and daughter, to prosecute, if it be the same man. So having no more at present to write. I rest

Your loving Son,

ROBERT YOUNG.

My duty to my mother, and love to my brother John, and sister Else, and my brother Haskins, and all the rest of our friends in general.

A Letter to his second Wife, Mary Hutt, denying his first Marriage with terrible Curses.

O, MY DEAR HEART,

YOU know it was for love of you that I brought this misery upon myself, God Almighty help me. I was fully resolved to tell you the contents of all my letters, whenever I could have the opportunity of speaking to you: for my landlady can tell you, that I was fully resolved to shew you the letters, but could not, by reason I could not gett speaking to you. O, my dear, have I thrown myself, for the love of you, into all this misery, and you to serve me thus: surely, if you have the heart of a stone, you will not do it. O, if I had but only you here, I would a reckoned all this nothing; but, if I be requited thus, I cannot help it. O, I wish to Christ I were ten foot under ground, and then you would have your hearts desire as I perceive. Those letters that I write, was only for that woman to come and clear me; for I was afraid, that, if I had writ any otherwise, she would not come. But, upon those letters, I was certain would a com't and cleared me. And then I was in good hopes to have enjoyed you again. If I had my liberty and your consent, I would quickly have brought you out of all your misery. I write purposely to that woman against you, for to have her come and clear me; which, if she did me justice, I am certain she cannot do to the contrary. I wish I may never leave this place alive, if ever I was married to any other woman upon the face of the earth, but you. But, if you will be pleased to give me a meeting, I will satisfy you why I write so to that woman; and you will find it so at long runing; though I dare not say that my soul is my own here. For Christ's sake take pity on me, and let me not starve in this deplorable condition. For God's sake pay my landlady but only for one month's diet unknown to any; and, if I do not prove, what I said formerly, to be truth, then never pay another week for me again. My dear heart, for Christ's sake do not heed these letters, for I write them only in design to gett my liberty, and to enjoy your sweet company again. God let me never se the face of God Almighty, if there was any other design in it. You may believe me a poor miserable soul. I hope you will take all this to consideration, for, if I had but only your favour, I did not care for any thing; but if not, pray put an end to my days. I wish that I

may never se the kingdome of God and Christ, if ever I was married to any woman but yourself. Indeed, I should not take such an oath as this, if I found myself guilty, and knowing not how long I have to live. O, my dear soul you wil believe any body before me; I have seen the day, you would not believe any before mee; but now, it seems, the case is altered. I wil take the sacrament tomorrow, and take it on my death if I were going to dye, that those letters were write upon no other design; O, I wish that I may never se the face of my Saviour, if ever I was married to any other woman but yourself. Surely you may believe me in this sad condition, and know not how long I have to live. If you wil but only to do me the charity as to come and speak to me, I wil give you full satisfaction why I write to Absly. If you remember, I told you somewhat of that woman before I left Belturbit. O my dear heart! will you not do me the charity as to give me a meeting, that I may satisfy you? O! wil you, my dear, leave me comfortless in this sad condition? God knows, I ly weeping and writing. I thought I was well enough so long as I had you on my sid; but now, it seems, all comfort is fleed from me. O wil not death make an end of this misery! if not, I wil, if I can conveniently. If you give me any comfort, I wil endeavour to clear myself, and take a good heart still: but if not, I wish they would put me out of this misery. For I am sure I shal die with a clear conscience. If you forsake me, I have none to take my part; but if not, I hope you and I shal have joyful days for all this. So, hoping you will pity my condition, I rest, dear soul,

Your loving husband till death,

ROBERT YOUNG.

I hope you will send me an answer by the bearer, what you are resolved to do. If you will pay for my diet unknown to any, my landlady will say, that she took my word.

Another Letter to her from Iniskillin, after he was got out of Cavan Gaol.

MY DEAR HEART,

I Am safely arrived at Iniskillin, and am well at present, and cares not for all your barking dogs at Belturbit and Cavan both. Let them do what they can, I care no more for them than I care for the silliest dog in the street. But, as to that, I will leave it off at present. I hope you are mindful of your promise to me in Harris's garden, made to me there. Here I have sent the bearer purposely for you, and I gave him 6s. for going for you. Dear heart, do not fail but come along with him to me, for my life lyes where you do. If I had your company, I did not care for all the world. Dear heart, I say again, come to me, for I will assure you have as many tears from my eyes, as there are letters in this letter, from your poor husband. Therefore, dear heart, if ever you intend to se me alive, come to me now; if you do not, I will make this

town my burial-place. I hope you will take no bodys counsell, in this case, but your own. If your friends will not let you come to me, pray (if you have any love for me) steal away to come to me. Send all your linnen and cloaths of woollen, and my cloaths also out before you, and seal all that you cannot bring along with you; and be sure not to pay a farthing to any body, but keep it yourself. Take my counsel, I desire you. Dear heart, you and the bearer may contrive the business I suppose, and be sure bring the bond or mony along with you, for you know I have but little mony when I pay the bearer. I could a had a place, but only it is too nigh your bishop, that dog. Do not fear, for I wil soon get a place if I would look for it. So, hoping you wil come to your poor husband, I rest, dear heart,

Your loving husband, till death do us part,
ROBERT YOUNG.

Pray do not trust any thing with the bearer, but come yourself. Dear heart, be sure to bring the bond along with you, if you love me; and all the papers that you find in my box. I hope you will not fail to perform all that small rule I have spoken.

All these letters of Robert Young's I have set down, just as I found them under his own hand, in his own way of spelling, as I shall do the rest of his which are to follow; and, perhaps, some reader or other, who is more acute in such matters, than I am, will shrewdly guess thereby, and by divers unusual words and expressions, and his manner of syntax, what country-man he is.

That, which next follows, is another of his disingenuous shifts (as he modestly calls them) performed also in Ireland, I mean, his profane invasions of holy orders; that of deacon, by deluding the Lord Bishop of Killaloo with forged certificates; that of presbyter, by his own sacrilegious self-ordination.

To prove this, I shall produce also the undoubted evidence of original writings; wherein, as in those foregoing, and indeed in most of the other papers, I have by me concerning him, it may easily be observed, that, besides the main crime they chiefly intend to prove, there is also, here and there, a casual mention made of divers other steps towards his present pitch of perfection.

And particularly, in this whole cheat relating to his orders, it may be observed, that he had always ready divers sets of testimonials, letters dimissory, and letters of orders fitted to his several names, and pretended to be from several bishops. But let the papers speak for themselves.

A Letter, from one Dr. Nicholson, of Castle-Reah, to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young's forging Certificates.

Castle-Reah, in the County of Roscommon,
Decemb. 22, 1680.

MY LORD,

I Received a letter from your lordship concerning Mr. Young; I am glad he is secured. Upon better recollection of his do-

ings, I remember exactly, that he produced letters of priests orders here, not from your lordship, as I at first supposed, but from the bishop of Killaloo, and that by the pretended recommendation of the Archbishop of Cashell, under whose hand he shewed a letter here, directed as to the Bishop of Killaloo; and another from the Bishop of Killaloo in answer to that, and to acquaint the archbishop, that he had ordained Mr. Young; several others here saw his letters. I hope his forgery and sacrilegious invasion of the priesthood will receive due punishment, for the necessary discouragement of others of the like impudence. I am

Your lordship's, &c.

EDWARD NICHOLSON.

A Letter, from the same Dr. Nicholson, to the Lord Bishop of Elphin, concerning Robert Young's heinous Miscarriages.

MY LORD,

I Do verily believe, that Mr. Young was never ordained by your lordship, nor any else. He produced parchments, in this diocese, from the Bishop of Kilmore, as ordained presbyter by him, and that, by mediation of a letter from the Archbishop of Cashell, which he shewed me here, and I suspected it counterfeit; as also I did his letter of orders; for which suspicions, if I had had as great evidences then, as I have had since, I should have seized his papers; but, being then glad to be rid of him, I dispatched him, without giving him the interruption to meddle with his papers. As to the character of him, I am sure he was a most unconscionable ignorant villain. He got a bastard here, by a kitchen-maid, at the inn he first lodged, at which he owned himself to me; and, being needy, I bestowed on him forty shillings more than I owed him, to carry him away. Yet, when he went to Dublin, he counterfeited letters, under my hand, to my brother, a merchant there, to get fifty shillings-worth of goods; and did also the same for Mr. Dalton to his son-in-law in Dublin. Both the letters were returned to us by the post, and we never heard from him since: but we hear, he had a wife living, and another before her, and was seeking for a third very busily. We have heard so much of him since, that we all think it a great pity, he was not rather hanged, than employed to serve at the altar. I am certain, if any conscientious person, that could apprehend him, would make it his design to rid the church of such a scandal, he would sufficiently appear to have deserved that, if not to be quite packed out of the world. And I assure your lordship, it is no grudge at his person, but perfect charity and zeal for the church, which forces me to give this testimony of him, in obedience to your lordship's commands, which require my character of him; and, if your lordship could be a means of preventing him from further proceeding in the profanation of holy things and offices, it would, no doubt, be acceptable service to God and his church; which is only submitted to your lordship's wisdom, by

Your lordship's, &c.

EDW. NICHOLSON.

A Letter from one Mr. Fletcher to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, to the same Purpose.

MY LORD, *James-Town, Octob.* 19, 1680.

I Suppose, my lord of Elphin will be particular with your lordship in the matter of Mr. Young. Mr. Cooke, who was surrogate of Elphin diocese, tels me, he had never letters of orders from that bishop. It is certain, he fled from his cure at Castle-Reah, having got a wench with child; and fame says, he has two wives, besides the last. I am

Your lordship's, &c.

BEN. FLETCHER.

A Letter from the Lord Bishop of Waterford to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, concerning Robert Young.

MY LORD, *Waterford, Feb.* 5, 1680.

I Should have sent your lordship an earlier account of your last to me concerning Young, but I did desire to inform myself, the best I could, for your better satisfaction, of his having a wife in these parts, and being chaplain to the Earl of Barrimore, and tutor to his son. As to the former, you will receive here inclosed a certificate from the high sheriff of the county, and several of the best of the inhabitants of Tallogh, to which I refer you; and, as to the latter, I have spoken with some persons of quality from those parts, who tell me plainly, that Young was never chaplain to the Earl of Barrimore, nor went tutor to his son to Oxford; for his son was never there. But, for farther satisfaction, I have employed a friend to the Earl of Barrimore himself for his certificate, which every day I now expect. This Young's rogueries and forgeries must needs redound to the great discredit of the church; and I think your lordship has done very well, in taking up his pretended letters of ordination. I humbly intreat you farther, that you would be pleased to take up that forged testimonial, he shewed you in my name, and to send it to me, who am,

Your lordship's, &c.

HEN. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

Robert Young's counterfeit Letter from the Lord Bishop of Waterford to himself; together with his forged Testimonials from the same Bishop.

SIR, *Waterford, March* 30, 1680.

ACCORDING to your expectation, I have sent you the inclosed, and truly am sorry you left my diocese; but, however, I will be kind to you, if any thing offers itself worthy your acceptation. So, concluding with my blessing to you, I rest

Your, &c.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

Locus Sigilli. 'These are to certify, that Mr. Robert Young Cler', 'and Master of Arts (whose testimonials from the 'University of Oxford, in Magdalene-College, I 'have often perused) is a man whom I have known 'from a child; and knows him to be of a sober, *H. Waterford and Lismore.* 'and religious, yea, a singular life and conversa- 'tion: who behaved himself, in my diocese, as 'becometh a labourer in God's vineyard. And, 'as concerning whose parts, I myself has often 'sounded them, and knows him to be a singular 'scholar, yea, I may say, as well qualified for the 'function, as any within my episcopal see; which 'is not all I have to speak in his commendation. 'All this I do certify, as witness my hand and 'seal, this 30th day of March, *Ann. Dom.* 1680.

A Letter from the Lord Bishop of Waterford to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, and another from the Earl of Barrimore, touching Robert Young's never having been the Earl's Chaplain, or Tutor to his Son, as he pretended.

MY LORD, *Waterford, Feb.* 18, 1680.

I Acquainted your lordship in my last, that I daily expected an account from the Earl of Barrimore, concerning Young's pretended chaplainship to his lordship. I do now send your lordship here inclosed an account thereof from the earl: and do earnestly intreat that your lordship will be pleased to take up that forged certificate Young shewed you in my name; and to send it to me. Our post will not give me leave to write any more, but that I am,

Your lordship's, &c.

HEN. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

MY LORD, *Castlelyons, Feb.* 11, 1680.

I Received a letter from Mr. Dalton, wherein he gives me an account of one Young, who has impudently and falsly called himself my chaplain, and my son Buttevant's tutor. I never saw him but once that he brought me a letter from the now high-sheriff of your county, to recommend him to Colonel Witenham (late deceased) at Castletown. If he had been never so much my chaplain, if he failed in the least part of that duty he owes your lordship, he should not have been owned by, my very good lord,

To the Lord Bishop of Waterford.

Your lordship's, &c.

BARRIMORE.

A Letter from the Bishop of Waterford to the Bishop of Kilmore, touching Robert Young.

MY LORD, *Waterford, Oct.* 11, 1680.

I Heartily thank your lordship for communicating to me the inclosed silly forged certificate concerning Mr. Robert Young

therein mentioned. This Young I never knew till about three years since, when he came to the Archbishop of Cashell, with a letter of high recommendation from Dr. Smith to be ordained deacon. The archbishop being somewhat indisposed, and not suspecting the letter, writes to me that I would do that office, and inclosed Dr. Smith's letter to him therein. I knew the archbishop's hand, and his secretary's hand that transcribed the letter: but Young, it seems, not contented therewith, breaks open the letter by the way, and adds a silly postscript (as near as I can remember) in these words, 'Moreover, dear brother, fail not to do this office for Mr. 'Young, for he is a good scholar, and moreover a very good 'preacher.' This postscript gave me some suspicion: I charged him with it, but he stood stiffly to it a great while, that the postscript was the archbishop's as well as the letter; but, at length, confessed he had broke open the letter by the way, and added the postscript himself. Then I began to examine Dr. Smith's letter, and went into my study to compare it with some I had of Dr. Smith's, which I found to be nothing like, and charged him with that too; and, after a little while, he confessed he had bribed a kinsman of Dr. Smith's to forge the letter to the archbishop; whereupon I gave him a reproof, and dismissed him from me, *re infectâ*. The next news that I heard of him, was, that he had forged a letter from the archbishop of Cashell to the bishop of Killaloo, to be ordained deacon, and thereupon he was ordained. But, how he came to be ordained priest by the Bishop of Elphin, I cannot give your lordship any good account. Yet this I have heard, that, whilst he was labouring his ordination there, in few days, he was to have married some poor woman in those parts, had not some person of the neighbourhood where he lived here in Munster, being casually there, discovered that he had a wife and children then living here in these parts: an account whereof, if occasion be, may easily be had. And now, my lord, I have an humble and earnest request, that your lordship would not return this forged testimonial to Young, but either destroy it yourself, or send it by the next, to

Your lordship's, &c.

H. WATERFORD and LISMORE.

If Young be not free to part with his testimonials and letters of orders too (if your lordship think good) I pray let him be secured, and in short time there will be enough to be said against him.

A Postscript of a Letter, together with a Letter to the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, both from the Lord Bishop of Elphin, concerning Robert Young's having counterfeited Priest's Orders from his Lordship.

Elphin, Oct. 4, 1680.

THE inclosed gives your lordship an account of Mr. Robert Young, who was in an ill name before he left us; and since it appeareth that he is ἀνὴλλαξε, fills his own hand, the church cannot do herself greater right than to cast such unsavoury salt to the dunghil.

MY LORD,

MR. Young, alias Hopkins, coming into these parts, and producing letters of orders from Dr. Roan, Bishop of Killaloo, was by me admitted in writing under my own hand and seal, to serve a cure in this diocese. That wretched and unworthy man was not by me ordained deacon or presbyter: I had much rather have laid my hands on briars than on such heads. The inclosed has been viewed by such as know his hand, and compared; all conclude it a forgery, the instrument formed by himself, the register's hand counterfeited. How he should get my seal, I am not able to say, unless it was taken off the licence I granted him; and of that there are strong presumptions. I shall acquaint those that knew him there, that he is now in safe custody; and if he should escape without some brand, his scandalous crimes being divulged and spread abroad, it would tend to the great dishonour of God, and to the great discredit of our whole profession. I shall not give your lordship farther trouble, but shall beseech God to direct you herein; and likewise shall watch all opportunities to serve you, and approve myself

Your lordship's, &c.

JOH. ELPHIN.

The counterfeit Orders themselves.

'TENORE præsentium nos Johannes Providen' Divin' Elphin' Episcopus notum facimus universis quod nos Dei omnipotent' præsidio in Ecclesia Cathedr' Sanctæ Mariæ Elphinensis vigesimo sexto die mentis Novembr' Ann. Dom. millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo septimo, Sacrosanctos ordines Celebrantes, dilectum nobis in Christo Robertum Young, in Artibus Magistru' de vita sua laudabili morumque & virtut' suaru' donis nobis multiplicit' commendat' & per nos etiam examinat' & approbat' & ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Primitus jurat' de Agnoscendo supremam Regiam Authoritat' in omnibus causis tam Ecclesiasticis quam civilibus, & de recusando & Refut' omnes & singulas jurisdictiones forinsecas quascunque juxta form' Statut' hujus Regni in hujusmodi casu editi & provisi, manuali insuper subscriptione sua assensum & consensum suum præbentem quatuor primis Canonibus Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ editis Anno decimo Regis Caroli primi beatæ memoriæ, ad sacrûs Presbyteratum ordinem juxta morem & ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicæ & Hibernicæ editos & provisos, admisimus & promovimus; ipsumque Robertum Young in Presbyterum ritè & canonicè ordinavimus tunc & ibidem. In cujus rei testimonium sigillu' nostrum Episcopale præsentibus apponi Fecimus & subscripsimus die mense & Anno & nostræ consecrat' Ann. undecimo.'

Locus sigilli.
Joh. Elphinensis.

THOM. BANNESTER,
Registrarius.

Aprilis 22°. 1679.

'Exhibit' fuit hæc licencia in ordinario visitationis
'cursu Reverend' Decan' de Lismore.
THO. NEESHAM,
Registrarius.

'Exhibit' in visitatione ordinaria tent' apud Cavan
'Septimo Aprilis 1680.

I think my reader will say I have given a sufficient heap of evidence concerning Robert Young's life and conversation in Ireland. And to prove that all these allegations against him are undeniable (for I would not willingly bely Robert Young himself) I will briefly shew by what certain means I came by my intelligence.

Having, among other papers sent me by Archbishop Sancroft, found the aforementioned letter of Dr. Foley's, inclosing one from the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, I sent a copy of it to that excellent person, my dear and honoured friend, Sir Charles Porter, lord chancellor of that kingdom; withal, intreating his lordship to enquire a little farther into Young's character there. Whereupon my lord chancellor took such care, that in a short time I had the originals of all these papers transmitted to me by the favour of the Lord Archbishop of Dublin; together with a letter from his grace to myself, justifying them all to be authentick, as may be seen in their lordship's own letters, which I here subjoin, as a testimony of the great obligations they have hereby laid on me, and right they have done the world, in respect to Robert Young.

Three Letters from my Lord Chancellor Porter to me.

MY GOOD LORD, *Dublin, July* 28, 1692.

SO soon as I received your lordship's of the eleventh, with the inclosed from Dr. Foley to Archbishop Sancroft, and found my Lord Archbishop of Dublin was most likely to give me an account of the person you desired from Dr. Foley; I went to him, and told him what reason I had to enquire after one Robert Young; and desired he would give me some directions, how I might certainly know his character. I did not shew him Dr. Foley's letter; but he remembered him and his rogueries so perfectly, that he gave me the same with what is in the letter; and withal said, he did believe he could recover some papers which would give me a full account of all that passed: and, within a day or two after, he came to dine with me, and brought them with him; which I now have in my custody, and have perused. They are such as shew by his own confession, as well as proof, that he had two wives at the same time in this kingdom, for which he was in gaol; and I find by some of his letters, that he writes to his first wife (wherein he owns his second marriage) he desires her to save his life, by swearing he was never married to her; and promises, if she will do it, that he may gain his liberty, he will immediately go into England with her, and never more see his second wife, who was the daughter of one Simon Hutt in Cavan. It appears by these papers, that he

counterfeited the hands and seals of the Bishops of Elphin and Waterford to letters of his admission into priest's orders, and the hands of Dr. Wilson (now Bishop of Limerick) and Dr. Nicholson, and the Archbishop of Cashell, all certifying in his behalf, as to his morals and learning. In a word, I never met with so infamous a villain. He was degraded by the Archbishop of Dublin, when Bishop of Kilmore. I know not how he got out of gaol, where he was committed for having two wives, the truth whereof appears by several letters under his own hand. But I will inform myself, and then give your lordship an account. I know not whether you would have the originals of all the papers or copies relating to this rogue; when I know your mind, I will take the best care I can to observe it. I am, Your lordship's, &c.

CHARLES PORTER.

He has counterfeited other men's hands in bills, and got the money thereupon; one of which I find among the papers.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

MY LORD, *Dublin, August* 17, 1692.

I have your's of the 9th instant, and, having shewed it to my Lord Archbishop of Dublin, he has freely consented I shall transmit you the original papers, which, as soon I can light of a safe hand to bring them to your lordship, shall be done, they being now with a publick notary for authentick copies to be kept here. My lord archbishop has also writ your lordship a letter relating to the man, and the matters of those papers, which he sent me just now. I will not be wanting in giving it all possible dispatch, that your lordship may have opportunity to publish what you intend. I am, my lord, Your lordship's, &c.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester. CHARLES PORTER.

MY LORD, *Dublin, Aug.* 26, 1692.

I Have now sent you the original papers about Young: Mr. Roberts has promised me to deliver them to your own hands; he goes from this place to-morrow. I have sent also my lord archbishop's letter to your lordship (of which I formerly sent you a copy) in the same box; and have caused a publick notary to make copies of all those relating to Young, which I keep by me, as I must also desire your lordship to do the originals; for I have undertaken you will do so: and you will find by what his grace writes, that he desires the same. I am

You lordship's, &c.

CHARLES PORTER.

A Letter from my Lord Archbishop of Dublin to me.

MY LORD, *Dublin, Aug.* 17, 1692.

BY permission of my Lord Chancellor, I had the view of your lordship's letter to him concerning Mr. R. Young, whom I

your lordship would let me know, by some means or other, that you received them, and that you will preserve them; for, if they be any way available to your lordship, they may be so (though that be, as this was, more than I can possibly forethink) to some body else.

I am, my lord, Your lordship's, &c.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester. FRANCIS DUBLIN.

I have now brought the true Robert Young and his false wife safe into England, though, I confess, I had rather any man in England had done it than myself. But, now, they are here, I will proceed with them in the very same plain and just method as I did before in relating their actions in Ireland; I will trace out their crooked paths as near as I can, step by step, and follow them close at their backs, with an honest hue and cry of original papers, describing them and their crimes.

I have already declared, that, after their arrival in England, about the year 1683, upon Robert Young's unlucky repulse at Lambeth, one of the most memorable enterprises, in which he and his woman displayed their art, was the taking upon them the names, first of Green, then of Jones, then of Smith (all counterfeits of clergymen in distress), and then authorising the whole cheat by forged recommendations of Archbishop Sancroft's: beginning thus to practise on other men's purses, by forging his grace's hand, that, when they were more perfect in it, they might attempt with it to strike at his life.

I begin, first, with their cheating dealings under the name of Green, which was the first considerable figure I know of, that they made of themselves in England.

By this having deluded vast numbers of good people in several dioceses, especially that of Norwich (whereof I have by me a large list of the parochial collections) they came at last, as I have said, to be detected and punished for it at Bury.

Now, to clear up this part of their history which concluded there, it will be very material that I should recount distinctly the occasion and manner of their being apprehended, and some of Robert's most notorious enormities even whilst he was imprisoned in that gaol, which was for the space of a year.

When Robert and Mary brought the recommendation falsified under the hands of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Bishop of London, to Mr. Cleggat, minister of that town; and boldly required him to ask the charity of the inhabitants thereupon; both Mr. Cleggat, and Mr. Samuel Batteley, a very worthy person dwelling there (whose brother was then the archbishop's chaplain) soon discerned the knavery, and immediately repaired to the magistrate's for a warrant to seize them.

In the mean time Robert Young, alias Youngs, alias Hutt, alias Green, suspecting he was discovered, went directly to his inn, and, with his sister and wife, Mrs. Mary Green, alias Young, &c. presently took horse, and rode as fast as they could out of town, in hopes to have escaped.

Mr. Batteley, believing they would do so, left the constable to bring the warrant, and ran straight towards the inn to look after them; when he soon perceived them on horse-back, making all possible speed away. But, by good luck, their horse being weak and poor, he overtook them, laid hold on the bridle, and led them back. Whereupon they were committed, tried, and, upon their own confession, condemned and pilloried; as by the record will appear, when it shall be produced.

After this Robert ———, what shall I call him? remained in Bury gaol divers months, for not paying his fees, till the summer of the year 1685. That being the first year of King James's reign, and about the time of the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, he thought it a proper season for him to declare (as he had done before in Ireland, upon the like exigency of his affairs) that he could make out a certain discovery of seditious and treasonable practices, wherein divers considerable persons thereabouts were engaged.

To this purpose he not only actually swore treason against one John Pannel (to whom he owed a spite, who was then a fellow-prisoner with him for debt, and is now an officer in the said borough) but also sent up a petition, which he called, A full discovery of treason by Robert Youngs, clerk, to be delivered to the king and parliament then sitting; wherein he offered to prove (if he might have his freedom, and be brought up to London) that divers wicked traitors in that country, particularly ten Presbyterian ministers, one Lord, two Esquires, a Colonel, a Captain and a Cornet, and a Gentleman, had been long plotting and contriving the death of the King, and the subversion of the government.

But, of his whole behaviour at Bury, the following papers, being of undoubted authority, are an abundant proof. It will be enough for me to name them as they pass along by me.

Only here I intreat my reader once for all to observe what is most for my purpose, that such has been the constant method of his life, both before and since, as far as I have been able to obtain any knowledge of it: whenever he was out of prison, he has forged hands to bills, and recommendations to get money: and, when he happened to be imprisoned for those forgeries, then he has fallen to counterfeit mighty discoveries of plots against the state, to gain his liberty.

First, then, here are the several confessions of Robert Young and Mary Hutt themselves, before the justices of peace at Bury in 1684.

Number I.

Borough of Bury St. Edmonds.

The Information of Mary Green, alias Hutt, alias Peirson, alias Young; taken by Martin Spensley, Esq; Mayor of the said Borough; Thomas Holland, Esq; John Sotheby, Esq; and Robert Sharp, Gent. Justices of the Peace for the said Borough, the 15th Day of September, 1684.

THE said informant saith, that the paper and seal thereunto annexed, pretended to be a certificate from the Bishop of Elphin,

in Ireland, was counterfeited in Ireland, and brought over from thence by her, in April or May last; and that she neither hath, or ever had, any husband called by the name of Robert Green; but that all in the same certificate mentioned concerning him is counterfeit; and that the person, who is now in her company, came with her out of Ireland, and that he is her brother, and his name is Robert Hutt; and that they came together to London, where, in the square at Essex-stairs, she met with one, whose name she doth not now remember, that writ the petition, which she carried to Windsor, and, with her own hands, presented it to the king, who delivered it back to one Mr. Bolstred, without any further answer to it. Whereupon she repaired to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and shewed him her counterfeit certificate from the Bishop of Elphin; and he, having viewed it, recommended it to Sir John Nicholas, to whom she repaired accordingly, and shewed him the petition which she had delivered to his majesty, and left it with him; and afterwards (as he told this informant) he carried the same to his majesty at Hampton-court: and that, it being read, because it concerned Ireland, the king recommended it to the Duke of Ormond, and afterwards this informant had the answer to it from him, mentioned in the paper to which Sir John Nicholas's name is subscribed. And further saith, that the paper to which the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London's hands and seals are set, is also counterfeit, and was written by another person, whose name she remembereth not; and that the same person did set the Archbishop and Bishop of London's hands and seals to it: and saith, that, by vertue of the said paper and seals, she and her brother have gathered a great deal of money, and thereby abused many of the king's subjects.

MARY HUTT.

The Information of the said Robert Hutt, taken before us the Day and Year abovesaid.

WHO saith, that the said Mary Hutt (who goes by the names aforesaid) is his sister; and that he never knew any person by the name of Green or Young, that was her husband; but says, that he living in or about Cork in Ireland, and she in Connaught, above an hundred miles distant, in March last she came to this informant's house, and told him, that she had been married to one Green, a clergyman, and that he, going to sea, was taken by the Turks, and she was going to London to petition his majesty for money for his release; and that she had a certificate from the bishop of the diocese of the truth thereof, and thereupon desired this informant to go along with her, and pressed him so hard therein, that at last he left his own occasions with a friend, and went with her to London, by the name of Green, and knew no other name she had; and at London carried her to one William Youngs a drummer, living in Petty-France, beyond Westminster, near the sign of Whitehall, where they stayed all the time they were about London; and during that time she went to Windsor to petition his majesty; and,

finding no satisfaction there, she applied herself to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, Sir John Nicholas, and others, as in her said information is set down. But saith, that he knew nothing how she came by the said certificates and papers, or who drew her petitions, he knows not. But saith, that upon and with them he hath gone about the country with her, and hath collected several sums of money in several countries in the papers thereof mentioned, he not knowing but all her papers and certificates were true.

Martin Spensley, Mayor. ROBERT HUTT.

The further Information and Examination of the said Robert Hutt, taken the Day and Year abovesaid.

THE said examinate saith, that his name is Robert Young, not Hutt, and that the said Mary is his wife; and that they came out of Ireland at the same time aforementioned; and that he is in priest's orders according to the church of England, and received the same from Dr. Roan, Bishop of Killaloo in Ireland, and had a cure of 18 pounds per annum at Calthorn there, and that he hath preached in St. Margaret's church in Westminster; and confesseth, that all the papers and certificates aforesaid are counterfeit, and were made by one * Wright, a scrivener in Oxford; and he set the hands and seals to them, except that from the Bishop of Elphin in Ireland, which is signed by Thomas Bannester, and was made by him; and he obtained the bishop's seal to it, for which he had ten shillings. And further, that, about two years since, he was in England, and applied himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury for some preferment, and dined with him; but, finding none, he returned into Ireland; and, being destitute of friends, he applied himself to this ill course, presuming thereby to obtain charity from the people. And further saith, that the said Wright set Sir John Nicholas's hand, in answer to the petition to the king; and for that, and for setting the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, he had a guinea.

Thom. Holland. ROBERT YOUNG, Clerk.
John Sotheby.
Rob. Sharp.

Secondly, Here are copies of Mary Hutt's petition to King Charles the Second, under the feigned name of Mary Green; and of the forged reference and recommendations upon it.

* I am certainly informed, that there never was one Wright, scrivener, in Oxford: so that he has abused the name of Wright, as he has done that of Green, Jones, Smith, and divers others.

Numb. II.

To the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Right Honourable Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council,

The humble Petition of Mary Green, Wife of Robert Green, of the Kingdom of Ireland, most humbly sheweth,

THAT, your petitioner's said husband being minded to take a voyage into the West-Indies upon some extraordinary occasions, it was his hard fortune to be taken by a Sallee man of war, about six months since, as may appear by a certificate under the hand and seal of the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Elphin in the kingdom of Ireland; and that he still remains under the extreme burthen of slavery in Sallee, his ransom being set at a thousand dollars; which your petitioner, in regard of her great poverty, is no ways able to raise; she having two small children, being with child of a third, hath not wherewith to provide for herself and them, but is like to perish, for want of relief.

Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays, that your majesty will be graciously pleased to recommend your petitioner's and her husband's distressed condition to the consideration of the clergy of England; and, in his behalf, to request them to contribute their charity towards her husband's ransom, and your petitioner's present relief.

And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

Read in Counil, Jun. 18, 1684.

THE petitioner is referred to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, to do therein, as to them shall seem meet and convenient, for the redemption of this said Robert Green, Clerk.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

WE recommend the petitioner to the clergy of (provided this our order continue no longer than three months) England, intreating them freely to contribute their charity toward the ransom of the said Robert Green. Moreover (on his majesty's command to us) we require, and earnestly desire the respective ministers of all cities, towns, &c. to go from house to house, to receive the charitable benevolence of well disposed christians, whom we hope will likewise contribute to the enlargement of a poor distressed clergy-man.

Given under our hand and seal, at Lambeth-House, June 16, 1684.

W. Cant. here ⊙ the Seal.

H. London. here ⊙ the Seal.

Numb. III.

Robert Young's Petition to the Magistrates at Bury, acknowledging his Crime.

To the Worshipful Mayor, and the rest of the Justices for the Borough of Bury St. Edmonds.

The humble Petition of Robert Youngs, Clerk.

SHEWETH,

THAT the petitioner not only sensible, as it is apparent, of his bidding adieu to all truth and honesty, and measuring the same by his own humorsome fancy, making every thing ridiculous, that was not suitable to his owne ignorant conceptions; but penitent likewise, thinking himself bound, for the future, to take a notice, that honesty is the best policy.

Forasmuch therefore, as your poor suppliant being a stranger, and such to most in this kingdom, and having little or no friends or acquentance, humbly beseecheth,

That your worshipes will be graciously pleased to accept of such baile, as your poor suppliant can conveniently produce, whereby he may not in a goal be compelled to end his days, but have his liberty to compose those differences, now depending. The lord create in your worships bowells of compassion, towards him, who prays for,

Your, &c.

Next, here is Robert Young's first letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1684, confessing his crime of forgery; but, in all else, giving a very lying account of himself. A letter very singular for the elegancy of its stile; and recommended to the reading of all who call themselves presbyterians.

Numb. IV.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, *Bury, Sept.* 30, 1684.

THIS rude and imperfect supplication, being now to pass into your grace's hands, shal I be so bold as to begg your grace to peruse it: in prosecution whereof, I do conceive my birth and education, wil in your grace create a better understanding of me, my life and conversation, than that which the envyous man realy represents it to be: for envy is ever working upon some or other; for which cause, it is the proper attribute of the devill, who is called the envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night. But to return, your poor suppliant is (by birth) an Englishman, born of an honest stock, at Chester, a town of marchandize on the sea-coast of England, whose grandfather was Sir Peter Young's son, and grandmother the Duke of Lenox's daughter; the truth whereof, if questioned, may sufficiently, by a gentleman in London, be proved: knowing some persons to delight in giddiness, and accounts it a bondage to fix a belief, afecting freewill in thinking as well as in doing. Your poor suppliant likewise (after some

knowledge in schoole learning) was removed to Trinity Colledge near Dublin; where, in good litterature, he for the space of seven years remained: and, from thence, by the instigation of Dr. Smith, Dean of Limerick, was employed as a reader; which duty by me was faithfully performed, for the space of two years, being then only a deacon. From thence, by the death of the said Dr. Smith, removed I was to serve Dr. John Wilson's cure, sometime Fellow of St. Magdalene College in Oxford, who, as chaplain to his grace my Lord Duke of Ormond, came for Ireland, on which provision (though inconsiderable) admitted I was into full orders, by the late Bishop of Clogher, who was a man of that divine nature, that all that knew him had a loss of him: the very memory of whom may justly draw a fountain of water from mine eyes; his favour to me ward cannot easily be forgotten. Thus, in short, your grace has a description of my birth, education, life, and conversation; which leads me to expostulate my present sufferings. I am, and ever was, a faithfull son to the church of England. All discentors were ever odious in mine eyes, 'specially that damnable faction of Presbytery. If I could, as well as others, have winked at their irregular undertakings, poverty and bondage would not now have dominion over me. But my method was to reduce such factious persons to a regular understanding, and observe wherein, and how far, they have degenerated; although others gleanings, I confess, are better than my vintage, as I am the least of the tribe: yet, I cannot sit still, but, if occasion offered itself, would once more adventure to cast in my mite against such hæresy, as those gifted persons pretended to. But, knowing to whom I speak, I must not hold your grace too long to peruse this ignorant discourse, least I give offence. Lastly, to make an ingenious confession, your poor suppliant in the aforesaid cure, though insufficient if narrowly considered to maintain a family, continued without scandal and corruption, for the space of four years; but by the insufficiency thereof, being but eighteen pound per annum, was forced to borrow money, which summ, at the day prefixed, I could not disburse; whereupon they issued out writs against me: but I considering fortune to be like the markett, where, if a man stay a little, the price will fall. Thus I thought it better to meet some danger half way, than to keep too long a watch upon my enemies approach: for, if a man watch too long, as my case stood, though he commit the beginnings thereof to Argos, with his hundred eyes; and the ends to Briareus, with his hundred hands, tis odds he will fall asleep: so that I thought it my best way, for a time, to remove myself and family, to prevent future inconveniencies. Whereupon I, with a discontented heart, came for England; and, if your grace call to mind, made to you my application. Willing was I to take up with the least provision: but no vacancy in your grace's diocess, was the answer; and withal told me that my lord of London possibly might answer to my request. Whereupon I strait way attended my lord of London, but no satisfactory answer could I find there. On which, what

to do I knew not; but the second time waited on your grace, and gave up my lord of London's answer; and withal told your grace, that willing I was to go for the West Indies. Your grace's answer was, that provisions there lay in my lord of London, but being destitute of money and friends, disinabled I was to get thither, unless I had sold myself for a bond-slave, which I was not willing to do. So that for Ireland I again repaired; but no sooner was I there settled, in a cure far remote from the other, but news my creditors had; for which, without my selary, glad was I to flee again in a distracted condition; and came, accompanied with my wife, to Oxford; where friendship I did endeavour to create, but all in vain. From thence went I towards Bristol, thinking to have made my address to the bishop of that diocesse, but supplanted I was by his death. So that myself I applied to the body of the clergy, but meet not with a satisfactory answer. My second application was to desire them to disburss money for our fraught; but, meeting not with my desired success, I came away, not knowing which way to turn myself; to go and steal, I would be hanged; to take by violence a purse, I would be in the same condition; to work, I knew not which way; to begg of the clergy (so many cheats going about) I knew, being a stranger, they would, though undeserved then, pass on me the same sentence. Thus friendless and moneyless, we came to Oxford, in a sad condition, and accidently meet with one Wright by surname; who, after some days acquentance, put me upon this hellish stratageme upon your grace, which forgery he committed, although I am not thereby excused. Truly a terrour to my conscience was it every hower, knowing such clandestine actions to be both against the laws of God and man. O fie! that ever it should be said that a clergyman have committed such durty actions. O! that my eyes were a fountain of water, to weep for remission, for pardon, for satisfaction, both to God and man. For sure I am the unjust shal be punished in the next world, if not in this. I acknowledge my crime to be great, the Lord give a right understanding of my errour; wherein I have offended both God and man: and what shal I do, or what shal I say to mitigate this crime? 'Tis true, I am heartily sorry, which perhaps, in your grace, may create mercy; but not pardon from my God, without a loathing and hearty detestation of such unlawfull ways of gain, and an absolution from a Bishop. Truely my intention, after the receipt of twenty pounds, was for the West Indias; no more did I desire than what would carry my family thither: but disappointed I was by the just judgement of the Almighty; all we received was spent to recover my wife's health; seaven weeks did she lye sick, which the justices here are not ignorant of; and what little stock we had was exhausted, so that we have neither friends nor money. Your poor suppliant therefore, in most humble manner, beseecheth, that your grace will be graciously pleased to regulate the hearts and minds of these justices, who have committed my poor sickly wife, as well as myself; and, by your grace's letter, to animate their

hearts to charity, the sessions being Monday next. 'Tis true, I have in a most gross manner incurred your grace's displeasure, and does not diserve the least favour, 'specially at your grace's hands; for which, from the bottom of my heart, I humbly beg your grace's pardon, beseeching your grace in justice to remember mercy; and though your grace may cast a severe eye upon the example, yet I humbly beseech your grace, to cast a merciful eye upon the person, to whom this shal for ever be a warning-piece, and subscribes himself,

Your Grace's most penitent
and obedient Servant,
ROBERT YOUNG.

My reader finds that this first letter of Robert Young's to Archbishop Sancroft, which seems full of remorse and solemn detestation of his former wickedness, in forging his grace's name, was dated in prison at Bury, Sept. 30, 1684; but, to shew what kind of penitent he was, I will here subjoin the informations of divers persons at Bury in 1685, touching Robert Young's threatenings against the Archbishop of Canterbury's life, not long after he had written this first letter.

Numb. V.

Bury St. Edmonds, Mart. 27, 1685.

MEMORANDUM, That we whose names are underwritten, being in company with Robert Young, (who was laid in Bury gaol for counterfeiting his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury's hand and seal, &c.) he spoke these words immediately upon hearing of his late majesty's death, which was Saturday, February 7, 84. [Is the king dead? Then have at the Archbishop of Canterbury's head.] These words were spoken in his chamber in my hearing. Witness my hand,

THOMAS BOUME.

THE same day in the cellar, the said Robert Young declared, That, now the king was dead, he would have the Archbishop of Canterbury's head off. Witness our hands,

JOHN PANNELL.
MATTHEW † BAXTER,
his Mark.

AND at other times, in my hearing, and others that are now out of town, the said Robert Young declared, that, if ever he got out of prison, he would revenge himself on his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

JOHN PANNELL.

AT another time, some two or three days before, the said Robert Young, upon hearing of his majesty's death, did in the hearing of me John Rewse, in the said Young's chamber, in Bury prison, say these words: [Some of my enemies may repent

what they have done to me: it will not be long e're the Archbishop of Canterbury's head be off.]

JOHN REWSE.

WILLIAM ROSE, of Elmswel, in the county of Suffolk, yeoman, saith, that Robert Young, a prisoner in Bury gaol, upon hearing of his late majesty's death, did publickly say these words following, viz. Now, by God, have at the Archbishop of Canterbury's head. And that, at several times, he hath discovered himself to bear hatred against his grace, and hath often spoken reproachfully against his grace.

WILLIAM ROSE.

Sixthly, Here is Robert Young's second letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; confessing still his own guilt, but intended chiefly to weaken the evidence of John Pannell, one of those Bury witnesses, by accusing him of treason.

Numb. VI.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, *Bury, July* 23, 85.

IN the first place, all that I design in this letter, is an apology for myself, to ask pardon for my transgression against your grace (although deluded thereto) hoping, that this my mean and weak supplication will be sheltered under the canopy of your profound charity. And seeing I have, by wicked advice, consented to things misbecoming an honest man, most reverend father, let not my honesty be tainted therewith, but evil counsell justly blamed; which, for ever hereafter, shal be a warning-piece to me, never to commit the like again: but, by honest and christian endeavours, to provide for himself and family, whose conditions are now reduced so low, that perish they must, unless by your grace's clemency eased. Furthermore, I do promise to do your grace that justice, as to bring in the first actours and contrivers of that wicked action, who did not only encourage me, but several impost-hims they likewise have sent abroad, which I can prove. Having thus far declared myself, and endeavoured to take off such aspersions as might possibly have been thrown on me; give me leave to *acquent your grace, that I am given to understand, that one John Pannel have lately sent your grace a petition, intreating you to incense the judge, that comes this circuit, against me; which petition I humbly desire, and beseech you, for your honour, to disregard. For that person is a rebellious traytor, and have declared himself so to be; his words and intended actions are, in breve, as followeth. He called the king a popish dog, a rogue, and said, that he has taken that which was none of his own, but the Duke of Monmouth's; he has said likewise, that he would do his endeavour to chop off that popish rogue's head. *Si indixeris mihi ut singula dilatem, non recusabo; modo tempus mihi concesseris: nam statim hoc facere, non est harum, quoad corpus, virium: paratus semper dicere, qui sunt subditi probati & qui non.* My lord, I thought fit thus to *acquent your grace, that you may not so much as mention his name with any due respect; his factious ancestors

will make him notorious enough, if no treason were objected and laid to his charge. But, seeing what I have in part *acquented your grace with, will, next assizes, be sworn against him by there evidences, and the king likewise *acquented therewith; and the said John Pannell, a great finatick. I humbly have sent your grace (out of that love and affection I bear to my king and to the clergy) this caution of the said John Pannell. So I take leave, desiring to remain

your grace's most humble servant,
ROBERT YOUNG.

Seventhly, Here is the true hand and seal of Archbishop Sancroft, which Robert Young having torn off from a real instrument of his grace's that he had casually lighted on, prefixed a false licence to it to beg in three other dioceses; and that dated even after the former letters to the archbishop, and after he had been pilloried at Bury for the first forgery.

Numb. VII.

WE recommend the petitioner to the diocese of Oxford, Lincoln and Sarum, humbly beseeching the clergy of all cities and corporations (within the aforesaid dioceses) to go from house to house to receive the benevolence of all charitable christians, towards the relief of a poor distressed clergyman.

Given under our hand and seal, LOCUS SIGILLI.
at Lambeth-house, *Jan.* 2,
Ann. Dom. 1685. W. CANT.

Two papers relating to a false plot in King James's time, which Robert Young offered to discover at Bury, when he was prisoner there, in the year 1685. Both which papers are written with his own hand, and were taken out of his pocket when he was searched for instruments, wherewith he designed to break prison there.

The first paper, which seems to be a letter to some lord at court, concerning Robert Young's plot in 1685, but is not superscribed.

Numb. VIII.

Bury-Goale, June 13, 85.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

ALTHOUGH I have been, and also am unwilling to truble you with my letters, yet, notwithstanding, the treacherous speeches and intended actions of wicked rebels forceth me thereunto at present. I leatly a petition to the king and parliament sent, which petition (declaring in part the purport of what I have to say) I humbly beseech your lordship, for the love of a gracious king, to take care of, and so far, that king and parliament may therewith be acquainted. Nothing is therein delivered, but what I, by sufficient evidence, can make appear to be truth: justice will in no wise for the king here be done; the reasons, when

removed, I'll produce, but here I dare not; I humbly desier, before his royal majesty, and his high honorable court of parliament, to be, as soon as may be, called up, where with justice, and not with partiality, I may be heard to speak.

[And here follows some of his former sort of Latin, which I set down as I find it in his own hand.

De his rebus omnibus obsecro & suppliciter imploro te mihi rescribere literam, inquâ si indixeris mihi ut singula delatem non recusabo, paratus semper ostendere, qui sunt probati, subditi & qui non. Nihill jam superest aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem ut omnes actiones secundat Deus optimus maximusque. Et ex toto corde Vale.
Ex Carcere 13° *die mensis,* Tuæ salutis & amplitudinis,
Junij Ann. Dom. 85. Cupidissimus, &c. R. Y.

The second paper, which is the original petition that Robert Young sent up to be presented to the king and parliament in May 1685, wherein he promises to make out the discovery of his plot, if he might have his liberty, and be brought up to London to be the king's evidence. This is also recommended to the reading of the presbyterians.

A full Discovery of Treason by Robert Young's, Clerk.

To the most high and mighty Prince, James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and to his most Honourable and High Court of Parliament.

The humble Petition of Robert Youngs, Clark, now a Prisoner in Bury St. Edmunds, in the County of Suffolk.

In most humble and lamentable wise complaineth unto your Majesty and your High Court of Parliament,

THAT whereas your most obedient subjecte, living under the laws of God and your majesty's realms, in the days of the late gracious King Charles the Second, of ever blessed memory, did in all things show himself a true, faithful, and obedient subject, according to his function, as well as in the sincere administration (according to the church of England) of God's holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers. Your said suppliant; notwithstanding, contrary to all laws of justice and equity, was notwithstanding, in very extream manner, not only cast into prison (where he, being altogether a stranger, have these eight months by past continued) but likewise (last assizes nothing being objected against him) bound over to his good behaviour, where he will (through malice, and for fear of discovering their rebellious and clandestine actions) perish inevitably; for such is the malignity of your majesties enemies against your poor subject, that they keep him close lock't up, not suffering his wife to come to him, giving order likewise, that all pen, ink, and paper should not be permitted to be carried to him, least he make complaint. And the more severity they show, because your obedient subject did discover one John Pannel, who like a rebel and a traitor, did

call your sacred majesty a popish dog and rogue; and said, that he, against your sacred majesty, would fight for the Duke of Monmouth so long as he had blud in his body. Moreover, Feb. 7, 84, about three of clock in the afternoon, he swore, that now he would accomplish his long design'd and intended purpose. Now, said he (news being brought a little before that the late king was really dead) I will have that popish rogue's head, &c. Now by the discovery hereof, your poor subject have to himself enemies innumerable created, and yet will (so long as life continues) stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the vain attempts and impetuous assaults made against him, by such men as are given to change, and have always discovered a greater regard to their own treacherous and rebellious spirits, than to that duty and legality which they owe unto your most sacred majesty. All these things, and much more shal against John Pannel, and others (whom to discover here, were to no purpose) be confirmed by three witnesses. Many are the conspiracies and conspirators, who have plotted and contrived how to bring their wicked enterprizes to an head. In order hereunto (as in conscience obliged, and as a faithful subject to your majesty) can, and will make a full discovery of 'ten presbyterian ministers, one lord, two esquires, a collonel, a captain, a cornet, a gentleman, who having long since plotted and contrived the death of your most sacred majesty, and the subversion of the government now established amongst us,' and still continues their hellish devices, who (if in time not prevented) will (with a sad memento) make known what your faithful subject doth now in part relate, they having promised, vowed, and protested, that, if ever your majesty came to the crown, enjoy it you should not one year to an end. Such evidence against them singularly shall be produced, as to the consciences of all loving subjects shall seem reasonable and sufficient; and, if your poor subject does not prove by sufficient evidence what he now affirms, your said subject offers himself then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesty to appoint.

In consideration whereof, may it please your most sacred majesty and this your high court of parliament, graciously to take the premises so far into your tender consideration, as to call up to London before your princely majesty your poor subject, who will in full discover all those clandestine actions and hellish stratagems of rebellious and treacherous rebels, who intends no goodnesse towards your royal person, whom God preserve, &c. which thing being granted, your said subject doubts not but that it shal plainly appear de unde by sufficient evidence, who are faithful subjects and who not. Wherefore for the tender mercy of God, your said subjecte in bonds and irons, most humbly beseecheth your majesty, and this high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to grant this petition, tending so graciously to the preservation of your majesty and the government now establish'd amongst us, &c. And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

In this last, and in several of the foregoing papers, my reader finds mention of one John Pannel. Upon this there depends a story which must not be omitted, because it is sent me from Bury, attested under hand and seal by persons of known credit and repute: and with this I shall end all Robert Young's transactions at Bury.

It appears, that this John Pannel had not only fallen into Robert Young's displeasure by his having been one of the witnesses of his menaces against the archbishop's life, but also for having prevented Robert's designed escape out of the common gaol there.

Robert Young, in revenge of all this, not only wrote to the archbishop against him in the venomous manner, as appears in his second letter to his grace, that there should be high-treason sworn against the said John the next assizes, and not only also named him as guilty in the foregoing petition to the king and parliament, mentioning in both the particular treasons, but effectually made good his word; and the very next assizes at Ipswich, for the county of Suffolk in the same year 1685, prosecuted John Pannell for his life before the Lord Chief Justice Jones.

Nay, when it was objected by the judge, that this was but a single witness, Robert immediately took care to supply that defect, and out of hand produced Mary to swear the very same words, and the very same time and place, as her foreman had sworn before her.

So that had not the Lord Chief Justice been seasonably informed of the profligate reputation of Robert and Mary; and had not the Deputy Gaoler of Bury preferred voluntary to take his oath, that Mary was really absent from Robert, and had been so for a good space, both before and after the time, when the treasonable words were pretended by Robert to have been spoken by John Pannell, the poor innocent man had been in danger of being hanged for a traitor to King James, by the perjury of these two wretched gaol-birds.

But thus much for Robert and Mary Green, &c.

Next we shall behold the same farce acted over again by the same persons, under the disguised names of Robert and Mary Jones; John and Mary Smith; she the wives of him the rectors of the same Ashford in Kent, and both at the same time.

Nay (to shew how necessary it is that great lyars should have great memories) we shall see, that two of these pretended recommendations, from Archbishop Sancroft, do very unhappily bear date the very same day, September the third, of the very same year, 1687, for the same woman, under different names.

First, Here are the forged recommendations, pretended to be from Archbishop Sancroft, of Mary Hutt, both as Mary Jones and Mary Smith, to the Lords Bishops of Chichester, Norwich, and St. Asaph: the body of these letters being an imitation of

his grace's own hand, but all the subscriptions counterfeited to admiration.

Numb. I.

My Lord,

THIS is to acquent your lordship, that one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford in my diocesse, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore give his wife (who will suddenly attend your lordship) licence to ask and receive the charity of your dean and chapter, towards her husbands freedome, as we in our diocesse have done. I am,

Lambeth, Your loving Friend and Brother,
June 11, 1687. W. CANT.

To the Lord Bishop of Chichester.

My Lord,

THIS is to acquent your Lordship, that one Mr. John Smith, rector of Ashford in my diocesse, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore (as other of our brethren have done) extend your charity toward his freedome; and likewise recommend his distressed condition to your dean and chapter, or in his absence to the subdean. I am,

Lambeth, My Lord,
Sept. 3, 1687. Your loving Friend and Brother,
W. CANT.

To the Lord Bishop of Norwich.

My Lord,

THIS is to acquent your lordship, that one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford in my diocesse, is a prisoner for debt, occasioned by suretyship; he is a person well known to me, and deserves our assistance. I hope you will therefore extend your charity toward his freedome, as we in our diocesse have done: and likewise give his wife (who will suddenly attend your lordship) licence to ask and receive the charity of your dean and chapter. I am,

Lambeth, My Lord,
Sept. 3, 1687. Your loving Friend and Brother,
W. CANT.

This letter was sealed with a bishop's seal and a wafer; and the stamp under-marked on the back of it, to signify what part of the town it came from.

To the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. (iv.)

Secondly, Here is a forged letter from Dr. Fauconberge, secretary to my Lord Archbishop, accompanying that letter to the Lord Bishop of Norwich; wherein is a false list of what sums other churches and church-men had given, to excite his lordship and his church and diocese by those examples.

Numb. II.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP, *Sept.* 3, 87.

I Am commanded by my Lords Grace of Canterbury to send this as a cover to the enclosed; and to let your lordship know, that Mr. Robert Smith (brother to the prisoner) is appointed as the receiver. Therefore your lordship is humbly desired to transmit, by bill of exchange, your lordships charity, together with the deans and chapters, to the aforesaid Robert Smith, living in Maiden-lane, in Westminster, and so soon as your lordship possibly can.

Your Lordship's, &c.

HEN. FAUCONBERGE.

I am likewise commanded to transmit you the names of those that have already given.

By the

LORD Archbishop of Canterbury	20	00	00
Dean and Chapter of Canterbury	45	00	00
Bishop of London	10	00	00
Bishop of Ely	10	00	00
Dean and Chapter of Ely	8	00	00
Bishop of Rochester	4	00	00
Dean and Chapter thereof	7	00	00
Bishop of Winchester	12	Guinnys.	
Dean and Chapter thereof	9	00	00
Bishop of Sarum	5	00	00
Dean and Chapter thereof	12	00	00
Bishop of Chichester	4	00	00
Dean and Chapter thereof	5	00	00
Bishop of Exon	4	00	00
Dean and Chapter of Exon	10	00	00
Bishop of Bath and Wells	5	00	00
Dean and Chapter thereof	5	00	00
University of Oxford	25	00	00

Thirdly, Here are the letters of those three Bishops written at that time, acknowledging that they were every one deceived by an imposture so well managed; though they were some of the archbishop's most familiar friends, and perfectly acquainted with his grace's hand.

Numb. III.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I Have returned the letter which came to me in your Grace's name on the behalf of Mr. Jones, pretended to be of your diocese; and now find enough in it to have made me suspect the cheat: but your grace's name (too well counterfeited) and the great deference I make to it, superseded all further consideration. And, although I communicated it to the dean and chapter (who are not unacquainted with your grace's hand) yet none of them saw through it. It is much to be feared, that the cheat is still carried on, and too successfully: for he must be more sagacious than I am, whom such a letter coming by the post, then followed within two or three days by the woman herself, would not impose upon. After all, I am much more concerned for the abuse that is put upon your grace, than for that little which I suffered by it; and heartily wish the cheat detected and discovered, that your grace's name may be no longer prostituted to so vile a purpose, whilst so great a veneration is paid to it by all good men. I am,

My Lord,

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace. Your Grace's, &c.

JOHN CICESTR.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, *Norwich, Sept.* 29, 87.

IN pursuance of the inclosed recommendation, I applied myself to Mr. Dean, and the prebends of this church, for their charity, towards the relief of Mr. John Smith, rector of Ashford in your grace's diocese, as the letter sets forth. Mr. Dean, and the prebends, allotted five pounds to Mr. Smith, which sum, with my own mite, would have made up ten pounds, and this sum was to be paid by Mr. Dean at his arrival in London; and of this I gave a hint to Dr. Paman in my letter to him: but since we learn from the Gazette, that the whole contrivance was a cheat and a forgery; and, for the further discovery of it, I have sent the inclosed to your grace. I am,

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace. Your Grace's, &c.

WILLIAM NORWICH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, *Sept.* 6, 87.

I Have received your grace's letter of the 3d instant by this post; the effect of it is, to bespeak the charity of this church for one Mr. Robert Jones, rector of Ashford, who is a prisoner on the account of suretiship; the cause for which he suffers, does not at all commend his suit; but that which follows does very much: that he is known to your grace; and that you judge him to be one that deserves our assistance: on that account he shall have it from me in such proportion, as your grace shall think fit; and of that your grace shall judge at my coming up to London, which will be about six weeks hence, if God permit; or, if you

will not judge, I will tax myself as I would do any other man in my condition, and so much beyond, as I ought to be stricter to myself than any other. I am, my good lord,

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace.

Your grace's, &c.
WILL. ASAPH.

MY MOST HONOURED LORD, *Sept.* 13, 87.

I Send your grace, here enclosed, that piece of forgery which came this day se'nnight, as a letter from your grace. I saw your name to it so well counterfeited, that I did not examine the hand in the rest of the letter; nor took notice of the false spelling in the word acquent, and twice diocesse; which I should have boggled at otherwise. But your name, which I doubted not to be of your grace's own hand, was enough to assure me the whole letter was yours. And whether you writ it in haste, or had an amanuensis to write it, I was not curious to examine; or whether it was forged, which I now understand was the case. The woman rogue, by whom, or for whom it was forged, having thus made ready the bait, and hanged me upon it, came and drew up her line the next day; there she had five pounds upon her hook; and with it she got a subscription into her paper, which she carried forward to Bangor; and there, I doubt not, having baited the water with a letter from your grace, and having a subscription to second it, she hooked as much more betweeen the bishop and the dean. I am my good lord,

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace.

Your grace's, &c.
WILL. ASAPH.

Having now followed Robert Young, and his pretended wife, to the end of the first great turn of their affairs in England, it is but reasonable, that I should use the same exactness as I have done in that part of their story which was acted in Ireland, that I should declare by what means I have had the certain information, which inabled me to trace them so narrowly also in this part of their adventures.

It was soon after my deliverance from them, on June the 13th, that I desired Mr. Needham, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, to let him know what danger he had escaped, together with myself and others. Immediately thereupon, his grace gave him notice of his own former rencounters with the same Robert Young; and withal ordered him to let me have a sight of most of the foregoing papers.

Having perused them, and perceiving they would effectually contribute to the farther confusion of the wretch, I intreated his grace to resign them to my disposal, and to recollect what he could further remember on this subject.

To which request, I received these following answers from that excellent prelate; whose name alone would be sufficient authority in matters of far greater concernment than this; there being no

good man that I know of, who has him not in the highest esteem for his integrity and piety.

A Letter from Archbishop Sancroft to me, dated July 13, 1692.

MY GOOD LORD AND BROTHER, *Fresingfield, July* 13.

I Have just received your's of July the 5th, and, having read it over, immediately take up my pen to tell you, that, in compliance with your earnest desires, I give up, and consign into your lordship's hands, all the papers concerning Young the falsary, which I sent to Mr. Needham, to be made use of, and disposed, as your lordship, in your discretion, shall think fit; with this caution, notwithstanding, that, whereas there are amongst them some letters of my old dear friends, Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, and Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph (who are both at present, in or about London) no use be made of them, without their privity, nor any further than they shall allow.

As for the narrative you desire, you shall certainly have it, as well as my old leaking memory will inable me to form it: but, though I must take the longer time for that, yet, because you tell me you long (with some impatience) for my answer to the rest, I have hastened to give it (and my kindest respects) with that readiness and heartiness, which becomes,

For the Lord Bishop of Rochester. My lord, Your lordship's, &c.

A second Letter from Archbishop Sancroft to me, dated August 24, 1692.

MY LORD,

I Remember well what I wrote to you in a former letter, concerning the narrative you desired, of what passed heretofore between me and Robert Young. But, when I sat down to make it, I found two things lying directly in my way. First, I was credibly informed, that you had wholly laid by your design; and, secondly, many years having passed since those things happened, and I having lately cursorily read over the papers I sent you: my memory did not serve me, without them, to judge where they were defective, or how any incoherence in them might be supplied.

But now that I am assured, that you are, in good earnest, going on with what you intended; and understand what are the particulars that remain still obscure to you in those papers; I will not only endeavour to clear those, but the rest of the story, as far as I can remember it.

He was twice with me at Lambeth; the first time, within a month after he was degraded at Dublin, to desire some employment in the church; in order to which, he produced letters of orders, which I very much suspected. For besides, that they were not, as I remember, in form, and in the usual style; there was

fixed to them, with a label, a great episcopal seal, such as we put to our leases: which, upon my objecting it, he affirmed to be the custom of the bishops in Ireland. And, when I told him I had no employment void in my gift, he was very earnest with me to recommend him to the bishop of London; with a design, I suppose, that he might have a copy to write by in his intended forgeries; but I refused.

Some time after, he came again, since when I never saw him, to desire me to recommend him to be a chaplain to a ship, or in some of the plantations; which I again refused (for, in truth, I never liked him from the beginning) telling him, that it was a part of the Bishop of London's province.

In the mean time, having acquaintance with Dr. Foley, the Archbishop of Dublin's chaplain, who was then in England; I sent to him for some better information concerning this importunate bold man; which produced those letters which are in your hands.

About this time he sent his woman to Windsor, with a petition to the king, pretending, that her husband, going to be minister at one of the foreign plantations, was taken by the Turkish pirates; and begging a share in the money collected for the redemption of captives. His majesty referred the petition to me and my lord of London; which yet I never saw, nor heard of, till a good while after. In the mean while, they had forged a report upon the reference, under both our hands and seals, to bring them into a share of the redemption-money.

By this time, or before, he had gotten, I know not how, one of those instruments by which we grant places in our hospitals of Croydon and Canterbury; they are written in an expanded sheet of paper, with a margin broad enough to receive the seal which we use on those occasions, and which was usually placed about the middle of the instrument. This margin he tore off, with my subscription under it, finding room enough above it to croud in a licence to beg in three dioceses, which I wonder any man should take to be mine; both because I had upon all occasions refused to give, even worthy persons, licence to beg; and because I could not (mean as I am) be reasonably thought so silly as to bespeak three dioceses in so wretched a stile, and in such a wretched scroll of paper.

However, this gross sham, improbable as it was, prevailed with many of my friends, and he drained a great deal of money from them, till some one (I have forgot who) seized that miserable, pitiful slip of torn paper (the most contemptible that ever had the impudence to set up for a metropolitical rescript, since the order came first into the world) and sent it to me, which was the first notice I ever had of his practices.

After this, for several years I heard not one word of Robert Young, nor knew what was become of him, till at length enter Mrs. Jones (in truth, as it proved Young's wife, or worse) pretending to be the wife of a clergyman in my diocese, then a pri-

soner for a vast debt, carrying in her hand a letter of mine, wholly forged, to desire the contributions of the bishops and clergy for his enlargement. I knew I had no such clerk in Kent, and though she changed the name to Smith, I think of Ashford in Kent, yet still about she went with forged letters, applying herself to my particular friends, who, with their clergy, were very bountiful to her. When I had notice of it, I disavowed the letters, as I had reason, there being manifest characters of forgery upon them; and sent to the bishop of St. Asaph to lay hold of her, and send her up to London, but she escaped us.

Whilst she was at work so far off, Young himself was playing the like pranks in my native country, where he got a great deal of money; but, coming to Bury St. Edmonds, Dr. Battely's brother, a magistrate there, observing his impudence, sent for a constable, and brought him and his quean, who by this time was come to him, before the recorder, &c. by whom, upon examination, they were imprisoned there. You have the copies of the examinations, and his original letters and confessions to me; and also copies of the informations against him, that he swore in prison he would have my blood; but how he got out of prison (unless it were because no body prosecuted him) Dr. Battely can better inform you than I, to whom therefore I refer you.

My lord, thus far I have gone, out of my desire to serve you, and shall be ready in any particular to give satisfaction, as my old weak memory will inable me; for I confess I most earnestly long to see this foul impostor detected, and right done to so many innocent persons, whose ruin he hath sought in the basest manner. I am,

My lord,

Fresingfield, Aug. 24, 1692. Your lordship's, &c.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

As far as my intelligence goes, the only punishment which the authors of all these last gross cheats sustained, after they had found them so long a time successful, was, that they were pursued through England by these two advertisements in the printed gazettes of the year 1687.

Advertisement in the Gazette, Sept. 22, 1687.

WHEREAS a woman, pretending to be the wife of R. Jones, rector of Ashford in Kent, hath gone about England and Wales, begging the charity of several persons, for the relief of her said husband, whom she pretended to be in prison for debt; and hath both forged several letters, as from his grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury to several bishops, and received several sums of money. These are to give notice, that there is no such person as R. Jones, rector of Ashford, and that his grace never wrote any such letters. It is therefore desired, that, if the said

woman can be met with, she be apprehended, and dealt with according to law.

Advertisement in the Gazette, Oct. 6, 1687.

WHEREAS a woman, pretending to be the wife of R. Jones, vicar of Ashford in Kent, and now in prison for debt, and one who calls himself Smith, and pretends also to be vicar of Ashford, have forged several letters as from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, begging up and down in several parts of England and Wales, have received several sums of money. These are to give notice, that neither of these men is vicar of Ashford, and that the archbishop never wrote any such letters. It is therefore desired, that, if the said persons can be met with, they be apprehended, and be dealt with according to law.

But how they got clear of this ill affair, whether they suffered any corporal punishment for their going under the names of Jones and Smith, as they had done for those of Green, I am not yet certainly informed. For the present I am rather inclined to believe that they escaped unpunished, because the meek Archbishop Sancroft would not permit them to be prosecuted in his name; for which they have since well rewarded him.

But this I only speak upon conjecture; and the truth is, it is impossible that the world should ever have an exact account of Mr. Robert Young's whole life, unless he himself would be pleased to write the counter-part of his story.

But it was not long after this, that Robert Young and Mary took the short turn they had at Bromley; which was indeed so short, that they were vanished thence before I knew of their being there. Only as to the man's ill character, during that time, and his frequent boasting of his abilities in forgery, I am furnished by a worthy gentleman, my neighbour, with the ensuing certificate:

THESE are to certify, that, during the short time of Mr. Robert Young's officiating at Bromley-College, which, as I remember, was about six weeks, he went under an ill character of his wicked living; particularly I have heard him brag, before Mr. Roman and others, that he could counterfeit any man's hand in England.

Witness my hand the 1st of *Sept.* 1692.

WALSINGHAM KING.

Now, because this is the proper place, I have here ready for my reader, as I promised him, the intire letter which Robert Young wrote out of Newgate, to the widows of the college at Bromley; whereof I cited before some honest truths, and quaint expressions:

MADAM,

BEGGING your pardon for this my rude attempt, I humbly crave leave thus to set forth my present miserable condition unto you, and all the rest of the worthy gentlewomen belonging to that college, to whom, I hope, you will communicate this. I have

been almost twelve months a prisoner, confined, destitute of friends, money, &c. so that it hath been purely the providence of God that hath hitherto supported me. I thank God my confinement was not occasioned either by murder or felony, or any ill thing; but an Irishman, (whom I pray God forgive) swore against me, that, by vertue of bills, I raised money for the use of King James. Now, to make you sensible that I never acted any such thing, and that those things, which were laid to my charge, were as false as hell; you may remember, that, during my abode among you, and amidst the worst of times, I was one who stood up for the vindication of the church of England, and altogether against the Roman catholicks; whereas, if I had not a member of the church of England been, then was the time (when authority was on my side) to lift up my head; yet, at the same time, as you can all bear me witness, I stood in the gap against their doctrine and clandestine actions: all which, me-thinks, is sufficiently demonstrable, that they have lain to my charge things that I know not of; yet for the same a fine was laid upon me, under which I now labour, to the great disquiet of my soul, and the starving of my natural body, which, if not supported, will suddenly (being not able to subsist any longer) be transformed into its first matter. May it therefore please you, and all the vertuous gentlewomen of that college, so far to cast a compassionate eye on my most miserable and despicable condition, as to extend your charitable benevolence toward my enlargement here hence, and send it me this week by a trusty hand. The reason why I begg it this week, is because I have employed one to remove me to the king's-bench, where I expect my freedom, and, in the mean time, some employ, whereby to keep soul and body together; but, if continued here, I shal perish out of pure want: therefore I hope you will putt on bowels which are human, and lend your helping hand to a fallen brother. I pray God incline your hearts to do things for God's glory and the good of the church; and I beg leave to remain

Your most humble servant,

and affectionate brother in the Lord,

ROBERT YOUNG.

My most humble service to you all in general, whom I pray God keep and support now and for ever.

I have lately given me 30s. toward my removal to the King's-bench, but it will cost 4l.

Direct for me at the masters side debtors, in Newgate, London.

For Mrs. Young, or Mrs. Craige, widows, or any other widows of the college in Bromley in Kent.

I am now attending Robert Young in his next stages to St. Albans and Litchfield, where he managed his business for a time without Mary Hutt, and some time in concert with her, and both times like himself.

The season, indeed, of his coming to, and acting in these places was, of all others, most proper to conceal the impudent knaveries he practised there, and in the parts thereabout, it being towards the latter end of the year 1688, and the beginning of 1689, (the very time when all men's minds were amused with greater matters, and intent upon the revolution of the government, which happened during that interval) for, as it is usually found, that the little mean thieves and pick-purses are wont to have the greatest harvest in places where there is the greatest bustle and croud, and where they find most quarrels and frays; so this great rogue could not wish for a fitter occasion to escape unperceived in his cheats, than when there was such an universal combustion in all parts of the nation, and when men were generally more sollicitous to save their lives than their pockets.

And, accordingly, he made use of this opportunity, both at St. Albans and Litchfield, to the best advantage for his designs; so that I find a world of new matter rising up before me, both that city, and that town, and all those countries resounding, to this day, with the noise of his and his pretended wife's forgeries, and other their lewd pranks.

But, out of mere compassion to my reader, and, indeed, weariness in myself, I will reduce, into as narrow a compass as I can, that part of their history, which else, perhaps, would have proved more copious than any of the rest.

It may therefore suffice, that I only give some few undoubted proofs, to justify what I have already affirmed of his behaviour at St. Albans, and at Litchfield. First, here are two letters to give an account of his general conversation at Litchfield; and then several other letters and informations concerning the notorious forgeries, which he practised on Mr. Clark of Northampton, Mr. Mathew of Daventry, and Mr. Olds of Coventry; and also the depositions of Robert Young's own servant, and Mary Young herself at Litchfield; and, lastly, the forged bills and letters of advice, by which they accomplished all these cheats.

First, A letter to me, concerning Robert Younge's Life, during his stay at Litchfield, from a reverend clergyman of that cathedral,

MY LORD, *Litchfield, July* 23, 1692.

I Received this morning your lordship's of the twentieth instant, and have here inclosed as much, as the shortness of time would permit, of Young's carriage in this place. I shall be glad, if this may help to clear the innocent, and detect the fraud of villains.

Robert Young, who pretended to be an Irish clergyman, and to have good church-preferment in Ireland, and a considerable temporal estate, lived for some time in Litchfield, and lodged with one Moreton, who kept a publick house.

During his being here, he was observed to have store of gold and silver, and some plate.

He kept his man and two horses, and rode often abroad, but, as many observed, more like a highwayman than a divine. Before

he left this place, he went to lodge at a private house, where the gentlewoman's maid was debauched, and, some say, by him.

He made love to a gentleman's daughter in Tamworth, and, in all likelihood, had married her, if a woman had not come hither, whom he owned to be his wife.

It is said, he would have given his man money to have killed this woman, whom he owned to be his wife; which when the man refused to do, he attempted to kill him.

He was arrested here first for debt, and afterwards for taking bills of exchange out of the mail, and, from this prison, was removed to Newgate. There is one Mr. Mathew at Daventry, who, as I hear, can give more account of Young's rogueries. I am,

Your lordship's, &c.

L. A.

Secondly, The substance of a letter to Sir R. R. from a person of worth and credit at Litchfield, to the same purpose as the former:

SIR.

I Have made the utmost inquiry I can into Young's behaviour, whilst he was at Litchfield, which was not above a quarter of a year, or thereabouts. When he came first hither, he was very full of money and plate; pretended to be a dean in Ireland, and to have a plentiful estate there, and to have brought the money and plate thence. So soon as he became a little acquainted, he began to inquire out for a fit person to make him a wife, and presently fell in league with a woman at Tamworth (who was to have a thousand pounds to her portion) and had prevailed with her to marry him, as he himself boasted; but, while it was *in fieri*, there came a woman hither, who said she was his wife, and who, doubtless, was so; and the villain, as his man reported, would have hired him to have killed her, and, upon his refusal, endeavoured to kill him. Before he came to Litchfield, it seems, he had been for some time at St. Albans, where, by courting the post-master's daughter, he obtained the privilege of looking into the pacquets, and by that means got divers letters into his custody, which had bills for return of money inclosed in them; with which he posted his wife to London, who there received a good part of the money. This we know by the relation of Mr. Olds, a mercer in Coventry, and of another mercer in Daventry; the former of which, coming hither and surprising him, while he had money and plate left, got as much in value, as satisfied his bill; and the latter, being sent hither by him, in two or three days after, seized his person, and got him committed to the town-gaol, and thence removed him to London, where he was tried, and convicted of these and some other such roguish practices, and pilloried for them.

Sir, I am, &c.

Thirdly, A Letter to me from Mr. Allestree, Minister of Daventry, touching Robert Young's demeanor at Litchfield, and particularly his forging Bills of Exchange, under the Names of Mr. Olds and Mr. Mathew.

MY LORD, *Daventry, Sept.* 20, 1692.

I Have, in obedience to your lordship's desires, inquired concerning the villainies that Robert Young has perpetrated here, and made this place the stage thereof, and I am furnished with such unquestionable intelligence, and such abundance of matter of this kind, that does sufficiently discover the disposition of the man, and the pravity of his mind, that he is prepared by nature, custom, or indigence, for any sort of wickedness: so that knowing certainly the many cheats he has acted here, and in our neighbourhood, without compunction or remorse, it is no wonder to me, that, by degrees, he is risen at last to attempt the life of others, by the trade of forgery, and swearing men into treasonable acts and associations.

About the latter end of the year 1688, we were alarmed with the news of a notorious cheat that had been practised upon Mr. Shipton in Friday-street, by a villain who had forged the hand of Mr. Justice Mathew, of this town, and copied his letters so exactly, that he himself could not discover the difference by the strokes of the pen, or disown the writing upon view, but only by being conscious to himself that he had never written, or set his hand to any paper of that moment and importance; so that Mr. Shipton, who was his correspondent in London, was easily imposed upon by the similitude of hands, and paid two-hundred pounds upon a pretended bill drawn upon him from Mr. Mathew. When the following post gave notice of the payment of the money, and also of the order that was followed therein, all endeavours were speedily used to apprehend and discover the impostor, and many journies were undertaken into several countries, in pursuit of him; but all inquiry and search for the detection of the theft, and of the author, were fruitless and unsuccessful, till it happened, after some considerable distance of time, that, the news of this cheat spreading far and wide, one Mr. Olds of Coventry sent word to Mr. Mathew, that he had been formerly cheated of fourteen pounds, that he had discovered the rogue that had forged his hand, and that he had given him satisfaction for his money. He did not know but this might be the man that had put the like trick upon him in a greater sum, and referred it to his consideration, whether it would be worth his while to go so far as Litchfield for enquiry and satisfaction. It will not be improper in this place, my lord, to trace things from the beginning, and examine how Mr. Olds came by this intelligence, that helped him to the recovery of his money; the cheat that was put upon him was of an ancient standing, and he had been a long time under the sense of the loss of his money, without any expectation ever to retrieve it. Now this Young, who had practised these rogueries upon him, and divers others, and by these frauds had lined his pockets with a competent sum, both of gold and silver, repairs to Litchfield

in a decent habit; pretends himself an Irish protestant and refugee, one that was persecuted for righteousness, and had lost all for the sake of the gospel. The dean and prebendaries believe him, and receive him with a great deal of civility, charity, and humanity, permitting him to preach in their several courses, that so their benevolence to him might be greater, and seem like an act of justice, and the discharging of a debt.

In this pomp, with all manner of accommodation, he resides a long time among them at Litchfield, and follows the sports that were suitable to the season, whilst his wife, by his instructions, is carrying on her usual cheats at London. Now having represented himself a batchelor, he made his court to a young woman, and had advanced far in her esteem; but the detection of his rogueries broke off the intrigue. For, his wife sending him word that she was coming down to him, he went forth one morning with his servant (who carried his gun after him) a shooting, and there proposed to him the killing of her, offering him a great reward for his pains. But, the motion being rejected with abhorrence, he threatened to be revenged of him, and cut his throat.

The man, believing his master was very serious in his threatenings, and that he would accomplish his malice, when privacy and night favoured him, run away from his service; and knowing the cheat, that had been acted upon Mr. Olds, repaired as fast as he was able to Coventry, to give him notice of it; and he accordingly went down to Litchfield, charged Mr. Young with the forgery, who, rather than he would hazard the losing of his credit and his station with the prebends, gave him satisfaction immediately.

And now, my lord, I am arrived at the point of time, which made way for the discovery of Mr. Mathew's cheat; the account of which I will choose to give you in his own words, and insert in the body of this letter:

'About the latter end of February, 1688, one Mary Young had 'a bill of nine pounds on Mr. Shipton, which said sum she received 'the fourth of March following, of him, at the Seven Stars in Fri- 'day-street. On the nineteenth, and on the twenty-first of the said 'March, both my letters of cash concerns were opened, transcrib- 'ed, and counterfeited; and advice given of a two-hundred pounds 'bill, which was also counterfeited; upon which Mr. Shipton paid 'to the said Mary Young two-hundred pounds, the twenty-second 'of March following. Robert Young lay at St. Albans, as was sup- 'posed, and, by corrupting the post-master there, had opportunity 'of counterfeiting my letters: some time after, the said Mary 'Young was taken at the Maiden-head and Three Kings in Cheap- 'side, with a counterfeit bill on Mr. Billers, pretended to be 'drawn by Mr. Joseph Olds of Coventry; she was then charged 'with the cheat she had put upon Mr. Shipton, and was commit- 'ted to Wood-street Compter, from whence she removed herself to 'the King's-Bench, in Southwark, and, when the fire broke out 'there, made her escape.

'About the tenth of December following I heard of their being 'at Litchfield, and immediately went down post; came thither 'about twelve at night, and in the morning beset the house where 'Robert Young lodged; and, after above an hour's search, found 'him in the cellar hidden under a stack of furze. At his first ap- 'prehension he owned the cheat, and offered his globes and books 'for satisfaction; but, they being refused, he denied all. His wife 'also said, before the magistrate, that was the first time ever he 'had seen her, though his servant swore that they had lived years 'together, and that she had borne him several children. From 'Litchfield they were brought to London, and tried the fifteenth of 'January, 1689, where, upon full evidence, they were found guilty 'of cheating and forgery: and were sentenced to stand in the pil- 'lory in Cheapside, and at the Royal-Exchange, and fined one 'hundred marks: the first day of the term following to stand 'in the pillory in Westminster, and fined one-hundred marks 'more: his wife the same punishment, but her fine was but twenty 'marks.'

My Lord, I should be very glad, &c. as being
Your lordship's, &c.
CHARLES ALLESTREE.

Fourthly, A Letter from Mr. Mathew, a Justice of the Peace, confirming the former relation as to his part in it:

MR ALLESTREE,

I Have given my Lord Bishop of Rochester as full an account of that rascal Young, as time will permit; but, if required, can get more particulars against him from Northampton and Coventry. I shall be very glad if I can be instrumental to clear my lord from the imputation this villain has laid him under. Knowing how ready a great part of the world is to speak evil (especially of their sort) of dignities. Pray when you write to his lordship, assure him that I am,

Daventry, His lordship's, &c.
Sept. 12, 1692. BENJ. MATHEW

Fifthly, The Information of Joseph Olds of Coventry, Mercer:

THE said informant maketh oath, that Mr. Robert Young, the person now present, having cheated and defrauded him of a considerable sum of money (viz. in May or June, 1683, by receipt of ten pounds, part of a forged bill of exchange of one-hundred pounds, pretended to be drawn by this deponent upon Mr. John Billers of London; and in August last, by receipt of thirty-four pounds, ten-shillings, surreptitiously received by the said Mr. Young, or order, by intercepting two bills of exchange; one drawn upon Mr. Wootton in the Strand, for twenty pounds, and the other upon Joseph Toovey cheesemonger, for fourteen pounds, ten shillings) the said Mr. Olds did take out a capias out of the Court of Record in the city of Litchfield, and the said Mr. Young, being

privy to it, owned the fraud, and made him satisfaction thereof; and drew out a letter or note, importing an order, directed, as this deponent remembers, to his wife, and thereby required her to pay a certain number of pieces of gold, to the value of about seven pounds; and that the woman now present, Mary Young, did, pursuant thereto, bring the number of pieces of gold, and delivered them to the said Mr. Young, and that the said Mr. Young delivered them to this deponent. This deponent further saith, that Mr. Billers (this deponent's correspondent at London) in his letter to him, informed this deponent, that he had received his letter, or rather a copy of it, with the advice of drawing a bill upon him for payment of two-hundred pounds, at sight, to Sarah Harris, which money he had not paid, but that the person that brought it was secured, and proved to be the same that cheated Mr. Shipton of two-hundred pounds, under the name of Mary Young, or words to that effect.

Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield super Sacram. præd' Josephi Olds, 9° die Decembr. 1689, *coram* JOSEPH OLDS.

Thomas Marshall.
Will, Marshall.

Sixthly, The Examination and Confession of Mary, the wife of Robert Young, Clerk, late of Wapping, near the Hermitage-stairs, at the Sign of the Tobacco-Press. Taken the ninth Day of December, 1689:

CITY OF LITCHFIELD, *ss.*

THE said examinate upon oath saith, that she was married by Dean Dixy in Ireland, at county Cavan, to the said Robert Young about nine years in July last; and that the said Mr. Young then kept a grammar-school there; and saith, that he was beneficed under the Bishop of Kilmore's chaplain, Mr. Crew, in Ireland, and had thereby thirty pounds per annum. That she hath had five children by him, and that they are all dead. That she did go, by order from her husband, the said Robert Young, with a bill upon Mr. Richard Shipton, a linnen-draper, at the Seven-stars in Friday-street, London, and drawn, in the name of Mr. Mathew of Daventry, for two-hundred pounds; and did thereupon demand, and receive the said two-hundred pounds, from the said Mr. Shipton, about February, March, or April last: which bill was delivered her by her said husband, and the money to him delivered by her. That her husband told her, he gave the post-master of St. Albans ten or fifteen guineas to open the pacquet, and to take out some letters: but the truth of this she knows not, otherwise than by the information of the said Robert Young, her husband. That her husband and she came out of Ireland in May was twelve months; but whether he was, or is in holy orders, she knows not, but believes he

is; and says, that her maiden name was Mary Hutt, of County Cavan aforesaid,

Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield, 3 die Decembr. 1689, *coram.* MARY YOUNG.

Thom. Marshall.
Will. Marshall.

THESE are true copies of the informations taken upon oath, at the city of Litchfield, before the justices of the peace of the said city, against Robert Young, the day and year abovesaid: which original informations remain in the custody of me,

5 Octob. 1692. R. WAKEFIELD,
Town-clerk of the said city.

THE aforementioned Robert Young and his wife, being in the custody of the Sheriff of the city and county of Litchfield, were delivered to a messenger especially sent for them, in obedience to a warrant under the hand and seal of the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, then principal Secretary of State; bearing date the sixteenth day of December, 1689. by the then sheriff of the said city, about the twentieth of the said month.

Witness my hand, the 5th of *October*, 1692.
R. WAKEFIELD.
Town-clerk of Litchfield.

Seventhly, The Information of James Young, of the City of Litchfield, Vintner:

THE said informant maketh oath, that he knows Mr. Robert Young, clerk, now present, and Mary Young now present; and that he believes her to be the said Mr. Robert Young's wife, and hath known them to live at Wapping a quarter of a year together, and dine together, and lie together; and that they formerly lived together in Dublin; and that she had two children by him there, and he owned her for his wife, and the children to be his; and that, since he came over into England, this deponent lived with them, in Wapping, a quarter of a year; and that the said Mr. Robert Young frequented the post-house in St. Albans, and that he courted the post-master's daughter; and that he hath heard him say, the ostler at the post-house (called John) brought him up the bags out of the pacquet, and he opened and took what letters he pleased, and hath sent this deponent, being then his servant, to receive monies upon bills of exchange, that he had fetched from St. Albans; namely, 14l. 5s. from a cheese-monger, near the Cock in Aldersgate-street, London, and allowed 5s. for the speedy payment of it; and 20l. from a man at the Sword and Helmet in the Strand, by another bill, intercepted by Mr. Young as aforesaid; which bill this deponent received by the said Mr. Young's order, and delivered the sum of 20l. thereof to him. But, this deponent having not delivered the 14l. 5s. to the said Mr. Young, he searched this deponent, and the

said deponent hid nine guineas, but never could find it since; and for that this deponent would not go to London upon a message to the said Mrs. Young, to bring her down into the country, and hang or drown her coming down (for which he offered this deponent 6l.) the said Mr. Young, near Cannost-wood, or Weeford-park, charged a gun, attempted to shoot this deponent; but, the gun not going off upon twice cocking, and his own horse starting at the snapping of the gun, this deponent wrested it from his hand, and rode away with it, till he came to Litchfield, and then discharged it, and carried it home to the Talbot in Litchfield.

Capt. & jurat. apud Civit. Litchfield, 9° *Decembr.* 1689, *coram* JAMES YOUNG.

Thom. Marshall. Will. Marshall.

Eighthly, The further Examination and Information of James Young; taken at Litchfield aforesaid, the 14th day of December, 1689:

THE said James Young confesseth, that he hath heard the aforementioned Mr. Robert Young (during the time that he lived with the said Robert Young) confess, that the aforementioned Mary Young had received above 500l. for him in London within a twelve-month, by bills of exchange, forged and surreptitiously obtained by him, namely, 200l. from Mr. Shipton, and 150l. from some other persons, whose names this examinate hath now forgot; and that he received 30l. himself from a shopkeeper, and several other sums of money, which this informant hath now forgot; and that he blamed this examinate for not receiving two other bills, which the said Robert Young would have had this informant to have gone with, and demanded, and to have received. And then boasted, that he had himself received the 30l. abovementioned, and that he had given the post-mistress's son of St. Albans 50l. by several times, to let him be privy to the post bags and pacquet, and that he had made use of them, on these like occasions, all this last summer; and that he went by the name of Robert Kendall in St. Albans, and used to be there sometimes a week, sometimes a fortnight together, though his habitation was at Wapping. And says, that when this informant refused to go with the bills, as abovementioned, the said Robert Young called him a fool, and told him, if he were apprehended, it was but standing in the pillory an hour or two; and that it was nothing, he had stood in the pillory himself, and had been imprisoned and laid in bolts at Suffolk for a considerable time.

Taken at Litchfield, the 14th day of December, 1689, before Thom. Marshall. JAMES YOUNG.

THESE are true copies of the informations taken at the city of Litchfield, before the justices of peace of the said city, against Robert Young, the day and year abovesaid; which original informations remain in the custody of R. WAKEFIELD,
5 *October*, 1692. Town-clerk of the said city.

Ninthly, The true and the false bills of exchange, and false letters of advice, by which the several forgeries upon Mr. Clarke, Mr. Mathew, and Mr. Olds were transacted.

First, The forged bill to Mr. Kendall, to pay Robert Young twenty pounds, under the name of Robert Smith:

Northampton, 10 *July*, 1688.

MR. Kendall, pray pay one Thirsday next the sume of twenty pounds to Mr. John Philips, or order, for the use of Mr. Robert Smith, for like valew hear receivd, and plase to accounte of your reall friend } 20—00—00

JOHN CLARKE.

This to Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the
3 Pigens in Milke-sreet, London.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 16th of July, 1688, the full contents of this bill, being twenty pounds, I say received per Rob. Smith. } 20l.-00s.-00d.

Secondly, The true bill of Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall for the same sum, upon which the first was forged:

Northampton, July 10th, 1688.

MR. Kendall, pray pay one Thirsday next the sume of twenty pounds to Mr. John Philips, or order, for the use of Mr. Robert Smith, for like vallew hear receivd, and plase to accounte of your reall friend } 20l.-00s.-00d.

JOHN CLARKE.

This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the
3 Pigens in Milke-street, London.

The Indorsement.

July 17, 1688.

PAID Mr. Robert Smith the twenty pounds back again at Northampton,

JOHN CLARKE.

Thirdly, The forged bill from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall, for one hundred fifty pounds, which Mary Young received under the name of Mary Clarke:

Northampton, the 5th *of Octob.* 1688.

MR. Kendall, I pray you pay one Tuesday next to Mrs. Mary Clarke the sume of one hundred and fifty pounds for like vallew here receiv'd, and place to the account of your reall friend, } 150l.-00s.-00d.

JOHN CLARKE.

To Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the
3 Pigens in Milke-street, London.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 9th of Octob. 1688, the full contents of this bill, being one hundred and fifty pounds, I say received. } 150l.-00s.-00d.

The mark of

MARY | | | CLARKE.

Fourthly, The forged letter of advice from Mr. Clarke to Mr. Kendall, where notice of the one hundred fifty pounds bill is inserted:

MR. KENDALL.

I Am not a littel trubled to hear Mr. Ridly has not paid you as yet any moneys; pray, if you have not yet herd from him, send by the said post, and, if that will not doe, pray let sume person attend the concern, and what it costs, charg to account. Pray also pres for the bill of 5l. lent Sr Symon —— also the bill last sent of Mr. Willames for 4l. 8s. I hope all will suddenly be paid; the bill of 20l. dew to Will. Oldam, as I sent last Munday, is promised to be broyt to your shop in a littel time. I pray you send 3 or 4 lines under ritt to marchant Porter, if the bill is not accepted; but my freind gives me all assurance it will be paid at the time. My lord is a very swet youth to take up 40l. of me in such sort, and now to deall so by me; he owes me at lest 150l. and promised I should have part of that suddenly, and now to serve me thus I take it ill from him, but I will right to him, and I pray you send me down that note he gave me; if my old lord should know he should deal so by me, he would be very angery. [I have given a bill to Mrs. Clarke for 150l. to be paid at sight; I intreat you to pay when she comes for it.] Also I have given a bill to Mr. Bateman for 40l. to be paid Alderman Mausson in 6 days after sight; also a bill for 25l. to one Mr. Ray in a day or two after, or at sight. I am your reall freind,

JOHN CLARKE.

This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall, at the three Pigens in Milke-street, London.

Northampton, 7th of *Octob.* 1688.

SIR, this is to desire you to send a letter next post to Mr. Swan at Hatson in Essecks, 5 miles from Braintery, of whom I had the bill of 100l. payable the 14th instant to Mr. Kendall, for use of Mr. John Whittorne, for, if you should fail my freind Mr. Kendall of the moneyes about that time, it might be a great prejudish to me.

Sir, I am your freind and sarvant,

JOHN CLARKE.

This for marchant Porter.

Next follows the cheat upon Mr. Mathew and Mr. Shipton, in the same order.

First, A true bill from Mr. Mathew to Mr. Shipton, to pay Mary Young nine pounds:

MR. SHIPTON, *Februar.* 21. 88.

PAYE at sight of this my bill to Mrs. Marey Young, or to her assines, nine pounds, for the same summ receivd at the Wheat Sheaf, at Dentrey, bey
At the 7 Stares in Friday-street: this.

Your freind and sarvant,
JONATHAN MATHEW.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED, the 4th of March, 1688, nine pounds, in full of this bill. } 09l. 00s. 00d.

per Mary Young.

Secondly, The forged bill for two hundred pounds, payable to Mary Young:

MR. SHIPTON, *March*, 18, 1688.

PAYE at sight of this my bill to Mrs. Marey Young, or to her assines, 200l. for the same summ receiv'd of her at the Wheat Sheafe at Dentry, by

Your freind and sarvant,
At the 7 Stares in Friday-street, this.
JONATHAN MATHEW.

The Indorsement.

RECEIV'D the 21th of March, 1688, two hundred pound, in full of this bill, } 200l. 00s. 00d.

per Mary Young.

Thirdly, The forged letter of advice, in which, notice of the two hundred pounds is inserted;

SIR,

I Have drawne a bill on you to pay Mr. Sam. Bird, or order, 30l. [and a bill likewise on you to pay Mrs. Mary Young 200l. which pray pay her on demand.] Mr. Woodward will pay you 200l. at least this week or the next following. Mr. Compion for Dev Wall 100 and od pounds for

Your humble servant,
Daintry, 9 *March*, 1688. BENJ. MATHEW.
To Mr. Richard Shipton at the 7 Stares in Friday-street, London.

Fourthly, A true letter of Mr. Mathew, in the postscript whereof forged notice is given of the two-hundred pounds bill:

SIR,

BE pleased to pay to William Peytue, Esq. or order, 66l. and place 7l. 10s. to accompt of Thomas Lucas, that I have received of him for your use: who am,
I hope you have paid Mrs. Mary Young 200l. and Mr. Sam. Bird 30l.

Your humble servant,
BENJ. MATHEW.
Daintry, March 21, 1688.

Fifthly, Mr. Mathew's letter to Mr. Shipton, upon notice of the cheat;

MR. SHIPTON,

I Have just now received a letter from you, wherein you say you have paid 200l. to Mary Young. I never receiv'd any such summ, nor drew any such bill, therefore have sent Tom away post to let you know it, that if possible you might retrieve it.

Your servant,

BENJ. MATHEW.

My father saith he never drew any such bill, and Tom will satisfy you he hath not.

Daintrey, 8 of the clock Friday night.

Sixthly, Mary Young's letter to Mr. Mathew, after she had cheated him of two-hundred pounds.

SIR,

THIS is to give you notice, that I have borrowed on your credit from Mr. Shipton 200 ponds, and when I am able I will pay you again: the way I got your letter out of the post-office in London, was by seeing one of the men that carried the letters about: and by that letter of advice I procured another to be write, so that you need not trouble yourself any more. I rest,

M. Young, alias Brown, alias Stewart, alias Forbus, alias Boner, &c.

For Mr. Jonathan Mathew at Daintrey near Coventary.

These at the Wheat Sheafe.

Lastly, here are the cheats upon Mr. Olds and Mr. Billers, all but the bill of 20l. which I have not seen.

First, The forged bill of 100l. from Mr. Olds to Mr. Billers, June 12, 1683, whereof Robert Young only got 10l.

Coventry, June 12, 1683.

BROTHER BILLERS,

AT sight of my bill, bearing date June 12, be pleased to pay unto Mr. Robert Young the sume of a hundred pounds, which I have received from him: I have nothing els at present, but this letter of advice from him, who is

Your loving brother and servant,

To Mr. Billers, at the Three Kings in Cheapside, London. JOSEPH OLDS.

June 13, 1683.

RECEIVED from Mr. John Billers the sume of ten pounds. Sir, I say received by me.

ROB. YOUNG,

Secondly, A true bill of Samuel Croxal, upon Joseph Young to John Billers, for use of Mr. Olds for 14l. 10s. Aug. 5, 1689. But received by Robert Young's man, upon account of a forged indorsement:

FRIEND JOSEPH YOUNG, *The 5th of Aug.* 1689.

AT site of this my bill, or ten days after, I pray pay to John Billers, or order, the sume of fourteen pounds ten shillings, for the use of Joseph Olds: make good payment, and plase it to the accompt of thy friend,

At Long-lane end, in Aldersgate-streate, London. SAM. CROXALL.

Indorsed thus,

PRAY pay to my man, James Moorten, the within bill. As witness my hand, Aug. 14, 1689.

JOHN BILLERS.

RECEIVED, the 14th August 89, fourteen pounds ten shillings, being the full contents of this bill, for my Mr. John Billers.

14---10---00

per JAMES MORTON.

Thirdly, A true bill of Mr. Olds, for 10l. to Mr. Billers, Feb. 21, 88, for Sarah Harris:

For 10--00--00 *Coventry*, 21 *Feb.* 1688.

AT sight pray pay unto Mrs. Sarah Harris the summe of ten pounds, value received of her, as per advice from

To Mr. John and Benj. Billers, at the 3 Kings in Cheapside, Lond.

Your loving brother and servant, JOSEPH OLDS.

The Indorsement.

RECEIVED February 28th, 1688-9, ten pounds in full of this bill. per Sarah S H Harris. her mark.

Fourthly, A false bill for 200l. from Mr. Olds, Aug. 10, 1689, by which Sarah Harris, alias Mary Young, was discovered:

For 200--00--00, *Coventry*, 10th *Aug.* 1689.

AT sight, pray pay unto Mrs. Sarah Harris the summe of two hundred pounds, value received of her, as per advice from

Your loving brother and servant, JOSEPH OLDS.

Fifthly, A false letter from Mr. Olds, wherein advice of the 200l. bill is inserted. *Aug.* 11, 89.

LOVING BROTHER,

YOURS of the 6th instant received-- and mind the contents-- my dear wife is but poorly-- and much as when at Coventry-- she does continue using the means went for-- the Lord sanctify them for her good-- pray accept and pay my 200l. bill at sight to Mrs. Sarah Harris, or order, N° 78. value of herself. Mr. Watson does

not as yet accept the 15l. bill--says must first write to London, where his money lays, and, if can get it paid there, shall know next week, with kind respects and service to you and my sister. Rest, in some hast, Yours,

For Mr. Benj. Billers, at the 3 Kings in Cheapside. JOSEPH OLDS.

Coventry, Aug. 11, 1680.

Perhaps, my reader may wonder why I have been so accurate in setting down at large all these true and forged bills of exchange, and letters of advice. But the reason is, I have had, for some time, and have now at this present all the originals of them in my keeping: I have shewn them to very many persons of great sagacity, both of the nobility and clergy, both of scholars and merchants: and, after an exact view and comparison of them distinctly, line by line, word by word, letter by letter, I must say, all that have seen them were strangely astonished at the surprising similitude between the false writings and the true: and they have done Robert Young this justice, as to pronounce them all to be great masterpieces of forgery.

For my part I will only add, that, since he could perform all this only with two hands, how many names soever he had, most certainly woe would have been to all the citizens and traders of England by false bills of exchange; woe to all the noblemen, bishops, and gentlemen, by false plots and associations, if once Robert Young could have had his wish, and been another *Briareus* with an hundred hands, which I assure my reader is no flight of mine, but his own in his letter from Bury to Archbishop Sancroft, page 72.

My reader having, by this time, found that Robert Young had so often deserved Newgate, will now, I suppose, be glad to see him brought thither to his own home.

But first (according to the course of my method) I must shew that he was sent for up from Litchfield for treasonable practices against the government, which was done by this following warrant from the Earl of Shrewsbury:

Charles Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, &c. one of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, and principal Secretary of State.

THESE are, in his majesty's name, to authorise and require you (taking a constable to your assistance) to search for, seize, and apprehend the persons of Robert Young, Mary Young, and James Young, for dangerous and treasonable practices against the government, and them to bring before me, to answer to such matters as shall on his majesty's behalf be objected against them: and, for so doing, this shall be your warrant. And herein all mayors, justices of the peace, constables, and other his majesty's officers civil and military, are to be assisting to you. Given at the Court at Whitehall the 16th day of December, 1689.

SHREWSBURY.

To Henry Legat, one of the messengers of his majesty's chamber in ordinary.

Robert Young, and James Young,	Left in custody, the 30th of December, 89, by Mr. Legat.

By vertue of this warrant we find Mr. Legat, the messenger, brought Robert from the gaol at Litchfield, to the Gate-house in Westminster; whither, as soon as he came to town, he procured his prisoner to be removed. For, being more cautious than some other messengers since, he would not charge himself with the safe keeping of so dangerous a guest, as he soon perceived him to be.

By the way, Mr. Legat himself has told me of one passage, in their journey up, which, I believe, my reader will thank him for. It is, that Robert Young desired him to stop and call at a little ale-house upon the road, where they found a very old mean fellow, who (as Robert declared) was his father; and, which is yet more strange, the old fellow owned him to be his son.

And, since that time, Mr. Legat, being in Ireland, met by chance the same old man in the streets of Limerick, after it was delivered up to the English. Whereupon, taking acquaintance again with him, by inquiry, he found that he went about in that country, getting a poor livelihood by professing himself to be a fortune-teller and a conjurer. So that thus far we have a pretty account of Robert Young's genealogy, down from the Duke of Lenox to the Irish conjurer.

From the Gate-house (as I have already said) he was removed by the lord chief justice's order to Newgate: where, if my reader, and I myself, were not quite tired with him, I have plenty of instances to prove that he was always the same. One I will give:

During his being prisoner there, whilst none questioned but he was in holy orders, he clandestinely married a fellow gaol-bird of his to a young heiress. For which vile fact, so esteemed even in Newgate, being more severely treated than before, he wrote captain Richardson a letter under his own hand, which I have seen; wherein he tries to excuse himself for so great a crime, by an argument that is somewhat singular, and may be reckoned as one of his most ingenious shifts.

It is to this sense, 'Do not you (says he) noble captain, allow 'any artificer and handicrafts-man, that you have here in prison, 'to work at his own trade, to keep himself from starving? And 'why then should I be denied to get bread for me, and my wife, by 'making use of my function?'

But, to return to that which is more pertinent to my purpose, in Newgate Robert and Mary were kept, till they were tried, and condemned, for the forgeries above-mentioned; as the records here ensuing will shew, though I produce but one a-piece for each of them, for brevity's sake.

London. ss. *Deliber. Gaol. Domin. Regis & Regin. de Newgate tent pro civitat. Lond. apud Justice Hall in le Old Bayly, Lond'm. die Mercur. (scilt.) 5° decimo die Januarii An. Regni Dom. nost. Will. & Mar. nunc Regis & Regin. Angliæ. &c. Primo.*

ROBERT Young *, alias Smith, fin. Cent. & committitur, &c. & ponatur stare, in & sup. Pillor. uno die Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al die in Cheapside, London. ab hora undecima ante merid. usq; hor. prim. post merid. in utroq; eorund. separat. dier. cum Papir. script. supra caput su. ostens. offens. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea salv. Custod. quousq; fin. su. prædict. solverit.

MARY Young †, fin xx^m & committitur, &c. & ponatur stare sup. sedile ante & prope Pillor. uno die in Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al. die in Cheapside London. ab hor. undecima ante merid. usq; hor. prim. post merid. in utroq; eorund. separat. dier. cum Papir. script. supra Caput su. ostens. offens. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea salv. Custod. quousq; fin. su. solverit,

Thus Robert Young and his wife again passed their well-known road of the pillory. But being brought back to Newgate for want of paying their fines; to inable them thereunto, he fell at last upon this damnable contrivance of an association, as the consummation of all his villainies.

I have already told by what means he came to be so skilful in Archbishop Sancroft's hand, and mine; how he got a pattern whereby to forge my Lord Cornbury's, his lordship cannot remember. But my Lord Salisbury's, and my Lord Marlborough's, he obtained partly by the same craft as he did mine; that is, by writing to my Lord Marlborough under his true name of Robert Young; to my Lord Salisbury under the name of Robert Yates, to inquire of the character of some servants they never had: to which false letters they also unawares returned true answers, under their own hands; which he thereupon falsified.

In the same manner he procured Sir Basil Firebrace's hand, by sending him a civil letter, under the feigned name of Robert Yarner, a justice of peace at Marlow in Buckinghamshire, and earnestly recommending to him a wild son of his for an apprentice; professing he would not stick at any money, if Sir Basil would take him under his care: withal 'desiring an answer from him under 'his hand by the bearer, his man;' which he had: and thereupon Sir Basil was entered into the association.

But, lest my reader should think that the single framing of one association was employment enough in matters of state, for so fertile a brain, and so artificial a hand as Robert Young's, during the whole two years and four months that he lay prisoner in Newgate;

* For cheating Mr. Kendal of twenty pounds, by a counterfeit bill of exchange, by him forged in the name of Mr. Clark.

† For cheating Mr. Shipton of two hundred pounds, by a counterfeit bill of exchange, in the name of Mr. Mathew.

I have one story more to tell of him, and then I shall have done; as indeed I well may; for after this association, and this other story of the like nature I am going to relate, I think it may justly be concluded, that scarce ever any mortal man has reached to a deeper pitch of infernal wickedness.

The story is this; shortly after my being cleared at Whitehall, I went to Lambeth, to visit my ancient most honoured friend, my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and to thank him for the very kind offices he had done me at court during my affliction. That being over, I told him, I was going to my Lord Nottingham, to request, that my two false witnesses might be brought to trial, and undergo the justice of the government. His grace encouraged me to do so, and withal bid me tell my Lord Nottingham, as from himself, this story, which I will set down, as near as I can remember, in his own words. Near six months ago, about Christmas last, says my lord archbishop, I received a letter from this Robert Young out of Newgate, to let me know there was a pernicious plot going on against their majesties, which was laid as deep as hell; and he had had the good luck to discover it; desiring me speedily to acquaint the king with it. At first, the information coming from such a place, I took little notice of it. But he shortly wrote me other letters to the same purpose; and at last sent me letters full of treason, pretended to be written by some of the greatest men in England. The hands I did not know; but then I thought it concerned me, as a privy-counsellor, to acquaint his majesty with the whole matter. I did so. The king read over Young's letters to me, and those treasonable ones that he had sent me; and then his majesty very generously said, really, my lord, these papers may resemble some of these persons hands, but I do not in the least distrust them; I am confident they are innocent, and this is a villainy; and therefore I will not have them disturbed upon this account. And so, said my lord archbishop, I carried home my bundle of intelligence again, and, sealing the papers, laid them up in my closet, where they still remain; and I pray tell my Lord Nottingham, that, when their majesties shall command, I am ready to produce them, with the very inscription I put upon them at that same time. *Letters and Papers from Robert Young, who is a very rogue.*

And here indeed I had resolved to give the rogue over. But, when I was just concluding, there happened a new discovery, relating still to my share in this business; so very remarkable, that I cannot, without manifest injury to myself and my reader, deprive him of the knowledge of it: I mean Robert Young's fresh attempt to suborn one Holland, in order to revive the fallen credit of his forged association.

I should be very loth, by what I am going to say, to forestal or misreport the king's evidence against him. But the reality of this gross subornation having been sworn to at Hicks's hall, where I myself was an ear-witness, as well as many worthy gentlemen, and great numbers of other persons, I know not how it were possible for me to make a secret of it, if I would; and, the story so much

conducing to shew the extreme madness and implacable rage of the villain, when he was brought to his last shifts, I think I have great obligation upon me to make it publick.

Now the evidence, in this matter, consisting partly in the discourse Young himself had with Holland, to draw him in to be a perjured witness in this profligate cause; and partly in the instructions Young sent him in writing to swear by. I will set down, as near as I can, a very brief, but faithful abstract of the substance of both; it being to both that Holland publickly took his oath. And to the truth of the instructions, being written in Young's own hand, Mr. Aaron Smith also swore at the same time, and unquestionably proved it, by comparing that paper with a whole handful of letters he had received from Young himself out of Newgate.

It seems, then, that, during the long time of Young's being in Newgate, he became acquainted with one Holland, a prisoner likewise there; Young for forgery, Holland for debt.

Some time after Blackhead had confessed before the lords of the council, Young sent for this Holland to the messenger's house, where he lay confined; and knowing him to be very poor, and thence judging, by himself, that he was the more likely to embrace any wicked design, broke the business to him in this manner:

Mr. Holland, says he, it is most certain there is a hellish plot against the government: the story you may have heard, of the association, is true to a tittle: I should have clearly made it out, had not the cowardly rogue Blackhead forsaken me, being bribed by the Bishop of Rochester, and frighted by some great men at court, who are also themselves as deeply engaged in the design. Now, if you will come in to assist me in the proof of it, we shall be made for ever; I shall have a thousand pounds (so the lying knave boasted) and you shall have half of it. And I think. Mr. Holland, 500l. wil do no hurt to a man in your circumstances.

By my faith you saye true, Mr. Young, replied Holland, such a sum would come very seasonably to me at this time. But what work am I to do for it?

It shall be only your part, answered Young, to swear, that you saw the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Marlborough, and the Bishop of Rochester, sign the association.

But, said Holland, how can I make a probable story of it? Seeing I never saw the association, I know none of the three lords you speak of, nor can I imagine where to fix the place or time of signing it, or any of the other necessary circumstances.

As for all that, said Young, I will send you instructions by my wife, of the particulars you are to swear to. For, Mr. Holland, I would not have you come hither yourself often to me. I have here divers spies upon me: and besides, this damned Blackhead, who has deserted me, lies just over head, in this same messenger's house.

But, as for the association itself, I will now describe you the exact shape of it. Then, calling for a sheet of paper, he folded it into the same fashion: only, says he, you must remember that the association is written in great thick paper.

Next, he repeated to him the heads and principal matter of it: then shewed him in what order the names were subscribed. Here, says he, is the late Archbishop of Canterbury's hand uppermost, towards the right side: next under that, the Bishop of Rochester's: under his the Lord Cornbury's: over against the Bishop of Rochester's to the left, is first the Earl Salisbury's, then still to the left the Earl of Marlborough's, and so of the rest; pointing to the place of every particular name very expertly.

I also well remember, that, in the instructions, there was a list of several other names, that were not in the original forged association; which, no doubt, were put in, towards the framing of more new false associations; as, before I intimated, most certainly was his intention, if this had gained credit.

But, for the persons, added Young, you must get a view of them as soon as you can. And (as far as I can recollect, all that follows was in his paper of written instructions) The Earl of Salisbury, when in town, is at his house in the Strand; when in the country, at Hatfield in Hartfordshire beyond Barnet. The Earl of Marlborough is so well known about Whitehall and St. James's, that you will easily find where he dwells. The Bishop of Rochester is to be seen either at his house at Bromley in Kent, or at Westminster, where he is dean.

And as for the place, and time, and company; you must swear, that you saw these three lords, on such a day (mentioning a particular day, which I have forgot) come to the Lobster ale-house in Southwark: that they came in white camblet clokes, with cravats about their necks: that the sign was, their inquiring for the Number THREE: that then they were conducted up stairs into a back room; and there, in the presence of you, and me, and Captain Lawe (I think also he named one or two more) they signed the association: then, delivering it to Captain Lawe, they said, Captain, we pray, make haste about to get this paper speedily subscribed by the rest, who, you know, are concerned; and that then these three lords threw down their twelve-pence a piece, and so went their ways.

I know my reader, upon sight of all this strange stuff, cannot forbear smiling: which, perhaps, it is not so decent for me to make him do, so near the end of this tragedy.

But it is none of my fault: I only, as near as I am able, relate the simple truth. Most certain it was sworn, that Holland communicated all this to the secretary of state: and, being examined by some lords of the council, affirmed it all upon oath: and I am sure, that, upon oath also, he repeated it all, before the justices of the sessions, and the grand jury of Middlesex, on the day that the bill of forgery and subornation of perjury was found against Blackhead and Young.

And besides, that, which to me confirms the truth of Holland's testimony beyond contradiction, is, that every word of the instructions was undeniably written by Young's own hand; which, by this time, I hope my reader will take me to be a competent judge of.

For, since I begun my knowledge of him, on the 13th of June last, I have seen so very many papers of his own hand-writing, (I mean his true hand, not his false) that, now I may presume to say, I think myself as well skilled in knowing his hand, as he is in counterfeiting mine.

I cannot, therefore, see how he can possibly be excused from ridiculous folly, as well as shameless subornation, in this last so very subtle an intrigue.

I must therefore, upon this occasion, crave his leave to apply one certain general observation to Robert Young in particular, that there was never yet a very great knave, but he proved, some time or other, as great a fool.

I have now, in good earnest, done with Robert Young. But, when I reflect on what I have been doing all this while, I am almost out of countenance at it. It vexes me, that, whilst my happy deliverance might have suggested to me so many better and more useful thoughts, both in regard to the publick, and my own private part in it, I should be so long diverted another way, to follow this impious wretch, through one kingdom to another, from gaol to gaol, from pillory to pillory.

Nor could I have submitted to so mean a task, had not some good and great men thought it necessary, not so much for my own vindication, much less for my own revenge, the thoughts of which are far below me as a christian, and a bishop, as for the security of other innocent persons: and that this might be some warning to my country, in time to come, against the like wicked forgeries, subornations, and false plots.

It is indeed somewhat strange, that when the laws of England are so watchful, and jealous (perhaps more than the laws of any other kingdom) in defending the liberties and properties of the subject, from all injustice, fraud, and oppression; yet they may seem not to have been equally careful, not so much as the laws of most of our neighbouring nations, in providing severely enough against that worst sort of perjury, which reaches to the taking away of men's lives.

For my part, I can assign no other reason of this defect, but the same for which the Romans had for some ages no laws against parricides; that is, that the ancient simplicity and generosity of the English nation did never imagine any Englishman could possibly be guilty of such diabolical wickedness, as to turn accusers for the sake of accusing, and in cold blood, by perjury, to destroy innocent men, to whom they were utter strangers, and who had never in the least provoked them.

I am inclined to believe, that this was the cause why our country has been hitherto deficient in laws of this kind, at least since the conquest.

But if we consider the different degrees of the offences themselves, how can it posibly be thought a crime of the same magnitude, to swear a man falsely out of a part (a small part perhaps) of his goods and estate, as to swear him falsely out of his life, his honour,

his very name, as well as his whole estate; as in the case of high treason? Yet, by all our laws now in being, if I am not misinformed, the penalties of these greatest of perjuries are not much heavier than those which are inflicted for the least.

And what temptation must this be to forswearers, in matters of state especially, when the reward is like to be considerable, if they carry their point so far as to have their false plots believed to be real; and on the other hand, the penalties cannot by law be very grievous, should they be detected of swearing to plots most impudently false? Especially considering, that such infamous persons, knowing they are safe from extraordinary punishment, particularly from punishment by death, have usually no great dread of the shame, or pain of the ordinary ones, such as pilloring and the like; as having, perhaps, been often inured to them before.

To prove what I say, I need alledge no other example but this of Robert Young. My reader finds he has stood in the pillory more than once for several petty forgeries: petty I call them, only in comparison to this. And what a mighty business were it now, if for contriving the final ruin of so many guiltless persons, and their posterity, by the basest means, Robert Young should be adjudged once more to stand in the pillory?

Or what would it have availed me, or my family, in this world at least, should I have died, as guilty of treason, by this villain's false testimony, if afterwards, upon the detection of his perjury (as I am persuaded God would not have suffered so horrid a villainy to prosper, or remain long undiscovered) I say, what great comfort or compensation had it been to my family, and my friends, if, after my unjust execution, they had heard that the wicked author of it had stood once more in the pillory, and, perhaps, lost the tip of his ear?

Wherefore may it not well become the prudence of our lawgivers, upon occasion of so notorious an instance, together with some others within our memories, to review, once for all, the laws now in force against forgery and perjury? And then to adjust the distinct punishments a little more proportionably to the different guilt, and the several degrees of these crimes; for the future, I mean: God forbid I should propose, that any such law should have a retrospect, even upon Blackhead or Young!

But I presume to urge this the rather, at this time, because of the common saying, 'that ill manners make good laws;' that is, as I understand the proverb, they render the making of them to be necessary. And, if this be true, perhaps there was never yet any one age, since the English were a nation, when the ill manners of false witnesses, their frequent subornations, perjuries, and forgeries have more deserved to be restrained by some good new laws, than this very age, wherein we live.

I could heartily wish so great a benefit might accrue to the publick, by the happy discovery of this inhuman design, so as to deter ill men from attempting any more such; then I should think my own troubles more than enough recompensed, I should even

rejoice in the extreme peril, to which I myself was thereby exposed.

But, however that shall happen, I am sure there is another use of this signal providence, which, by God's grace, it is in my own power to make, and, if I do not, I ought to be esteemed as the most ungrateful of men to the heavenly goodness; that is, if I do not render it the chief business of my whole life to return some suitable thanks to Heaven for it.

I hope I may say, without vanity, that, perhaps, it is hard to meet, in some whole ages, with many examples, wherein the divine favour has snatched any private person out of such imminent danger, with a more visible hand, than it has done me out of this.

Why may I not be allowed, in all humility, to say thus much? since it is so manifest, that the destruction, or preservation of me and mine, did depend upon the clerk of the council's turning to the right-hand, or to the left, when he entered to search my house at Bromley.

By God's mercy and direction, he turned to the left; there examined all places so curiously, as to pass by no corner unobserved, yet he found nothing on that side worthy the observation of one that came on such an errand.

Whereas, had he chanced to turn, chanced do I say? I cannot believe, that any thing fell out by chance, in this whole business; but, had God permitted him to turn on the right-hand, the first room he had entered was that very parlour, wherein was deposited the fatal instrument of my death; nor could he have missed it, but must have immediately lighted upon it, considering the punctual instructions, he had received, to search all the chimnies, and the flower-pots in them.

And, had he once found it, the writing itself, so nearly resembling my own hand, and taken in my dwelling-house, had soon overwhelmed me with supposed guilt, without any farther need of Blackhead's, or Young's assistance.

For, in so great a surprize, a consciousness of my own innocency, whom had I to accuse, or suspect, but only Mr. Dyve and Mr. Knight themselves, for having put the association into the same flower-pot, whence I had seen them take it out? And this, indeed, had been another aggravation of my misfortune, that I should have been forced to impute so vile a treachery to persons as innocent in this, as I myself was in the association.

Moreover, let my reader but recollect the particular time, when all this happened, and I need mention no other proof, or circumstance of the marvellous greatness of my danger and escape.

It was in the beginning of May last, a time when, perhaps, there was as great a consternation, both in town and country, as was ever known in England; the English fleet was scarce yet out of the river; the Dutch, for the most part, at home; the French in the mouth of the channel, and only kept back by contrary winds; a terrible invasion hourly expected from France; the army beyond

sea, that should have defended us; a real plot and confederacy by many whispered about, by the common people believed; many persons of great quality imprisoned upon that suspicion; all men's minds prepared to hear of some sudden rising, or discovery.

In such a critical time of publick terror and distraction, how very little evidence would have sufficed to ruin any man, that had been accused with the least probability of truth? and how, then, had it been possible for me to have stood the torrent of common fame and passion against so great a notoriety of fact, had that paper of a pretended association been really found in my house?

What tumult and rage had been on all sides of me, upon such a discovery! how fitly had such a story served to inflame the generality of men against me! how long a time must it have been before the still voice of innocency could be heard!

Would it not have been said, 'can he deny it to be his own 'hand? are not the hands of the rest well known? was it not 'found in his house? in so secret a place there? who could have 'laid it there, but himself?' this, certainly, had been the universal clamour.

But, above all, what a mischievous advantage had this given, to the enemies of the church of England, to insult and triumph over it, on my account! and that, in truth, had more sensibly and deeply wounded me, than any thing else, which could have befallen myself.

But God prevented all this, by covering, if I may so say, the hand-writing against me in my chimney, as long as the finding of it there might have been to my destruction; and then, by suffering my accusers to fetch it thence, and produce it in such a time, and in such a way, as could only tend to their own confusion.

To God, therefore, my only deliverer, be the praise: and, as I doubt not, but all good and innocent men, for the common sake of innocency vindicated, will receive this account of my deliverance with kindness and good-will, so I do most solemnly oblige myself, and all mine, to keep the grateful remembrance of it perpetual and sacred.

A

LETTER TO A FRIEND*,

CONCERNING

A FRENCH INVASION,

To restore the late King James to his Throne: and what may be expected from him, should he be successful in it.

London: *Printed, and are to be sold by* RANDAL TAYLOR, *near Amen-Corner*, 1692.

QUARTO, CONTAINING THIRTY-TWO PAGES.

SIR,

IN your last you seem much concerned about the French invasion and desirous to know what I think may probably be ex-

* Vide the 261st Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

pected from the late king, should he prove so successful, as to recover his throne? and what English subjects are bound in conscience to do, should he land in England, and demand his right?

The last is a material question, but I wonder how you came to ask the first, as if it could be any question, what the late king will do, if he were restored by power to his crown? for I think it past all doubt, that he will do as he did before, only, in all probability, a great deal worse: and you remember how that was; for arbitrary power and popery are of too great concernment, and have left too frightful an impression behind them, to be so soon forgot; and this will go a great way towards an answer to your second question, unless you think we are bound to take King James, and a French government, and a French popery with him; which I shall not easily be persuaded to; and, I believe, there are not many English protestants will.

But to answer your questions distinctly; as to the first, when we see what the late King James has done, what reason have we to expect, that, should he return with power, he would ever do otherwise? is he more obliged now by his protestant subjects, than he was before? can he make fairer promises, than he did before? is he less zealous for popery, or grown more out of conceit with arbitrary power? or will he be less able to make himself arbitrary, and set up popery, when he returns a conqueror? for I take it for granted, he must conquer first, because King William will not abdicate nor steal away, and the power that conquers will give laws and religion to the conquered.

I know there are two things pretended, as a foundation for better hopes. First, that the late king is now sensible that the English nation will never bear popery, nor arbitrary power, and that he has suffered so much by these attempts already, that he will never venture the like again. Secondly, the great merits of the non-swearing clergy and gentry, which will atone for the church of England, and make him their sure and fast friend, patron, and defender, especially if those, who have been too forward in complying with the late revolution, shall expiate that crime by an early repentance, and a vigorous assistance to restore him to his throne.

First, as for the first, there are too many answers to be given to it, to hinder it from being the least probable ground of hope; though hope itself is *Rei incertæ nomen*, so very uncertain, especially when we guess only at the inclinations of princes, that lives, and fortunes, and liberties, and religion, are not to be ventured on it, against former experience.

But, to let that pass, pray consider what the true import of this argument is; for it amounts to this, that all men will learn by experience; that men will not venture on those things a second time, which have proved fatal to them once; that princes will certainly for ever after dislike such counsels and measures, as have already shaken their thrones, and made their crowns fall from their heads.

Now we may flatter ourselves with such hopes as these, which

may, upon some account, be called reasonable hopes, because there is great reason it should be so; but yet they so often fail that there is no reason to rely upon them. The repentance of dying sinners, and of undone prodigals, who return to their old sins again, if they recover their health, or find new treasures to waste, confutes such expectations. Sufferings rarely cure a vehement love and fond passion for any thing, which is the case of old habitual sinners; and no man can be fonder of any vice, than some princes are of unlimited and arbitrary power.

And, when this is joined with a resolved and inflexible temper, which scorns to yield, and had rather be undone a thousand times, than own, retract, or amend a fault: such misfortunes do but whet revenge, and make them swell, as a river does when its current is stopped, which flows with a more rapid and foaming stream, when it has once forced its way.

Especially when superstition is the prevailing ingredient, which fires the spirits, and raises imaginary scenes of glory out of the loss of crowns and kingdoms: and what will such a prince, if he ever recover his throne and power, forfeit the glory of losing his kingdoms again, by deserting the cause for which he lost them before? No man can certainly tell, how superstition will act, nor how it will reason; especially, when the consciences of princes are under such directors, as will venture their crowns for them over and over, to carry on their own designs, and know how to expound providence to flatter superstition. And then the recovery of his throne may be made a better argument, and a stronger obligation to revive and prosecute his old designs, than the fear of losing it again can be to make him desist.

And, to make this yet more demonstrative, with reference to the late king, we ought to consider, that this is not the first trial he has had, and that this consideration has done him no good.

He saw before what his father King Charles the First suffered, only for some attempts towards arbitrary power, and for mere jealousies and suspicions of his favouring popery. He lost his kingdoms and his life, and his sons suffered a long and hard exile. Charles the second, indeed, took warning by this, and, though possibly he might be big with the same designs, yet would he not venture too far, nor discover himself too openly, for fear of travelling again, as he used to speak. But King James had not patience to conceal his inclinations, till he came to the crown; and that had like to have cost him his crown before he had it; and, yet, this was not sufficient to caution him against those violent methods he afterwards used to advance popery, which were so seasonably defeated by the happy arrival of our present sovereign, whom God long preserve: and those who are so desirous to try him again in England, as they have lately done in Ireland, to their full satisfaction, if they could try only for themselves, should have my free consent to make the experiment.

Have not the poor Irish protestants made it to their cost, even since this very revolution, from whence, and from the wisdom he

must needs have learned by it, this miraculous change in him is now expected? and did they find any such change in him, unless for the worse? And yet, if ever, then he was upon his good behaviour, when he wanted their assistance to secure his possession of that kingdom, and to recover his other dominions, and when, in reason, it might have been expected, that, whatever resentments he had, he would have thought it his interest to have treated protestants with greater tenderness and respect. But, if the necessity of his own affairs could not obtain this from him, what must protestants expect, if he return with power? And, though some protestants here in England seem not to be all affected with this experiment, yet it hath made such an impression upon the protestants in Ireland, that they are for ever cured of their fondness, and have not the least curiosity left to make any further trials.

It is pretended, indeed, in excuse of this, that he was then under the government of French ministers and counsels, and under the power of Irish priests and papists, and so was not at liberty to follow his own inclinations: I should be very glad of a good argument to prove, that he had better inclinations. But however, what comfort is this to protestants, that he has better inclinations, but is not his own master? For, if he must never shew any kindness to protestants, it is no matter what his inclinations are: and can any man imagine, that, if the French king, by force and power, place him on the throne, he will be less under his government than he was in Ireland? The French king, among many other wise maxims, has this, I am sure, for one, never to make a king, without making him his own vassal; and the power, that can make a king, can make him his slave: so that it is to no purpose to enquire what king James will do; but what king Lewis will do, if king James returns?

Secondly, as for the great merits of the non-swearing clergy and laity, I greatly suspect, that neither the late king James, nor king Lewis, will think them so great as they themselves do. Their merit must consist either in their principles, or in their practices. And we will briefly consider both:

Their meritorious principle is this, that the rights of princes, especially of hereditary princes, to their thrones, are so sacred and inviolable, that, as they cannot forfeit them to their own subjects by any male-administration, so neither can they, by any provocations, or by any success of war, forfeit them to any other princes: that, while such a prince, or any legal heir is living, no other prince can have any right to his throne, nor must his subjects own and submit to any other prince, as their sovereign Lord.

Now, as much as this principle seems to flatter princes, and to make their thrones eternal, I am apt to suspect, that no prince, who considers the just consequence of things, can think it so very meritorious; for it is a very dangerous principle to weak and unfortunate princes, and an intolerable restraint upon the aspiring and ambitious. It is dangerous to the unfortunate, because it lays a necessity upon the conqueror to take away his life, if he can, as

well as his throne, since he cannot lose his throne without losing his life, though most princes would rather chuse to have them parted, than lose both together: and how do they think king Lewis will like this principle, which stands in the way of his glory, and preaches restitution to him of all those dominions, whose legal heirs are living; which teaches the subjects of other princes to deny him fealty and obedience, and to conspire with their legal princes against him? I doubt not but he likes the principle as little as he would like the practice, and that our non-swearers would quickly understand, were they the subjects of his new conquests, which God grant England may never be.

Indeed, how great a compliment soever this principle may be thought to princes, it can have no merit, because though it may in some junctures do them hurt, it never did, and never can do them any service. It never yet hindered a revolution, and never can make one; and the reason is plain, because no princes, and very few subjects, do believe it and practise upon it. If a prince have a just cause of war against another prince, he makes no scruple, if he conquers, to take his crown; and the subjects of such a conquered prince make no scruple of conscience to submit to the conqueror; though sometimes a personal kindness for a just and indulgent prince, and a concernment for their own liberties and fortunes, may make them uneasy under it, and glad of the first opportunity to do themselves and their prince right.

The truth is, princes have no reason to like this principle; for, were it true, they could have no remedies against the injuries of neighbour princes; they might, indeed, fight and conquer, but they had better let it alone, and if they must not take the throne, which their sword has won; for it is only the fear of conquest, and losing their crowns when they are conquered, that can keep princes in awe, and bring them to just and equal terms; and if no prince must lose his crown, because no prince must take it, it will be impossible to beat an injurious and obstinate prince into good terms; and, I believe, princes will as soon be persuaded, that it is as unlawful to make war, as that it is unlawful to seize a conquered crown, and will think one as meritorious a principle as the other.

And it is certain, subjects have less reason to like this principle, because it makes them sacrifices, even to the misfortunes of their prince. A prince, when he is conquered, or sees that he must be conquered, may escape by flight, but a whole nation cannot run away; and, if they could, have no reason to leave their country and their fortunes behind them; and yet, according to this principle, they must not submit, nor swear allegiance to the conqueror, while the prince who has forsaken them lives, though they cannot secure their lives and fortunes without it. But nature and common sense is too powerful for the sophistry of such principles, and those, who cannot reason, can feel what they are to do in such cases. The loyalest subjects, when no personal obligations, or secret interests determine them otherwise, will save themselves by

submission, when they cannot defend their prince by their arms; and do not think they do ill in it; and I suppose princes do not think so neither, because they expect the same from the subjects of other princes, in the like circumstances; and such an universal consent, both of princes and subjects, when there is no law of God or nature against it, makes it a standing law in all revolutions, which both princes and subjects must submit to. So that this principle, were it never so true, can do no service, and therefore can have no merit in this world, because there are so few that believe it, that they are not hands enough, either to keep a prince on his throne, or to restore him to it. All our non-swearers could not hinder the late revolution, nor can they make another: they are enough to make a noise, especially if the loud and zealous ladies of that side be reckoned in; but other hands and other pretences must do their work, if ever they hope to see it done; and then no thanks to their principles for it. Whatever reward their future services may deserve, princes themselves will not think, that their principles deserve any.

Let us then now consider the merit of their actions, and what opinion the late king is like to have of that, if he should return.

I suppose they will be contented he should forget their merits towards him, while he was on the throne, especially about reading his declaration; as likewise their Tower and their Westminster-hall-merits; which were indeed great, and did deserve, and would have had a better reward from a better hand, had they not rendered themselves incapable of it. But, sure, they do not expect the late king should reward them for such services. He knew, that this raised that general discontent, which occasioned that general revolt, which cost him three crowns. And, if all their merits can expiate this guilt, they come off well; and they had need be very extraordinary merits, which have first so great a guilt to expiate, before they can pretend to merit. Could their non-swearing restore him to his throne again, it would but just undo what they had done, which is no more than their duty, and therefore cannot merit, no, not so much as a pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful hands. But still there are four years exile, and the loss of three crowns, and the expence of so much blood and treasure; the dishonour of so many defeats, and the ruin of Ireland to be accounted for: and how can they make restitution for all this? which yet they must do, before they can lay claim to merit.

Let all this then be forgot, for it is their interest it should; but they are very sanguine men, if they hope it will: whence, then, will they date their merits?

When it was certainly known, that the Prince of Orange, now our gracious sovereign, was ready to land, they seemed as well pleased with it, as other men, and refused, when they were pressed to it by the late king, to declare their abhorrence of it; but, instead of that, took upon them to give him advice, and to publish it when they had done: in which advice they recommended almost every

particular of the prince's declaration, complained of the same abuses, and advised the calling of a parliament to redress them; as if the prince's declaration and their advice had been drawn by the same pen, and the advice had been published on purpose to second the declaration. This, I suppose, they will not reckon among their merits neither; and, if they can excuse what was so hastily done at Guildhall, before the late king was gone out of the land, they may very well be contented no more should be said of that.

The only merit, then, they have to pretend, is their refusing the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, and forfeiting their ecclesiastical, civil, or military preferments for it: but what is this to the late king? is this done out of kindness to him, or his government? Would they not have been contented to have lived peaceably and quietly, as they themselves professed, could they have kept their preferments, and have been excused from the new oaths? And how do they merit of him, by refusing the oaths with the loss of their preferments, if they did it not for his sake, but for another and better reason, for fear of being damned? God may reward this, but King James is not beholden to them. Will they be better subjects hereafter? will they read his declaration, when he returns? will they make his will their law? will they submit to his next ecclesiastical commission, and give up their colleges and churches to priests and jesuits? will they be content to take him the very same man that he went away, and to serve him in his own way? will they no more fill the nation with the noise and fears of popery and arbitrary power? will they turn papists themselves? or stand by patiently, and give leave to his priests to pervert protestants as fast as they can? will they promise to demean themselves with more respect towards the king's religion, and to leave off their old sauciness of printing and preaching against popery? This, indeed, would bid fair for merit; but, if they oppose his methods of government, and his glorious designs, as much as they do King William's right; if it be only a title they boggle at, if this be all that makes them uneasy at the change, their not swearing does him no service: he could have kept his kingdoms upon these terms before, but he scorned it; and so he will those, who, to save their consciences, or their honours, and to recover their preferments, would have him upon these terms again.

As much as some men glory in their steadiness to principles (which is certainly a very honourable thing, and an excellent degree of virtue, when the principles are plain and certain) yet few princes (to be sure, not the late king) like such a steadiness to principles, as opposes their designs; a stubborn, inflexible conscience is a very unruly thing, and kings do not like such subjects, as dare oppose a king upon the throne, whatever the cause be: so that, I suspect, their very boldness and resolution, in opposing their present majesties, upon a mere point of law, will be thought

no virtue fit to be rewarded by a prince, who would make his will superior to all laws.

And, if the merit of the non-swearers is likely to vanish into nothing, especially when there is no occasion any longer to court and flatter them, and priests and jesuits have free liberty to comment on their merits, what merit will those men have to plead, who were forward and zealous in the revolution, have sworn allegiance to their present majesties, have served them in their armies and navies, at home and abroad? There is no doubt, but they shall have fair promises and good words at present, and shall be remembered hereafter, when there is occasion.

But, suppose the merits of the non-swearing, or for-swearing clergy and laity, who will help forwards another revolution, should be acknowledged to be very great, what probability is there, that the church of England should fare ever the better for it, when popery and arbitrary power stand in the way? Past experience gives no great encouragement to hope this. King Lewis was as much obliged to his protestant subjects of France, as it is possible for any king to be; for they set the crown upon his head; and, how he has rewarded them, all the world rings of it. The late king was not much less beholden to the church of England, when they so vigorously opposed the bill of exclusion; and, how he also rewarded them, we all lately saw and felt: and shall protestants, after this, think of obliging such princes by their merits? They understand better, that merit is no protestant doctrine, and that there can be none out of the church of Rome: and why should any body expect that which cannot be? Nay, should the late king return again, and be as much at the devotion of his non-swearing friends, as they promise themselves he will be, I very much doubt what the church of England will gain by this. If we may guess at the spirit of the party by the bitter zeal which inspires all their writings, I can expect nothing from them, but as fierce a persecution of the church of England, as ever it suffered from papists or fanaticks, excepting Smithfield fires, which possibly may be exchanged for Tyburn. All, who live in the communion of the church of England, as now established, are, in their account and constant language, no better than hereticks and schismaticks, and perjured apostates; much greater crimes than the Traditores were guilty of, which was the only pretence for the Donatist schism and persecution. They seem to comfort themselves, under their present sufferings, more with the sweet hopes of revenge, than any great expectations of future rewards; that they shall live to see the swearing bishops and priests the contempt of princes and people*; for, if the Archbishop of York, who is particularly named, cannot escape them, I doubt they will make but very few exceptions. And is not this a great encouragement to any, who have complied with the present government, to help these men to power again? Must not the nobility and gentry expect their share of vengeance, as well as the clergy? And is not the church of England,

* Apol. for the new Separat.

then, in a hopeful state? which must be purged and reformed into jacobite principles, and by a jacobite spirit.

These are all very sensible proofs (as far as we can reason about such matters) how little good is to be expected from the return of the late king with a French power: he must return the same man he went, and then popery and arbitrary power must return with him; nay, he must return much worse than he went, because he must return more a vassal to France; which, I suppose, will not mend the condition of English subjects, during his reign.

These things ought to be well considered; for, if his government was so uneasy before, and gave us such a frightful prospect, as made the nation very willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them, it would seem very strange to by-standers, should they now grow fond of his return, when it is certain, if he does return, and returns by the methods now intended, popery and arbitrary power must be more triumphant than ever.

He wanted nothing but power to make himself absolute, and to make us all papists, or martyrs, or refugees; and that he will now have: for, if a French power can conquer us, it will make him as absolute as the French king will let him be; or, to speak properly, it will make him, though not an absolute prince, yet an absolute viceroy, and minister of France: he will administer an absolute power and government, under the influence and direction of French counsels; and then we know not what will become of the liberties and religion of England. And have we so long disdained the thoughts of subjection to France? has a French league been thought such a national grievance? has the pretence of a war with France been found such an excellent expedient to get money of English parliaments? has the expectation of it fired English spirits, and, upon occasion, filled our armies and navies, without need of pressing, or beat of drum? have we so detested the French cruelties to protestants? and shall we now so willingly stoop to the yoke, and think it a great favour that they will vouchsafe to conquer us? let us never complain hereafter, that our chains pinch and gall us, when we ourselves are ready with so much joy and thankfulness to put them on. And, whatever some fancy, they will find it a very easy and natural thing for the late king, if he return by force and power, to make himself absolute by law: princes always gain new powers by the ineffectual opposition of subjects: if they lose their crowns and recover them again, they receive them with an addition of some brighter jewels, and turn disputed prerogatives into legal and undoubted rights. Thus we know it was when King Charles the Second returned from a long exile, all the new acts and declarations were made in favour of the crown, and subjects bound to their good behaviour, as fast as laws could bind them; for, in all such revolutions, those who suffered, with or for their prince, return with zeal and resentment; and take care, in the first place, to establish all such prerogatives of the crown, as were disputed before, and to grant such new powers as they think are wanting. And others there are always forward to make their fortunes by

complimenting the returning prince; and to expiate their former crimes by a forward and flaming loyalty; and the rest are over-awed and frighted into a compliance; and thus it is commonly seen, that between zeal and flattery, and fear, the king increases in power, and the people forfeit their liberties; and we must not expect that it should be otherwise now, should the late king return.

The first compliment that must be made to him is a jacobite parliament, and God knows what such a parliament will do! Will they deny him a toleration for papists, the repeal of the test, the forfeitures, or surrenders of charters, and a new regulation of corporations? Will they dispute, nay, will they not declare his dispensing power, and approve his ecclesiastical commissions? Will they make any scruple to declare the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, or to leave the manner of his education to those who will certainly breed him up in popery? Will they not take care for new jacobite tests to renounce and abhor all the several hypotheses and principles of government, which have been urged to justify our submission and allegiance to their present majesties? And, when they have done this, how easy will it be for a downright popish parliament, which will be the next step that will be made, to do all the rest?

It is very evident what advantages the priests and jesuits will have, in such a juncture, to make proselytes, while the people are in a fright, and grown giddy with such frequent revolutions; and those, who, in the late reign, were the great advocates of the protestant cause, are disgraced at court, threatened into silence, their authority weakened, and their persons reproached both by papists and jacobites. Numbers of converts was their great want before, and the press and the pulpit their great hinderance; but jacobites will, by natural instinct, learn more loyalty, and others will be taught it, as Gideon once taught the men of Succoth, with briars and thorns. And there never was such an opportunity since the reformation for a plentiful harvest of converts, as this would be like to prove. And who can bear the thoughts of this, who has any compassion for the souls of men, any zeal for the church of England, or any concern to preserve and propagate the true faith and worship of Christ to posterity?

All this is, upon a supposition of the late king's return, which I declare to you I am not afraid of, though it is fit to mind those men who are so fond of it, what they may reasonably expect, if he should return; which possibly may abate their zeal in this cause, and that may prevent the mischiefs of an attempt; for, without a hopeful conspiracy in England, the French king is too wary to make such an attempt.

But, if they have any love to their country, any pity left in them for the lives and fortunes of English protestants, I beseech them to consider, what the calamities and desolations of civil war will be; for that it must end in, if there be an invasion from abroad, strengthened with a powerful conspiracy at home. King William, as I said before, will not desert or abdicate; for I never heard of a prince who had ventured so much to rescue a kingdom out of so great a

danger, that would so easily expose it again to the same, or a greater danger. And surely the late king does not expect he should, for he knows him too well: so that, if they look for such another revolution, to turn King William out, as brought him in, they will, in all probability, be mistaken. There are too many persons of honour and fortune engaged in this cause, who know the late king too well to take his word; and, were it possible to wheedle men of fortune and sense, the genius and spirit of the nation is against them: and that, which could make the late revolution, will probably be able to prevent this.

It must then come to blows, if an attempt be made; and the fortune of one battle may not decide it; and those who are too young to remember the desolations which the late civil wars in England made, let them look into Ireland, and see to what a heap of rubbish a flourishing and fruitful country is reduced by being the scene of a three years war.

It is made a popular pretence to raise discontents, and to make people disaffected to the present government, that the taxes for maintaining this war are grown so intolerable, and there is no prospect of an end of them. Now, I must confess, that the taxes fall very heavy upon some, and I am sorry that the present posture of our affairs does require it, and that there can be no easier ways found to supply the plain and pressing necessities of the state: but we ought to consider, that still all this is infinitely easier than popery and French slavery, if we regard only our estates. The annual exactions of the church of Rome (besides all the cheating ways their priests had to get money) while popery was the religion of England, used to be complained of as a national grievance, and a heavier tax upon the subject, than all the king's revenues: and, if those who complain of our taxes, were but one month in France, to see the poverty and misery which the French government has brought upon them, they would come home very well contented to pay taxes, and to fight against the French too. We are free subjects, not slaves; we are taxed by our own representatives, who tax themselves as well as us; and this not by the arbitrary will of the prince. We pay for our own defence and preservation as all people ought to do; and, while we do not pay near so much as our religion, and lives, and liberties are worth, and have left where-withal to maintain ourselves, we have no such great reason to complain.

But how heavy soever taxes are, are they like a civil war? Like the dread and terrors of an enemy's army, or of our own? Are they like having our houses filled with soldiers; or, which is worse, burnt or plundered? Are they like losing our friends, our fathers, husbands, or children, by whose kindness or labours we subsisted? In a word, are they like the spoils of harvest, or the desolation of a whole country?

And can we be contented to see England again the seat of war? It is certain, in our present circumstances, it cannot be made so, unless we ourselves please. France has too many enemies, to think of conquering England without factions at home; and, were it not for them, we need not fear its united force; and I hope considering

men, of what persuasion soever they be, will not think it worth the while to ruin their country by a civil war, to purchase a French slavery and popery; two very dear things, could we purchase them never so cheap.

What I have said, hitherto, concerns only England; but it becomes us to look a little abroad, and consider, what a fatal influence a French conquest of England will have upon the affairs of all Europe. That it is not mere justice and honour that makes the French king espouse the cause of the late King James, his incroachments and usurpations on his neighbours will witness. He has no scruples of conscience about the rights of other princes; all he can get is his own. But England was formerly a friend and confederate, at least, not an enemy; and now the power of England (which the French have never had reason to despise) is in the hands of a king who owes the French king a good turn, and will not, I hope, die in his debt. This checks his ambitious designs; gives life and spirit to the confederacy; threatens to make him restore what he has taken, and what he keeps by mere force and violence, and to reduce him within his ancient bounds, and to the ancient constitution of the French government; and he knows, while King William possesses the English throne, and keeps up the confederacy, he must not expect to get much more, and may be in constant danger of losing what he has gotten.

This makes the French king so concerned to restore the late King James to the throne of England, to get rid of a formidable enemy, and to strengthen himself with the alliance of a powerful friend; for England will probably turn the scales, on which side soever it happens to be: and there is no doubt, but the arms of England must be devoted to the service of France, if a French power should place the late king in his throne again; and let any English protestant, who can think coolly of things, consider what a malignant aspect this would have upon the liberties of Europe, and on the whole protestant interest.

The arms, or the money of France, has, hitherto, been an equal match, at least, for all the confederates; while he has found other employment for the imperial and English forces; but, thanks be to God, the king of England, and the English forces, are now at leisure to attend his motions; those forces which beat him at the Boyne, at Athlone, at Agrim, at Limerick; in a word, which beat him out of Ireland, and have now got a habit of beating the French: and it is no wonder that he is not fond of such company in Flanders, but endeavours to find some new work for them at home. And, if he can but send them home again, and embroil us in a civil war, that is one great point gained; but, if he proves successful in his attempt, he makes England his own, and will turn their arms upon the confederates: and what can then stand in his way? What should hinder him from being the sole and absolute monarch of the west? and then it is easy to read the fate of protestants.

Thus, sir, I have freely told you, what I apprehend will be the necessary and unavoidable effects of a French conquest. I pretend

not to prophecy, nor to demonstration in such cases; but what I have said, has all the appearances of probability, all the degrees of moral certainty, that any thing of this nature can have: and that is the only rule in these matters by which wise men are to judge and act.

And this has prepared a plain and easy answer to your second question, What English subjects are bound in conscience to do, in case the late king should land in England with French forces to demand his crown?

Now there are two sorts of persons concerned in this question: 1. Those who have not sworn allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, but account the late King James as much their king, as he was when he sat upon the throne; and that their obligations to him are the same now that ever they were. 2. Those who have sworn allegiance to King William and Queen Mary: and there are two parts of this question; 1. Whether they are bound in conscience to assist the late king, if he return? 2. Whether it be lawful for them to oppose him, and fight against him?

As for the first part of this question, and as far as it concerns the non-swearers, I shall ask them two or three questions, and leave them to answer them themselves.

1. The first question is, whether they can think themselves bound in conscience, upon any pretence whatever, to fight for popery against the protestant faith and worship; that is (as they must confess, if they are protestants) to fight for heresy and idolatry against the true faith and worship of Christ; or to fight for Antichrist, and against Christ? Can any consideration make this lawful? If nothing can (as I will venture to take it for granted, that nothing can) then whatever duty they may fancy they still owe to their abdicated prince, it cannot be their duty to fight for him, when they cannot fight for him, without fighting against Christ and his religion: though they must not fight against their prince for Christ, because Christ in such cases requires his disciples to suffer, not to fight for him; yet it does not follow, that they must fight for their prince against Christ, to bring a persecution upon his faithful disciples, and to contribute what they can to extirpate the name and the religion of protestants out of Europe.

Do they think themselves bound in conscience to fight for their prince, against the laws and liberties of their country, as well as against the faith and worship of Christ? Let the rights of princes be never so sacred, have the rest of mankind no rights, but only princes? Is there no such thing as justice due to ourselves, nor to our fellow-subjects? Have the free-born subjects of England no natural, no legal rights? And is there any law of God or man, to fight for our prince, against the laws and liberties of our country, which are the measures and boundaries of that duty which we owe to princes? That is, to fight for our prince, against the rule of our duty and obedience to princes; when our prince and the laws and liberties of our country are on contrary sides, though we should grant them (according to their own principles) that we must not

fight against our prince for our laws and liberties, yet no more must we fight for our prince against our laws and liberties. It is abundantly enough to be passive in such cases; but a nation, which fights against its own laws and liberties, is *Felo de se*, guilty of the worst kind of self-murder. Can any Englishman, whatever opinion he has of the late king's right, think himself bound in conscience to maintain his right, by giving up his country to France? To make him king, and all his subjects French slaves? For can any prince have more right to be king of England than the kingdom of England has to be England?

Is it not an unaccountable tenderness and scrupulosity of conscience, to be so concerned for any one prince's right, as to sacrifice the rights and liberties of all the princes in Europe to his? To set him upon the throne, to drive all other princes from theirs? We are citizens of the world, as well as subjects of England, and have our obligations to mankind, and to other princes as well as to our own; and though our obligation to no one other prince is so great, as to our own, yet the publick good of mankind, or of a great part of the world, is a more sacred obligation, than the particular interest of our own prince or country; much less then can the right of any particular prince, be it what it will, stand in competition with the rights and liberties of our own country, and of all Europe besides.

It is to no more purpose to dispute with men who do not feel the force of this argument at the first hearing, than to reason with blind men about colours; they have no sense left, nothing but a stupid and slavish loyalty: all things, though never so sacred, must give place to this; the care of religion, the love of their country, their justice and charity to all mankind, must vail to their senseless mistake of the true meaning of this word Loyalty; by which they will needs understand an absolute obedience, without limitation or reserve; when, most certainly, it signifies no more than obedience according to law.

2. I would ask, what they would think themselves bound to do in such cases, were the late king upon the throne again? Unless they have changed their minds (and then they are not so steady to principles, as they pretend to be) we may very reasonably guess, what they would do, by what they did while he was upon the throne. It is certain, they so much disliked his open designs of popery and arbitrary power, that they opposed him as far as they durst, and would not fight for him, to keep him on the throne; nay, by their examples and counsels, they had so influenced the army, that they would not fight for him neither; and so possessed the country, that the nobility and gentry took arms, and declared for the Prince of Orange, which they thought they might very well do, when the bishops would not declare against him. This was then thought consistent enough with the High-Tory loyalty; and yet, if they were not then bound to fight for him to keep him on his throne, I am at a great loss to know, how it comes to be their duty now to fight for him, to restore him to it. He was certainly their king

well as his throne, since he cannot lose his throne without losing his life, though most princes would rather chuse to have them parted, than lose both together: and how do they think king Lewis will like this principle, which stands in the way of his glory, and preaches restitution to him of all those dominions, whose legal heirs are living; which teaches the subjects of other princes to deny him fealty and obedience, and to conspire with their legal princes against him? I doubt not but he likes the principle as little as he would like the practice, and that our non-swearers would quickly understand, were they the subjects of his new conquests, which God grant England may never be.

Indeed, how great a compliment soever this principle may be thought to princes, it can have no merit, because though it may in some junctures do them hurt, it never did, and never can do them any service. It never yet hindered a revolution, and never can make one; and the reason is plain, because no princes, and very few subjects, do believe it and practise upon it. If a prince have a just cause of war against another prince, he makes no scruple, if he conquers, to take his crown; and the subjects of such a conquered prince make no scruple of conscience to submit to the conqueror; though sometimes a personal kindness for a just and indulgent prince, and a concernment for their own liberties and fortunes, may make them uneasy under it, and glad of the first opportunity to do themselves and their prince right.

The truth is, princes have no reason to like this principle; for, were it true, they could have no remedies against the injuries of neighbour princes; they might, indeed, fight and conquer, but they had better let it alone, and if they must not take the throne, which their sword has won; for it is only the fear of conquest, and losing their crowns when they are conquered, that can keep princes in awe, and bring them to just and equal terms; and if no prince must lose his crown, because no prince must take it, it will be impossible to beat an injurious and obstinate prince into good terms; and, I believe, princes will as soon be persuaded, that it is as unlawful to make war, as that it is unlawful to seize a conquered crown, and will think one as meritorious a principle as the other.

And it is certain, subjects have less reason to like this principle, because it makes them sacrifices, even to the misfortunes of their prince. A prince, when he is conquered, or sees that he must be conquered, may escape by flight, but a whole nation cannot run away; and, if they could, have no reason to leave their country and their fortunes behind them; and yet, according to this principle, they must not submit, nor swear allegiance to the conqueror, while the prince who has forsaken them lives, though they cannot secure their lives and fortunes without it. But nature and common sense is too powerful for the sophistry of such principles, and those, who cannot reason, can feel what they are to do in such cases. The loyalest subjects, when no personal obligations, or secret interests determine them otherwise, will save themselves by

submission, when they cannot defend their prince by their arms; and do not think they do ill in it; and I suppose princes do not think so neither, because they expect the same from the subjects of other princes, in the like circumstances; and such an universal consent, both of princes and subjects, when there is no law of God or nature against it, makes it a standing law in all revolutions, which both princes and subjects must submit to. So that this principle, were it never so true, can do no service, and therefore can have no merit in this world, because there are so few that believe it, that they are not hands enough, either to keep a prince on his throne, or to restore him to it. All our non-swearers could not hinder the late revolution, nor can they make another: they are enough to make a noise, especially if the loud and zealous ladies of that side be reckoned in; but other hands and other pretences must do their work, if ever they hope to see it done; and then no thanks to their principles for it. Whatever reward their future services may deserve, princes themselves will not think, that their principles deserve any.

Let us then now consider the merit of their actions, and what opinion the late king is like to have of that, if he should return.

I suppose they will be contented he should forget their merits towards him, while he was on the throne, especially about reading his declaration; as likewise their Tower and their Westminster-hall-merits; which were indeed great, and did deserve, and would have had a better reward from a better hand, had they not rendered themselves incapable of it. But, sure, they do not expect the late king should reward them for such services. He knew, that this raised that general discontent, which occasioned that general revolt, which cost him three crowns. And, if all their merits can expiate this guilt, they come off well; and they had need be very extraordinary merits, which have first so great a guilt to expiate, before they can pretend to merit. Could their non-swearing restore him to his throne again, it would but just undo what they had done, which is no more than their duty, and therefore cannot merit, no, not so much as a pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful hands. But still there are four years exile, and the loss of three crowns, and the expence of so much blood and treasure; the dishonour of so many defeats, and the ruin of Ireland to be accounted for: and how can they make restitution for all this? which yet they must do, before they can lay claim to merit.

Let all this then be forgot, for it is their interest it should; but they are very sanguine men, if they hope it will: whence, then, will they date their merits?

When it was certainly known, that the Prince of Orange, now our gracious sovereign, was ready to land, they seemed as well pleased with it, as other men, and refused, when they were pressed to it by the late king, to declare their abhorrence of it; but, instead of that, took upon them to give him advice, and to publish it when they had done: in which advice they recommended almost every

The time, I confess, has been, when this treatise would have been a more popular theme; the articles of the surrender of Limerick being, not long since, the subject of no common longings and curiosity. Upon perusal of which, the reader, I am certain, will join with me in this one just remark, that, in all the glories of our deservingly great monarch, mercy is one of his most shining titles: his enemies have met that both unexpected and unmerited clemency, in his majesty's most gracious concessions towards them, that plainly tells the world, the whole business of his arms was to reclaim, not vanquish; he infringes not liberty, even where he makes subjection.

There is one farther recommendation to our short, but glorious history, viz. That what I here present you, is the work of English hands; and that, without vanity, the whole progress of the late English arms, in Ireland, has as much signalised the true British valour, as any of the antiquer monuments of our remoter recorded predecessors. And, indeed, to crown all these glorious successes, there seems to be a continued chain of providences attending that whole expedition; for, not to instance his majesty's prodigious victory at the Boyne, with which all tongues are already filled; together with that famous battle at Aghrim, where fortune, for some hours, stood dubious; and, indeed, the whole conduct and zeal of the renowned general, Ginckle, who challenges our no common applause and veneration: perhaps, nothing was more remarkably signal, than the siege of Athlone, affording, possibly, one of the fairest laurels through that whole scene of British glory. For when, after our possession of the hither part of the town, the enemy, who had broken down the bridge, had so often burnt our fascines, and so resolutely opposed our passage that way; insomuch that the general, despairing of approaching on that side, had resolved to draw off, and to pass the Shannon higher above the town, though so late in the year, and the summer so far advanced, to begin a new siege on the other side, in the face of the Irish army that lay incamped there: it was, I say, major, now lieutenant general Talmache's proposal, at a council of war (in which he very hardly prevailed) to head, as a voluntier, a select party of 1500, and wade the river, to enter the breach: which he executed with that celerity and courage, that the storming and taking of that important place was an action unprecedented, and inimitable; with so poor a handful, to push so bold a sword, and carry so intire a victory, against so great a strength within, and the whole Irish army but an hour's march without, was an enterprise so hardy, and that so purely and wholly his own, that posterity will read it with wonder; and which, to his lasting fame, will supply as gallant a memorial, as ever adorned the English annals.

And as the early conquest of that garison was the key, that, soon after, opened the gates of Galway and Limerick; and, consequently, the expeditious reduction of Ireland, so highly both to the English glory, his majesty's interest, and the advantage of christendom, was so much owing to that memorable action; I may justly say,

that, whatever other hands joined in the accomplishing, the only hand, that shortened the great work, was Talmache's, and it was by his conduct and gallantry, in that eminent service, that 1691 saw that finished, which, otherwise, had been the subject of a longer, if not a more hazardous dispute.

AUGUST, 1691, the general having resolved on the forming of the siege of Limerick, and, in order thereunto, having given orders for Capt. Coal, with his squadron, to sail down the Shannon, and for the immediate marching of twenty-six whole cannon, mortars, &c. from Athlone, to meet him there: on the 3d of August, the whole army passed the Shannon at Banahar-Bridge, and came the same night to Birr, which place is distant from Limerick thirty miles. The general having received an account, by deserters, that Brigadier Carral was posted with a party of Irish, at a place called Nenagh, which is a pass fourteen miles from Limerick, gave orders to Brigadier Levison, with a detached party, to go and attack the said place, who marched from the camp early this morning, with five hundred horse and dragoons.

4th. Brigadier Levison, with his party, got yesterday in the evening to Nenagh; at whose approach, the governor Carral set the town on fire, and then quitted it in great haste; but the fire was soon put out by eleven of our men, who happened to be prisoners there, and were left behind.

5th. This day, we marched from Birr, and marched to a place called Burraskeen, where we incamped the same night.

6th. This evening, we reached Nenagh. Here we received an account, that Brigadier Levison, with his horse and dragoons, pursued Carral, and his party, so closely, and so far, that, within four miles of Limerick, he took all their baggage, amongst which were two rich coats of long Anthony Carral's, one valued at eighty pounds, the other at forty guineas, and about forty pistoles in gold; as also four hundred and fifty head of large black cattle, and some sheep, which the enemy's sudden flight would not suffer them to carry off.

7th. This morning, a party marched from the camp towards Killaloo, in search of the rebels, who killed two, and took about nine prisoners, which were all of the enemy they could meet with, and in the evening returned to the camp with a great prey of cattle.

8th. Some pioneers, under the convoy of a good party of horse and dragoons, marched this morning towards the Silver Mines, to mend the roads for our carriages. A brigadier, and two of the late King James's horse-guards, who deserted the enemy, came into the camp with their horses and accoutrements, and advised us, that the enemy were intrenching themselves near Carrick-Inlish.

9th. Lieutenant-Colonel Oxborough, with a lieutenant, the servants and accoutrements, came over to us, from the enemy, as also did another officer and eleven musqueteers, with their arms. A man and a woman were this day hanged in the camp, the man for

robbing, and the woman for murdering one of our soldiers near Galway. Mr. Richards, secretary, and adjutant-general to Baldarick O'Donnel, who had been with the general in the camp four or five days, went hence this day for Dublin, to confer with the lords justices.

10th. Several considerable deserters came into our camp, this day, from the enemy's quarters; they gave us an account, that both French and Irish were mightily surprised to find our ships in the Shannon, having been possessed, that the French were masters at sea, and that we durst not adventure so far.

11th. This morning we decamped from Nenagh, and the same night we came to a place called Shalley, about two miles from the Silver Mines, a very wild part of the country.

12th. This day we marched again, and came to a small village called Tulla; here we incamped, and lay till the 13th, on which day we decamped, and came that day to Carrick-Inlish, which is situate about four miles from Limerick.

14th. This day the general went out of the camp, at the head of fifteen hundred detached horse and dragoons, advancing with them within sight of Limerick, and, having beaten in the enemy's outguards, took a view of their works from the hill, where our artillery incamped the last year. In the evening the general returned again to the camp.

15th. This day several deserters came over to us, and confirmed an account we had before received, that Sarsfield, with the enemy's horse, was retired to the other side of the Shannon, being incamped in the county of Clare, about four miles above Limerick; and that their foot were drawn in within their intrenchments. They informed us likewise, that the Earl of Tyrconnel was very ill, and had received the extreme unction.

16th. This afternoon Sir John Hanmore, with five regiments of foot, from Cork and the neighbouring garrisons, joined us. Major-General La Forest marched out of the camp this day, with a strong detachment of horse and foot, towards Athlone, to meet that part of our artillery that were coming from thence, under the convoy of Col. Lloyd's regiment; these guns consist of nine twenty-four-pounders, nine eighteen-pounders, and four large mortars, being an addition to the train of artillery we brought with us from Galway.

17th. This morning three deserters came into our camp, who brought us the following accounts: that the Earl of Tyrconnel died on the 14th, the ill condition of the Irish affairs having broke his heart; that he was buried at Limerick on the 16th, and that a commission was produced from the late king, which Mr. Plowden (formerly one of the commissioners of the revenue in Ireland) brought lately from France, appointing Sir Alexander Fitton, Sir Richard Neagle, and the said Plowden, justices of Ireland.

18th. We had an account this day, that Col. Henry Lutterel had been lately seized at Limerick, by order of the French Lieutenant General D'Ussoon, for having made some proposals for a surrender

of the place, and that he was sentenced, by a court martial, to be shot; upon which the general sent them word by a trumpet, that, if they put any man to death for having a mind to come over to us, he would revenge it on the Irish.

19th. This day several notorious rapperees were brought prisoners into our camp. It rained very hard this day, as it likewise did for several days past, which very much retarded the march of the artillery, in their way to Athlone.

20th. This afternoon two troopers of the late Earl of Tyrconnel's regiment, and a dragoon, deserted the enemy, and came over to us.

21st. Major O'Connor, who was governor of Banahar, and surrendered it on condition of marching out with his men, hath since been in Limerick, and, upon view of the condition of that place, and consideration of the wants of the Irish, and their impending ruin, came over to us this day; also nine more of the Irish army, well mounted and equipped, came over to us. This day there came into our camp twenty-nine tin boats, which were brought from Athlone to Killaloo by water. Col. Lumly, who had been abroad as far as Charleville, with a good party of horse and dragoons, returned again this evening, with a prey of two hundred and fifty black cattle, three hundred sheep, and some horses.

22d. Our men were employed all this day in cutting of fascines, and making other necessary preparations for the siege of Limerick, whither the excessive rains, lately fallen, still obstructed our march, as also the coming up of our cannon and mortars, which, we were advised, were last night near Birr.

23d. One Sheldon, a lieutenant in the Irish royal regiment, and one Dowdal, an Irish counsellor, made their escape from the enemy this day, and came over to us.

24th. To prevent the abuses committed by sutlers, who had about this time excessively raised the rate of bread and drink, the general this day published an order, and thereby settled the price of all manner of provisions in the camp, and forbidding all persons to exceed the rates so settled, on pain of forfeiting their goods, and suffering a month's imprisonment. Two rapperees were this day hanged, being convicted by a court-martial, for burning of houses. Two of Sir John Lanier's troopers, and a north-country sutler, were likewise condemned: the two first for robbing Capt. Watts, an officer in the same regiment, and the other for buying the captain's watch, which was stolen, and sold to him by the troopers.

25th. The general having sent out Major Slundt with two hundred and fifty fresh draught-horses to hasten the coming up of our guns, &c. and ordered our ships in the Shannon to come nearer Limerick; and being himself, as well as the whole army, very impatient in lying here, gave orders last night for our march; pursuant to which, about five this morning we decamped, and all moved towards Limerick, except two regiments of foot, and an hundred horses, which remained in our camp as a rear guard, for the security of our tin boats, and the rest of our artillery, &c. as also to wait for Major General La Forest's coming up with our

heavy cannon, mortars, &c. who last night incamped within four miles of us. By three this afternoon we came before two of the enemy's out forts; the one an old church, the other Cromwell's, or rather Ireton's fort; the latter well fortified with a very good ditch, and lines of communication with the town, and both well manned: in the former were five-hundred musqueteers, but neither of them gave us much trouble, the garisons in both running away upon our first advance. On the left of our army, was a very good fort built last winter, guarded by six hundred men, which was bravely attacked by eighty of our English grenadiers, who, receiving a volley of their shot with small damage, mounted the works, and carried the place, and drove the enemy into the covered way they had from the fort to the town; our men, having received another volley, pursued them to their next out-works to the town, and in this action killed near an hundred, and took sixteen prisoners. Col. Donep of the Danish horse, who commanded our advanced party of horse, was slain by a chance cannon-shot: the general, expecting the enemy would make a sally, commanded the troopers should lie all night at their horse's heads.

26th. This afternoon our cannon and mortars, with eight hundred carts of ball and bombs, and eight hundred barrels of powder, arrived here from Athlone. This night we broke ground, and began to work on our lines of communication, making our approaches with very small loss.

27th. Early this morning, the Prince Darmstadt, with his own, Col. Tiffin's, and Col. St. John's regiment of foot, and about seven hundred horse, marched hence to reduce Castle-Connel, where the enemy had a very good garison: another party marched hence, with four guns to take in two or three castles, which the enemy had garisoned down the river. This night, the enemy fired so hard, from two guns they had drawn below the town, on our left, that it obliged our men to move a little farther off, till they could be better secured. This morning, orders were given for fitting a thousand hand-granadoes, and six hundred bombs, to be ready against eight at night. This day, our fleet, which were ordered from Galway, being about eighteen sail, being under the command of Capt. Coal, came up the Shannon towards the town, firing so briskly as they passed by the enemy's camp at Crattalogue, that they made many of them run to the adjacent hills; our ships came to an anchor, about three miles below the town.

28th. This morning the general went on board the fleet, but staid not long there; the weather, about this time, began to be pretty good. Carrick-Gunnel castle, whose garison was one-hundred and thirty men, and two captains, commanded by one Archbold, surrendered upon mercy, and the prisoners were immediately put into the provost's custody; and this night was surrendered likewise the castle of Ballycullare, and another strong castle, on the Shannon; in all the several castles, we took about nine hundred prisoners. Our men were very busy all this day, on our line of communication. This morning, our light frigates came

and anchored within sight of the town, Capt. Coal lying with the rest about six miles off. The Irish, upon the first appearance of them, expressed a mighty joy, believing them to be French, and were as much troubled, when they found their mistake.

29th. This morning, our ships began to unload ammunition, &c. This evening, our line of communication was finished, the guns and mortars were drawn down, and mounted thereon; and this night, about eleven, our mortars began to play, and threw above a hundred bombs and carcasses into the town; which, besides their other execution, fired the town in three several places. Upwards of four-hundred prisoners, taken in the three several places before-mentioned, were, this day, sent hence to Clonmell, under a good guard of horse and dragoons. About ten this night, to encourage the foot, and to prevent their being too much fatigued, six hundred troopers on foot were commanded down to the trenches, to raise another battery, much nearer to the town than the first.

31st. Early this morning, the troopers had finished their battery: about two this morning, a body of four hundred horse and dragoons, commanded by Brigadier Levison, went hence towards the county of Kerry; about eleven of the clock, we played from our new battery. This night, two hundred of the protestant inhabitants of Limerick, or thereabouts, most of them women and children, were brought off from an island in the Shannon, where the Irish detained them prisoners; the manner of relieving them was thus: Major Joseph Stroud, who commands, in chief, the militia of the county of Cork, garisoned at Annaghbeg, as he was on the thirtieth at night relieving his guards, a captain-lieutenant, coronet, and a trooper, all of the Irish army, deserted, and came over to him; one of them proposed a piece of service, which Major Stroud readily accepted, which was, to bring off some protestants from an island in the Shannon, called St. Thomas's island; whereupon the major, immediately taking with him sixteen dragoons with them, in four cots, entered the island, and brought off two hundred protestants, that were in great misery, being almost starved for want of food, having only two small cabbins to shelter them from the weather, and but a little hay to lie on; they also brought off a prey of forty-six horses. Yesterday, and this day, we played from our cannon and mortars, very briskly, with very good execution, as we were told by a captain, two lieutenants, and eleven dragoons, who deserted the enemy and came over to us this evening.

September 1. This morning, Colonel Wolsey went from our camp, with five hundred horse and dragoons towards Killaloo, it being reported, that Sarsfield was moving that way. We still continued to batter and bombard the town very furiously; one hundred and twenty of the rebels, who were taken twenty miles off, were, last night, brought prisoners into the camp.

2d. This morning an express arrived in the camp, being sent by Brigadier Levison to the general, dated yesterday, nea New-Market; which advises, that, having intelligence on Monday evening, where the Lord Mersion's and the Lord Brittas's regiments of horse

were, he marched towards them, and, by one of the clock in the morning, fell in with them, killed a great number of them in the place, cutting off several intire troops, very few escaping; and had taken the Lord Castle-Connel's lady, and divers other prisoners; as also, a good prey of cattle. In this action, Major Wood had his leg broke by a shot from the enemy, which was the most of our loss: our guns and mortars played incessantly, all last night and this day. A court-martial was this day held, whereof the Earl of Droghedah was present, where a woman pretended, which she came for a protection for cattle, was condemned for persuading some French soldiers (whom she took for papists) to desert, and go over to the Irish; several others were also found guilty of stealing. This day we had finished two batteries more, one of fourteen pieces, the other of ten, all eighteen and twenty-four-pounders. Our lines of communication being finished, we began this day to work on a line of circumvallation.

3d. By a dragoon of Col. Nugent's, who, this day, came over to us from the enemy, we were advised, that the enemies horse and dragoons were at Annahbeg, about three miles above Limerick, where they lay incamped; that they wanted bread and salt, and were very ill clad, as was also the deserter. This evening, the general went to view their camp, to make which look great, the enemy had set up all their sheets and blankets, to make a shew of tents.

4th. This day, the Princess of Denmark's regiment joined us: This evening, three hundred horse and dragoons marched from the camp towards Kerry, to reinforce Brigadier Levison, who was ordered to reduce that country, and all the garisons betwixt Limerick and Cork. We were all yesterday, and this day, employed in unshipping our guns, mortars, stores, &c. and joining them to the train. This night, we began to work on a new battery of twenty-two guns, the least eighteen-pounders, and eleven mortars, from eighteen inches, three quarters, to seventy and an half diameter, on the right of the town, and within carbine-shot of the wall. Our men worked some time unperceived, but the moon rising discovered us to the enemy, who played incessantly upon us, and killed seven or eight men: however, we still continued working thereon. This day, we finished our line of contravallation, with four forts for the defence of it.

Most of this day, proving wet, hindered our working on the great battery. Deserters, that came in this day, informed us, that the enemy, that were incamped at the lower town, were regiments of dragoons to guard the fords of the river: and with the rest, and eight regiments of horse, they were resolved to dispute our passage.

6th. The rain, continuing to fall heavily this day, prevented our working at the great battery, and finishing it this night, as we expected. By deserters, that came into the camp this day, from the town, we were informed, that Monsieur D'Ussoon, the French general, had much ado to keep the rapperees, that came from Aghrim, from mutinying: that he had promised them, that, if a supply of money, ammunition, and provisions came not from France in twelve days, he would dismiss them.

7th. This morning the general having received advice, that the Irish of the county of Kerry were numerous, and, being armed, designed to oppose Brigadier Levison, ordered the Princess of Denmark's, and another regiment of foot, to march and join the brigadier. Soon after, we had an account, that the brigadier's party had taken several preys, in which were above a thousand head of cattle, a great many horses, some of them very good; as also abundance of sheep, goats, and hogs. Deserters, that came into the camp this day, told us, that our bombs had set divers houses on fire, but that it was soon quenched, the buildings being most of stone, and very strong; and that the second bomb, that was thrown, killed the Lady Dillon, and wounded some others.

8th. The general resolved to attack Limerick, on the English town side, which is to our right; in order to which, our approaches were carried on, with such celerity, that, in four days time, we run our lines so near to the enemy, that we could annoy one another with our small-shot. By this day, we had raised a line composed of several batteries, viz. One to the left, of ten field-pieces, to shoot red-hot balls; another of thirty guns, one battery of eight mortars and of six, and another, on Ireton's fort, which much annoyed the Irish town, of five mortars, and eight guns, twelve and eighteen pounders, and a fort, to secure our lines of battery. At four this morning, we fired a great mortar, but the shell, bursting in her, flung both the mortar and carriage two yards off the flooring. We soon discharged fourteen twenty-four, and three eighteen-pounders, which, like a volley of small-shot, for the closeness of firing, opened a breach in the wall, at which, two coaches might enter a breast, and filled the counterscarp with its ruins; and, all this day, we continued to ply the town with fire-balls, carcasses, and bombs, which did them much mischief.

9th. Our cannon and mortars continued to play without intermission; that of our great battery had this day made a breach in the wall of the English town, of about thirty yards wide. This day, we finished another battery, which played upon St. John's gate, in the Irish town; and, this day, we began to work on two other batteries, one of seven eighteen-pounders, and the other of sixteen twenty-four-pounders. About two, this afternoon, a body of the enemy came out, and appeared, as if they intended a sally, but designed only to secure a ditch that lay betwixt them and our batteries; which was no sooner known, but our men marched down upon them and beat them back into the town, killing about thirty, with the loss only of one grenadier. Our guns and mortars continued to play into the town, all this night, without intermission.

10th. Early this morning, one of the enemy's captains came to us, out of the town, and gave an account, that yesterday, in beating the enemy into the town, we killed two of their majors, and one of our bombs killed Monsieur La Four, who was brother to the governor; and that the governor and officers, to keep up the hearts of the town and garison, assured them, that the French fleet had totally beat the English and Dutch, and forced those English

vessels, with Capt. Cole, into the Shannon; but that this day, or within forty-eight hours, a squadron of French would come into the river to their relief, and wholly destroy the English, &c. All this day, we continued firing, and about six, at night, the town appeared on fire, in many places. To prevent its spreading, the enemy blew up divers houses and buildings; notwithstanding which, some very considerable place continued burning with great violence, until two the next morning.

11th. This morning some officers of Sir Albert Cunningham's regiment of dragoons came to the camp, with an express from their Lieutenant-Colonel Echlin, of the loss of their colonel, and to pray the general's favour, to have the regiment. The said colonel of Sir Albert Cunningham's regiment, being detached from the camp, to join the forces, for the reducing of Sligo, and he stayed after them, did follow with ten men only, as a guard. In their march, upon the hills near Boyle, they unhappily mistook their way in a fog, and fell into the hands of two or three hundred rapparees, to whom they sold their lives, at the utmost rate, killing about twenty-five, but were at last overpowered, and cut in pieces; whose blood was soon revenged by Baldarick O'Donnel, who was in hearing of the guns, but came too late, to save the brave colonel. However, he killed many of them, and routed the rest: we continued to batter and bomb the town, all this day and all night.

12th. All last night and this day we fired furiously into the town without intermission, and our breach was widened seventy paces. This day we beganto prepare our floating-bridges, in order to pass over the water, but, whether to the island, or above the town, to gain the other side, was at that time a secret. This morning came to us ten dragoons and an officer, deserters; who said, that, in the great fire, that was in the town on the tenth at night, the bombs set fire to three magazines; one of powder, which, in blowing up, set fire unto, and burnt great part of the English town, and did much other mischiefs; the other two of beef, biscuit, oats, brandy, and wine, which was all destroyed, and would be soon wanted amongst them.

13th. All this day we continued firing into the town; and the deserters came in this day, and informed us, that our ball, bombs, carcasses, &c. had ruined the greater part of the English town. Our cannon now mounted were sixty pieces, none less than twelve-pounders. This day the general sent an express to the queen.

14th. This morning the general sent two regiments towards Clonmell and Waterford, to reinforce the militia, there being many prisoners in the latter, and the Irish in those parts grew insolent. His excellency also sent money and guards to support them, with orders to blow up and demolish Castle Connel, and the other castles we had taken near Limerick, on the Shannon, and elsewhere, to prevent their being any more nests of rebels, rapparees, &c. This day, near sixty waggons of good wool, taken from the enemy, were put on board our ships.

15th. We continued all this day to bomb and batter the town,

and made the breaches so wide, that we could plainly see into the town, which looked ruinous. The enemy made much sod-works, and a very deep trench, or ditch, with pallisadoes and stockadoes, yet the men continued impatient to storm it. About three this afternoon, the Lord Lisburne was unfortunately killed, by a cannon ball from the town, as he was coming out of his tent, which he had placed in the trenches. This evening our cannon were thrice discharged, and our army made several vollies, in demonstration of their joy for the great defeat given to the Turks by the emperor's forces. This night we again fired the town, which burnt furiously for two hours.

16th. The general having resolved to pass the Shannon, it was given out, to amuse the enemy, that we were going to raise the siege; and, for the better colouring that pretence, a large mortar, and two or three guns (which, by often firing, had been rendered unserviceable) were drawn off, in sight of the town, towards the shipping. About ten last night, orders were given to carry our floats and pontoons to a place appointed for laying our bridge, about a mile above the English town, to cover the workmen, who were about six-hundred in number. A detachment of an hundred grenadiers was sent, in four boats, over to St. Thomas's island; from whence, to the other side of the river, were two or three shallow fords: they lay there undiscovered, till it was almost morning, when a trooper, that was patrolling, first saw them, and gave notice to four regiments of the enemies dragoons, who, with some foot, were posted with two parties under the command of Brigadier Clifford, not far from thence; upon which, those that lay nearest our bridge made some shot at us. About seven of the clock the bridge was finished, and the general immediately ordered the royal regiment of dragoons to pass; who drew up on the side of the river, and made way for the grenadiers and fusiliers, that followed; these were supported by four battalions of foot, and several squadrons of horse. In the mean time, the enemies dragoons came down on foot to oppose us; but, as soon as our men advanced, they took to their heels, leaving their tents and baggage, with their bridles and saddles (their horses being at grass, at a place about two miles off) behind them; we took also two pieces of brass cannon, and Brigadier Maxwell's standard. In this action we had but one man killed, and the enemy not many; for they ran immediately, and great numbers of them afterwards took the advantage of that confusion, and deserted. We took several prisoners, and, among them, a French lieutenant-colonel of dragoons, and some other officers, who confirmed what we had heard before of the burning the two stores of biscuit, and one of brandy. By this time, the main body of the enemies horse, who were commanded in chief by Sarsfield, and lay there incamped near the town of Killaloo, took the alarm, and drew out, making a shew, as if they designed to fight us; but it proved only a stratagem to get time to secure their tents and baggage in decamping; which they did, but in great confusion, marching away immediately towards the mountains. Our horse

returned to the camp, and the foot were posted at the head of the bridge; a detachment being first sent to summon a castle, which is very advantageouly situated in the middle of the Shannon. Upon our party's coming before it, they immediately capitulated, but were allowed no other terms, than to be made prisoners of war. The garison consisted of about sixty men; soon after, we took in another post; both of which proved of great use to us.

17th. This day, one Taaf, a very sensible man, and a captain of the Irish royal regiment of foot, came over to us, and informed us, that our bombs and cannon had killed great numbers of their garison, and left few houses standing in the town. Notwithstanding our being busied in passing the Shannon, we fired plentifully the last night into the town, and continued to do the like all this day. This day, eleven of the enemies troops came over to us, with their horses, arms, and accoutrements, and, for their better encouragement, were immediately received into our troops. This evening, the standard and two fine brass field-pieces, taken from the enemy at our passing the Shannon, were brought into the camp.

18th. Orders were this day sent, by the general, to Capt. Coal, to land some men out of his frigates, to destroy all the forage in those parts of the county of Clare near the water-side.

19th. These two days, we were busied in lengthening our bridge of boats, which, proving too short at first laying over the river, was bravely supplied by the forwardness of our soldiers, who marched through the water, where the bridge proved deficient. This day, some of our militia brought into the camp three notorious rapparees, whom they took about twelve miles off.

20th. This day was chiefly spent in removing our float-bridge nearer the town, and in raising a battery for the security of it; we also secured a pass to the town, as likewise the pass of Annahbeg, where we went over the last year. This afternoon the general received an account from Brigadier Levison, that, putting himself at the head of two hundred and fifty horse and dragoons, he had again fallen upon the enemy in the county of Kerry, who where three-thousand strong, and had with them two intire regiments of dragoons; killed a great many of them, took divers officers prisoners, and quite dispersed the whole party; so that we were now intire masters of that county, which did not a little strengthen the enemy. The weather was now very bad, and much rain for these three days past; but this afternoon it cleared up, and began to be very fair again.

21st. All last night and this morning our guns continued to play furiously into the town. This afternoon, by an express to the general, we had advice in the camp. of the surrender of Sligo; the manner as followeth: on the 10th instant, Col. Michelbourn marched with a detachment of his regiment, and five-hundred of the militia of the province of Sligo, two troops of dragoons of the army, and six field-pieces, and incamped at Drumchefte, about three miles from Sligo, of which he gave an account to the Earl of Granard, by a party of horse under the command of Capt.

Vaughan. The 11th he advanced within half a mile of the town, but, the weather being wet, he could make no farther progress that day. On the 12th he drew out his men to attack the enemy, who at first made a shew of opposing us, but presently after quitted the works, which they had cast up to defend the entrance into the town; our men pursued them, and, forcing the rest of their outworks, beat them into the great fort, with the loss only, on our side, of an ensign killed, and five men wounded. On the 13th, the Earl of Granard came with the forces under his command before the place: his lordship caused immediately batteries to be raised against the fort, and insinuated into the enemy such apprehensions of great cannon and mortars, which they were made to believe he had brought along with him, that they sent out to capitulate. The conditions were agreed and assigned, much the same terms as Galway, and the fort, which is very strong, was accordingly surrendered on the 15th, there marching out six hundred men, under the command of Sir Teague O'Regan. They left in the place sixteen pieces of cannon, and Col. Michelbourn is made governor of it.

22d. Early this morning, the general, the Duke of Wirtemburgh, and Lieutenant-General Scravenmore, with all our horse and dragoons (except Col. Coy's regiment of horse, and fifty out of each of the regiments of dragoons of the army) and ten regiments of foot, taking with them seven days provisions, and fourteen guns, viz. ten three-pounders, and four twelve-pounders, marched over our bridge of boats into the county of Clare. In the mean while, the Major-Generals Mackay and Talmash commanded the rest of the army, for the security of the works on Lempster side of the river, from whence we still continued to fire day and night into the town; whence also they fired at our men as they passed by. About twelve at noon, all our men had passed the bridge, and were drawn up before the town on Clare side, the enemy playing upon them all from the castle and several towers, both with great and small shot, but with little execution: and, about two, eighteen of Col. Matthew's dragoons, being our advanced party, were attacked by the advanced party of the Irish, who out-numbered them, and both parties were sustained from each side till about four, that the float came up, when began a warm dispute; and, the place being near the town, the enemy played upon us at the same time with their cannon from the castle, and their small-shot from the walls, which neither dismayed, nor did much mischief to our men. About five, the general ordered a detachment to attack the fort near Thomond-bridge, which commands both the bridge and the king's island; and, though two great detachments sallied out of the town to support those that defended it, we carried it, and pursued the enemy over the bridge to the town; but the besieged, perceiving our men at their heels, drew up the draw-bridge, leaving above six hundred of them to the fury of our soldiers, some of whom were pressed into the Shannon, and the rest killed by our men. In this action we took twenty-one com-

missioned officers, amongst whom were Col. Shelton, two lieutenant-colonels, three majors, five captains, and the rest subalterns: we took also forty-seven common soldiers, three brass guns, two three-pounders, and one twelve-pounder, and five colours; the general very well rewarding the soldiers which brought them in. We lost not one officer of note, but had killed about two hundred of common soldiers: we immediately posted ourselves in all their works and forts on that side the water. This day one hundred head of black cattle, taken in the late action, and six hundred more, taken by Brigadier Levison in Kerry, were brought into the camp.

23d. All yesterday, and last night, our guns and mortars continued firing into the town. This morning, Col. Corbet came over to us from the enemy, and proposed to the general the bringing over Tyrconnel's and Galway's regiments of horse, and, out of them, to make one good regiment, to serve their majesties in Flanders.

24th. About four of the clock this afternoon, the enemy beat a parley round the town, desiring to capitulate about the surrender.

25th. This day the Earl of Westmeath, Col. Sheldon, the Lord Galway, Lord Dillon, Nicholas Purcel, Esq; commonly called Baron of Loughmore, the Titular Primate, the Titular Archbishop of Cashel, Sir Theobald Butler, Major Cordon, and some others, came to the camp, from the enemies horse camp, dined with the general, and, after a large conference, went hence into the town. The cessation, which began yesterday, upon the besieged's parlying, continued till ten o'clock the next morning.

26th. Sarsfield and Wahop, and two brigadiers of the Irish army, came into the camp from the town, and came to a resolution with the general, about the treaty, and in order to it, that hostages should be exchanged; accordingly, in the afternoon, the Earl of Westmeath, Lord Lowth, Lord Evagh, and Lord Trimlestown, came hostages from the besieged; and in exchange of them, the general sent in my Lord Cutts, Sir David Collier, Col. Tiffin, and Col. Pyper.

27th. This morning the besieged sent their proposals to the general, which were so unreasonable, that the general returned them with disdain, and ordered our bombardiers and gunners to make ready to play again into the town; accordingly all things were prepared, when the besieged, apprehensive of the consequence, sent out to know what terms his excellency would propose to them.

28th. Early this morning, Sarsfield, Wahop, Purcel of Loughmore, the Titular Primate, the Titular Archbishop of Cashel, Garret Dillon, Sir Theobald Butler, and John Brown, the three last counsellors at law, with several other commissioners on the part of the enemy, came out of the town to the general's quarters, whither his excellency sent for all our general officers; where, after a long debate, articles were almost agreed on for the rendi-

tion, not only of Limerick, but of all the other forts and castles in the enemies possession.

29th. We are now in possession of the Six-mile Bridge, and other passes and castles about Limerick; but the French and Irish, in the town and camp, insisting on the having the articles agreed to signed by the lords justices, as well as the general, things remained in the same posture.

30th. The cessation still continuing, several of our soldiers went into the town, and the besieged came frequently into our camp; where also Sarsfield, Wahop, Sheldon, and others of their officers, were this day entertained by the Duke of Wirtemburgh.

October 1. This evening the right honourable the lords justices arrived in the camp.

2d. This day several Irish officers and commissioners, appointed to treat, came into the camp from the town, and stayed with the lords justices and general till twelve at night; by which time all the difficulties, which arose in settling the articles, being agreed, they were concluded on, and ordered to be fair drawn for signing.

3d. This evening the articles were signed and exchanged; but it being late, we only took possession of the enemies out-works, their stone-fort, and St. John's gate, on the Irish town side.

4th. This morning four regiments of foot marched into the Irish town, which is indeed the strongest part of Limerick, leaving the English town for the Irish quarters, until Sarsfield, with those who were designed to go with him, could eshipped for France.

5th. The Irish having imprisoned a lieutenant colonel, for denying to go with them for France, he was immediately enlarged, upon the general's taxing them with their breach of articles, and laying before them the consequence of such their violation; it having been granted them to take off only such as were willing to go, without any compulsion.

6th. This morning Col. Earl's regiment marched from the camp towards Cork, which place, with the garisons thereabouts, is assigned them for their winter quarters.

7th. This morning the right honourable the lords justices, having seen us in quiet possession of the Irish town, set forward in their return to Dublin.

Articles civil and military, agreed upon the third Day of October, 1691; between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq; Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency, the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army, on the one part. And the Right Honourable, Patrick, Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Galmoy, Col. Nicholas Purcel, Col. Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Col. Garret Dillon, and Col. John Brown, on the other part. In the behalf of the Irish Inhabitants, in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

I. THE CIVIL ARTICLES.

IN consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements, made between the said Lieutenant General Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the general of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army; it is agreed, that,

I. THE Roman catholicks of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in their exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second. And their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament, in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholicks such farther security, in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance, upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants, or residents of Limerick, or any other garison, now in possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorised to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or in any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties obedience, their and every of their heirs shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold, and inheritance; and all the right, title, and interest, privileges, and immunities, which they, and every or any of them, held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of King Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles the Second, and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them, as are in the king's hands, or the hands of their tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other publick charges incurred and become due, since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof. All persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them, belonging or remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person or persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them. And all, and every the said persons, of what trade, profession, or calling soever they be, shall, and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same, in the reign of King James the Second: provided, that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person, now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person

whatsoever shall have and enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants, of the city of Limerick, or of any other garison, now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare, or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their majesties declaration in February, 1688-9, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present, provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom, within the space of eight months, from the date hereof.

IV. These following officers, viz. Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Morrice Eustace of Gormonstown, Cheevers of Mayestown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or of the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months, from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons, comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunire's, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, by them, or any of them committed, since the beginning of the reign of King James the Second: and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices, and the general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by the parparliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. Whereas the present wars have drawn great violencies on both parties, and that, if leave were given for bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been so long on foot, and the publick disturbance last: for the quieting and settling therefore of the kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespass by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, and chattels, merchandise, or provision whatsoever, by them seized or taken, during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of this present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also

agreed, that this article shall be mutual, and reciprocal, on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman, comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents of the city of Limerick, and other garisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed or searched, or paying any manner of duty; and shall not be compelled to leave their houses or lodgings they now have therein, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath, to be administered to such Roman catholicks as submit to their majesties government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons, who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person, or persons, to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all persons, comprehended in the abovementioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests, and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months, next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours, that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several protestants, by judgments of record; which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel, and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts: which effects were taken for the publick use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the said Lord Lucan of the said engagement, passed on the publick account, for payment of the said protestants, for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the said Lord Lucan, and the rest of persons, aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and lieutenant-General Ginckle, shall interpose with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to roman catholicks, by articles and capitulations in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said John Brown amount unto; accounts are to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan, in twenty-one days after the date hereof;

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,

Charles Porter,
Tho. Coningsby,
Bar. De Ginckle,
Lucan,
Gallmoy,
N. Purcel,
N. Cusack,
Theobald Butler,
John Brown,
Ger. Dillon.

Present,
Scravenmore,
H. Maccay,
F. Talmash.

II. The MILITARY ARTICLES,

Agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army, on the one side; and the Lieutenant-Generals, D'Ussoon, and De Tesse, Commanders in Chief of the Irish Army, on the other side; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I. THAT all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free leave to go beyond the seas, to any country (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate and jewels.

II. That all the general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot-guards; troops, dragoons, soldiers of all kinds, that are in any garison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or incamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, or Kerry, as, also, those called rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond seas, as aforesaid, shall have free liberty to imbarque themselves wheresoever the ships are, that are appointed to transport them; and to come in whole bodies, as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland, and go into France, have leave to declare it at the places and times hereafter mentioned, viz, the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next, at Limerick; the horse at their camp, on Wednesday; and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, the 18th day of this instant, and on no other, before Monsieur Tumeron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers; and after such declaration so made, the troops, that will go into France, must remain under the command and discipline of their officers, that are to conduct them thither: and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers, that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, if

they are willing to remain here, as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and other artillery; the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and others, whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have leave to pass into France, or any other country; and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all other effects whatsoever; and that General Ginckle will order pass-ports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be imbarqued, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or those that are employed therein, with their horses, carts, boats, and shallops.

VI. That, if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandise, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household-stuff, belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made, according to the value that is given in, upon oath, by the person so robbed or plundered; and the said Irish troops to be transported, as aforesaid, and all persons belonging to them, are to observe good orders in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make satisfaction for the same.

VII. That, to facilitate the transporting of the troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, and each ship burden two-hundred tons; for which, the persons, to be transported, shall not be obliged to pay; and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and, if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burden, he will furnish more in number to countervail, and also give two men of war to imbarque the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burden.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork, to visit the transport-ships, and see what condition they are in for sailing; and that, as soon as they are ready, the troops, to be transported, shall march with all convenient speed the nearest way, in order to be imbarqued there; and, if there shall be any more men to be transported, than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain, till the other twenty ships are ready, which are to be in a month's time; and may imbarque in any French ship, that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horses, and all necessary provisions, to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons, that are shipped, to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for, as soon as all is disimbarqued at Brest, or Nantes, on the coast of Brittany, or any other port in France they can make.

X. And, to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and the payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garisons of Clare-Castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garisons, in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this capitulation; and such part of the garisons, as design to go beyond the seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, colours flying, with all their provisions, and half the ammunition, that is in the said garison's town, with the horse that march to be transported; or, if then there is not shipping enough, the body of foot, that is to be transported next after the horse, General Ginckle will order, that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provision they shall want for their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else, that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons, that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such, as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, a-part from the troops commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and, within their quarters, they shall pay for all things, excepting forage, and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garison of Sligo, that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them, that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis; and, as for the troops that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves, as they shall think fit, giving up their arms and horses, to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted, for those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates, where-ever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any lett or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and, for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them, to the place where they shall be imbarqued.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay, preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be imbarqued; and, if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats, where-ever they shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the twenty-eighth of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that the prisoners, that are in England and Flanders, shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army, that cannot pass into France at the first imbarquement; and, after they are cured, will then order ships to pass into France, if they are willing.

XIX. That, at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and then, besides, will furnish two small ships, of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France, that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put a shore at the next place of France, where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped, on the account of debt, or any other pretence.

XXI. If, after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France, in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ship, but to the ships to come to the nearest port, to the place where the troops, to be transported, shall be quartered.

XXII. That, after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be a free communication, and passage, between it and the abovesaid troops; and especially, for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tumeron, the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the town of Limerick shall be delivered, and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of signing the present articles; and, as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-Bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are in the garison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above-mentioned, until there be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And, to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garisons, that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and island; which they may do, until the troops be imbarqued on the first fifty ships that shall be gone for France, and no longer; they shall intrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides, to offer any thing offensive, and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be imbarqued, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will

choose, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place: and, for this purpose, an inventory of all the ammunition of the said garison shall be made, in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after the present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and that, if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, while they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving account of their number, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions, at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and, in case any provisions shall remain in the magazines of Limerick, when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on shipboard.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, and also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they be returned to their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished sufficiently with passports, both the ships and men; and, if any sea commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, troop, dragoon, soldier, or other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons, so acting, shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets, of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That, for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article herein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages——and the general shall give——

XXIX. If, before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle; all those, that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary, on any account whatsoever.

October, 1691. BARON DE GINCKLE.

THE

PRETENCES

OF THE

*FRENCH INVASION EXAMINED**,

FOR THE

INFORMATION OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND:

London: Printed for R. Clavel, at the Peacock, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1692.

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Let this be printed, Nottingham. Quarto, containing twenty Pages.

THAT the sword hath thus long been kept from destroying among us, is a blessing which we cannot sufficiently understand, unless we consider the woeful desolation it hath made in all neighbouring nations: nor are they at all sensible how much they owe to God, and their majesties, for keeping us in peace, who give the least encouragement to this intended descent, which must turn our land into an Aceldama, and will make such woeful havock of our lives and fortunes, while one party fights for safety, and the other for revenge, that no age can parallel the horrid consequences of such a civil war as this will prove. And, if papists only (blinded by zeal for their religion, and blown up with hopes of absolute empire) encouraged this bloody design, it would be no wonder, and could have no success, considering the general aversion of the people to them, and the fresh instances of their insolence and cruelty,

But alas! it appears that many, who call themselves Protestants, are engaged in this fatal conspiracy against their religion, and their native country; which is so prodigious and amazing, that a man would wonder who hath bewitched these foolish Galatians to push on their own and the church's ruin: and every one must be inquisitive into the specious pretences by which these men are induced to become their own executioners.

Now the pretended motives are these:

1. Repairing the injury done to the late king.
2. Delivering us from the oppressions we suffer under the present king.
3. Settling the government upon its old basis.
4. Securing the Protestant religion for all future ages.

Now it becomes every true English Protestant to examine these pretences very well, before he venture on a thing of so evil appearance and dangerous consequence, as is the joining with these invaders.

* Vide the 68th article in the catalogue of pamphlets.

First, It is pretended, the late king was unjustly deprived of his birth-right by his subjects, who, by nature and oaths, were bound to defend him in the possession of it: and, now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever were his subjects must either assist, or at least not oppose him.

But let it be considered, that all the late king's sufferings were owing to, and caused by the counsels of his Popish priests, and the bigots of that persuasion: protestants were not the aggressors; he might have kept his possession to this day undisturbed, if he had not made such open and bold attempts upon our laws, our religion, and properties; so that he was the first and only cause of his own sufferings: and why should millions be involved in blood and ruin, who are perfectly innocent of doing this injury? No free nation did ever bear more or greater injuries, or endure such violences so long, or so patiently as we did: and, when some stop was to be put to the final ruin of our liberties and religion, it was done at first by petitions and complaints; and, when they were despised, none but defensive arms were taken up by some few, and by a foreign prince, only to cover their heads, while the grievances were fairly redressed; not to take away his rights, but to secure our own. Nor did the Prince of Orange, or these gentlemen, devest or deprive him of his throne, but owned his right by offering a treaty, during the continuance of which he disbanded his army, dissolved his government, and, as much as in him lay, attempted to desert the throne, and seek aids from an enemy's country, which might secure him against redressing any grievances, and enable him to be revenged upon the injured complainers. We did not make the throne vacant; but the late archbishop, and other peers at Guildhall, believed he had left it void, or else they would not, without his consent, have seized on the administration of government, secured his chancellor, taken possession of the Tower, and offered the exercise of the supreme power to the Prince of Orange. He left us in anarchy, and we provided for ourselves in the best manner such a juncture would allow. I will not inquire now, whether these subjects, who are so zealous for his return, were not bound to do more than they did, to keep him in his throne, while he had it; their conscience then permitted them to look on, and let him sink, while his security had been far more easily compassed: but they, who have now these unseasonable pangs of their old loyalty, must consider, that a man may leave his right when he pleaseth, but may not take it again at his pleasure, especially not by force, and this most especially as to sovereign power. Somebody must govern, when he would not; the next undoubted heir, in an hereditary monarchy, must; and whoever doth govern in chief in this nation must be king, by our constitution, and must have power sufficient to protect himself and the nation against all their enemies; and that cannot be without swearing new allegiance. Now, when a king and queen are declared, submitted to, and owned by oaths, and all other methods required in such case, the king is not at liberty to give up his own power, and the protec-

tion of us, nor are the people free to join with him that deserted them, or to venture their necks, or their country's ruin, to restore him. I dare say, that the French king will not grant, that the citizens of those cities, who were subjects to Spain, or the emperor, and bound by oath to those princes (but have now submitted to him, and sworn new allegiance) are obliged to venture their lives and fortunes, by vertue of their old oaths, to restore those cities to their former masters; doubtless, he would solve their scruples with a halter, if he found they attempted it. Besides the injuries, as they are called, done to the late king by his own acts, if they were capable of reparation, must not be repaired with the injuring, yea, ruining many thousand innocent persons, who must unavoidably lose their lives, and be undone in their estates by his returning by force. The present king and his army are bound by oaths, duty, and interest, to oppose him; so are all now protected by him, and who have sworn allegiance to him; and it is certain, all that are not perjured hypocrites will do so; and then, what Englishman's bowels must not bleed to consider what murders, burning, plundering, and destruction he brings upon his native country, who encourages the aggressors? If he has any kindness for us, whom he calls his subjects, he would rather sit quietly under his single injuries, than wish, or, however, attempt to be restored by blood and an universal ruin; and, if he has no pity for us, why should we be so concerned for him, as to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to his revenge? He went away, while a treaty was on foot, and nothing but a treaty can restore him fairly; which he never yet offered. We did not force him to go away in disguise, and, if he will force himself upon us again, by French dragoons and Irish cut-throats, we may and must oppose him; for our allegiance is now transferred to another. Finally, there is no injury to any but himself, and those who run into voluntary exile with him, by his being out of the possession: the monarchy, the law, the church, and property are all in better estate, than in his time; and all these, with innumerable private persons, must be irreparably injured by his return in an hostile manner. So that there can be no reason to redress the sufferings, he owes to his own faults, by so many publick and private injuries. If it be pleaded, that he, who was born to a kingdom, really wants subsistence, I reply, that, if he would seek the peace of Christendom, and of his late subjects, he might, by a fair treaty set on foot, not only restore the exiles, but have a sufficient and honourable maintenance from this government; but, while the war, he makes upon it, puts us to so great expence, he cannot expect it, nor imagine we should give him a supply to enable him to ruin us.

The second pretence, why we should assist towards his restoration, is, to deliver ourselves from the oppression we suffer under the present king: and, to set off this with a better gloss, the late reign is magnified by the jesuits and their tools, and this blackened; freedom from taxes then is made a rare instance of his gentleness, and the present impositions heightened, with all the rheto-

rick imaginable, to represent this king as an oppressor. The flourishing of trade then is extolled, the decay of it now odiously insinuated, and great hopes are given of golden days, upon the return of James the Just; he is to make us all happy.

Now, to answer this, there is no need to make a satyr on that reign, or a panegyrick on this; that is so well remembered, and this so fully known, that all unprejudiced people see on which side the truth lies. But it is great pity they, who have the wit to invent or urge this plea, have not a memory to remind them, that none complained more of the danger of law and religion, of our lives and fortunes in that reign, than many who have this high opinion of it now; the cruel severities in the west, the high commission, turning out of office all good protestants, attempting to reverse all the penal laws, putting unqualified men into all places of trust, profit, and power, excluding the fellows of Magdalen, and putting in papists, with the imprisonment and trial of the bishops, were thought oppressions then; but now all these are buried in oblivion, and those taxes which the late king, and his ally of France, with their abettors, alone make necessary to this frugal prince, these are our only grievance, and this king's unpardonable crime. The late king had one tax, and might, yea, would have had more for the glorious design of enslaving his subjects, if he could have got a parliament to his purpose, which he vigorously endeavoured; and it was, because he was sure he must satisfy his people in their just complaints, whenever he asked a supply, that he durst not ask it of a freely chosen parliament; yet then we were in peace with all nations, and now he hath intangled us in a war with the worst enemy in Europe. Assessments then were not needed, but to hasten our ruin; now they are absolutely necessary to our safety, and made so by him, and his complaining friends. Yet still what grievances are these taxes, in comparison of what is laid on the French slaves, into whose condition we were intended to be brought? There is a vast difference between losing our property for ever, and paying some part of our profits to secure the rest, and our inheritances to our posterity, as well as ourselves. Besides, should we not leap out of the frying-pan, into the fire, if, to avoid tolerable payments, we should rashly bring a fatal war to our doors, that must last till more than one half of the nation be destroyed, and the rest utterly, and almost irrecoverably, impoverished? This, I am sure, is voluntarily to change our whips for scorpions. We have paid as much formerly for assisting France to ruin Europe, and maintain vice at home, as now serves to deliver Europe, and secure our native country and religion, from utter destruction: nor are the sums considerable, reckoning the abatement of chimney-money, which we have paid to this government; no country in Europe hath paid so little in proportion to our wealth, these last three years of war: and if the late king return, England must pay all the sums borrowed of France, to maintain him abroad, to keep Ireland, and to discharge the forces, that come to thrust him on us, and must stay to complete the happy design of setting up popery and slavery, the

natural consequences of his restoration; and it is well, if arrears of chimney-money, and other publick monies, be not called for, to carry on so glorious a work: so that, if England rebel against the present king, to avoid the burdens now upon them, they expose themselves to ten times greater taxes for many years, and it can end in nothing but the utter impoverishing of the whole nation, especially, the protestant part of it, who, by their poverty will become a more easy prey. As for trade, the decay of it began in the late king's time, and it is the war which he and France hath engaged us in, that still keeps it at a low ebb; so that for the late king's friends to expose the present government, for this, is like a conjurer's complainiug of the storms he raises. That ingenious history of Bishop King's, of the estate of the protestants in Ireland, under King James, makes it out, that the late king feared and hated the increase of trade, which made him use all means to hinder it; and all the world sees, that no absolute monarch, as he affects to be, likes that his subjects should grow rich by trade. But our present king, so soon as he can have peace, will make it his first care to promote trade here, as he did in the country he came from; and, even in the difficult times he had, trade hath been a great part of his and his parliament's care. Finally, if men can remember the times, that are so lately past, when law and right was only the king's pleasure, dictated by mercenary judges; when no party but the papists flourished; when a general consternation had stopped all business, they cannot hope to be happy by his return, who caused all these miseries: and they must expect, now he hath more perfectly learned the French methods, of making a king the greatest of monarchs, by making his subjects the vilest of slaves, that he will practise it with greater industry and application than ever, to put it eternally out of his subjects power, to protect themselves again: for oppressing his people, which was but expedient before, will now be thought absolutely necessary. So that nothing can be more improbable, not to say impossible, than for England to be happy under him, that attempted to make her miserable without any provocation, and must return with the same principles and designs, the same counsellors and interests he had before, and with all the addition that revenge, hatred, and fear can make to an angry and implacable mind. But it may be said, his dear-bought experience of the ill success of these methods will make him rule more moderately, if he be restored: to which I reply, *Cælum, non animum mutat*. The fore-cited book of Bishop King's demonstrates, that, after he had lost England and Scotland, and a great part of Ireland, upon his return hither from France, he was more arbitrary and hard to his protestant obedient subjects than ever he had been before, even though it was against his visible interest, and tended to disgust all the protestants, who would have served him there. His declaring himself papist at first here, and all his actions since, shew that he prefers his will, and an obstinate pursuing his own methods, far above his true interest; whence it follows, that we vainly expect from one of his temper, that either his past experience, or his

future interest, should teach him moderation, any longer than till he hath power to oppress us: and, if he should, by a thousand promises or oaths, engage to rule by law, his frequent breach of both hath given us no reason to trust him; and the religion he professes can so easily dispense with both, that neither of them give us any security from that sort of obligations. The interests of popery and France require he should be absolute, and his nature spurs him on to it, and nothing but fear can for a moment restrain him from being so. What a shadow of a dream then must this be of protestant subjects being happy, under a bigotted popish prince of such a temper?

Thirdly, Whereas it is said, we have changed our old hereditary monarchy into one merely elective, and, by degrees, shall bring it to a commonwealth; nor can any thing prevent this, which will be of fatal consequence to the church, but our restoring the late king; I answer, the position is false, and the consequence a mere sham: the government of England always was, and ever must be monarchical; that twelve years, when it was endeavoured to make it otherwise, convinced all men, that all projects to the contrary must come to nothing. As for this revolution, it is not likely, a parliament which made an entail of the crown, in a lineal succession, should be for setting up a commonwealth, or altering the hereditary monarchy. If it be alledged, there was a great breach as to the person of the reigning king, it is replied, he himself made it, and they did not make, but find the throne void. And there have been greater breaches since the conquest, as to the true lineal succession, and laying aside, yea, deposing the reigning king, and setting up his son, or a remoter person, which indeed was an injury to the kings so deposed; but still the monarchy was called and continued to be hereditary. In our case, the king deserted us, yea, left us without any government; but we applied to his next certain heir, with whom, at her request, and for our safety and her's, by general consent, a title was given to her husband and our deliverer, but this only for life, though he be much nearer in blood to the right of succession than either Henry the Fourth, or Henry the Seventh, successively made kings of England. And the saving the succession to the Princess of Denmark, and her heirs, shews how far that parliament was from designing any such thing as a commonwealth. We see Philip of Spain, who had no title to be king of England, but by his marriage with Queen Mary, was made king at her request, and in her right; but he had not merited so much as our king, and therefore his title was to cease at her death. As for the Prince of Wales, there are so clear indications of his birth being an imposture, and the design of forming that project is so known to be revenge on the princesses, for adhering to their religion, and to get more time to force popery and slavery upon us; yea, his health and strength make it so unlikely, he should proceed from such crazy parents, that till the parties concerned prove the affirmative by better witnesses and clearer evidence, and the people of England in parliament own him for the heir, we need not go about the un-

reasonable task of proving a negative. Wherefore, since the breach in the succession was the late king's own act, and only concerns his person, and a supposed unknown heir, we are not to answer for that; and, considering the hurry his unexpected desertion put all things in, and the absolute necessity of a speedy settlement, the friends of the old English monarchy have just cause to rejoice it was made so near the old foundation, with a small and only temporary variation from it, which was also absolutely necessary in that juncture of affairs: and it is evident, that there are many of the best quality and interest, who hate the notion of a commonwealth in England, and love monarchy as well as any of the late king's abettors; who freely consented, and firmly adhere to this establishment. If it be objected, that King William was bred up in a commonwealth, and inclines to that form of government; it is answered, he doth and may like it in Holland, but they must shew some instances, that his zeal for a commonwealth is as hot and as blind as King James's for popery, before they can prove him so desperate a foe to his own interest, as to uncrown himself, and make himself the people's vassal, when he is and may be their gracious lord. If it be urged, that it is a dangerous precedent for future kings, to allow the people a liberty to take away their prince's right, and set up another, on pretence of misgovernment: the reply is, the late king was the occasion of this precedent, by first attempting to alter the whole frame of our laws, government, and religion, and then deserting us. And, if it be an ill precedent for the safety of princes, that the advantage was taken, it was however necessary to take it for the safety of the people, for whose good heaven made kings. Sure I am, there are as dreadful consequences of arbitrary tyranny, as there are of rebellion, witness the misery and slavery of the poor French at this day; and it seems as necessary, there should be some precedents to deter princes from abusing their power, as well as to restrain the people from abusing their liberty: for both tyranny and rebellion are great sins, and of most mischievous consequence. Wherefore, this unexpected example may make our kings more just, and more apt to rule by law, but it can never hurt the monarchy itself, or countenance a rebellion, while a king is in the throne, that will stay to hear and redress his people's grievances, which will never be denied by the present, or any other good king.

The last pretence is the most surprising of all, that there is no way to preserve the church of England, no nor the protestant religion, but by restoring the late king, who, it is said in his declaration, promises this as liberally, as he did at his first accession to the throne.

If mankind were not the oddest part of the creation, one would wonder, how it is possible for protestants to believe, that the wolves design good to the sheep. When the late king was here, he involved himself in infinite mischiefs, and did the most odious things in the world to destroy the protestant religion, and especially, to ruin the church of England; and hath he given any evidence of changing his temper, his principles, his zeal, or his methods? He shewed in

Ireland a greater spite to protestants than ever; he hath lived in France ever since, where he hath seen how much it tends to advance his dear absolute power, to dragoon all men into the king's religion; his only motives to draw in this Frenchified pope, to lend him money to invade us, is, by convincing him, he lost all by his zeal to restore popery, and by engaging he will use his power (if he can regain it) only to promote the catholick interest. His other ally, the French persecutor, cannot be endeared by any better interest, till the principal of the sums lent are repaid by poor England, than by assurance, that he will make one kingdom in the world as miserable by absolute empire, and forcing one religion, as France now is; that his barbarity, cruelty, and treachery may not be the infamous single instance of such proceedings, his promises to his allies, his zeal, his principles, and his nature all engage him to destroy the protestant religion. He attempted it when he was not half so deeply obliged, and can we think he will not pursue it now? It is next to frenzy to think the pope and king of France furnish him with money, ships, forces, &c. only to secure the protestant religion, and church of Engand; he must be tied, in more than ordinary bonds, to endeavour the ruin of both, or no such favours had been shewn by such a pope, and such a persecutor: it cannot be ease to Roman catholicks he desires; they are more at ease under King William than under any protestant king ever since the reformation: it must therefore be the suppressing all other religions, and setting up that alone, must engage Rome, France, and Lucifer in his restoration. As for his promises to us in his declaration, alas! he hath already given greater and stronger to the pope and French king to the contrary; and though his interest, and the hopes that some will be so mad to believe him, put him upon renewing these promises to England; yet, his confessor can soon resolve him, which promise is to be kept, whether that pious catholick promise to the holy father, and the hector of that cause, or that extorted one to hereticks: besides, we should remember the Italian proverb, God forgive him, who deceives me once; but God forgive me, if one man deceives me twice. No prince in the world ever promised with more solemnity than the late king, to protect the protestant religion, or the church of England; yet nothing is more clear, than that he designed to gull us only, not to oblige himself by this protestation; and the first thing he did was to break it as soon as he durst, and can we be so distracted to believe him again? He declared in Ireland, that the church of England stunk in his nose, and that he abhorred it. He cannot truly love either any person of that persuasion, or any other protestant; he may flatter some of them to get into the saddle, but, when they have mounted him, he will ride over their heads; his own friends of the protestant religion are very few, and his revenge on the far greater number, who have opposed his designs, will out-weigh the kindness of a few inconsiderable hereticks, who abetted his interest, and who will be told, that it was not sense of duty, but despair of obliging his enemies, that forced them into his quarrel. They had sufficient experience

after Monmouth's rebellion (suppressed only by the church of England men) how little any acts of those, he counts hereticks, can oblige him; his carriage in Ireland to the loyal protestants writ this in capital letters, and it must be supposed, they have drunk deep of Lethe, who can forget all this. But, I pray, what is it the church of England wants, or any other protestant? This king is as serious and sincere a protestant, and as true a lover of that interest, as King James is a professed enemy to it; and, why may not he be more likely to preserve the religion he professes, than the other to maintain that religion which he vilely deserted, and mortally hates? The churchmen say, King William is too kind to dissenters; but, hath he given them any other or more liberty than King James did? That king begun with toleration,, and it was not for a new prince in a troublesome state of things to alter any thing of that nature: besides, at the same time, the dissenters do think the present king too kind to the established church, not considering, that it is the national religion which he found, and keeps in possession of all its rights, as his duty and oath oblige him; yet, so as the dissenters have ease, and every thing but empire, which from a prudent King of England they can never expect, being not only a less part of the nation, but so divided amongst themselves, that nothing can please all parties of them; and, therefore, freedom to worship, in their several ways, is all the favour they can be capable of in the best of times, and so they are most unreasonable to hope for more now. Besides, let it be considered, that our king is not only the head and protector of the protestants of England, but of all the reformed churches in Europe; and the French king, the main wheel in this designed restoration, is so mortal an enemy to the whole reformation, that he desperately weakened himself, and banished 50,000 families of useful subjects, only to root the whole profession out of his own dominions: and now can any rationally pretend, this present king will destroy the English church, or the French persecutor, and his client, the late King of England, uphold it? My dear brethren and countrymen, do not so infamously abuse yourselves to believe so incredible a fiction, so manifest a cheat: Alas! all these good words are only to lull you asleep, till you, at the peril of your necks, get him power enough to extirpate you and your religion also: I doubt not, but, for a while, he would maintain the established church, and renew his indulgence, because he can get footing no other way; but it is easy to foresee how short-lived all these sham-favours will be: they spring from fear, and desire of opportunity to be revenged, and, so soon as ever the fear ceases, and that opportunity comes, he will most certainly kick down the ladder by which he ascended, and pull off the mask, appearing what he is in his nature and principles, and not what his necessities have made him seem to be. So that, if this disguise be credited, the persons imposed on will, and must pay, for their credulity, with the woeful price of helping to destroy the most pure and flourishing church in the world; in assisting to re-instate him, and fighting for him, they fight against their own religion, which

the primitive christians, for all their heroick loyalty, would not do, and which no man ought to do, either for interest or revenge. For my part, I think true religion so far above all worldly concerns, and the preservation of it, so principal an advantage of government, that the prince, who will certainly suppress that, must be more intolerable than he that would take away my liberty, estate, or my life; and it must be a damnable sin in me to assist him in it, or put him into a capacity to do it. No oath or allegiance can bind me to this; it may oblige me to suffer, but not to act for such a design: wherefore, for shame, let his Irish and English popish subjects alone carry on this impious design, who can only hope for advantage by his restoration, and who are only bound in conscience to help him; neuter we must stand at least, and that will suffice to shew how contemptible a party that is, which must be set up on the nation's ruin, and how impossible it is for him to cut down the protestant religion in England, without borrowing a handle from the tree he would fell. Take warning by what is past, and what must be the inevitable consequence of your deserting this king, or assisting the late prince, even the ruin of this most famous church of England, and the endangering the whole estate of protestantism through all Europe: in vain will you complain of this consequence, when it is too late to remedy it; your guilt, shame, and sorrow will then only remain, for having had a hand in so deplorable a mischief; for my part, I have delivered my own soul, and given you fair warning; God of his infinite mercy open your eyes in time, and grant you a right judgment in this and in all things.

THE TRUE AND GENUINE

EXPLANATION

OF ONE

KING JAMES'S DECLARATION.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1693.

Quarto, containing Four Pages.

J. R.

WHEREAS by misrepresentation
(Of which ourself was the occasion)
We lost our royal reputation;
And much against our expectation,
Laid the most tragical foundation
Of vacant throne and abdication.
After mature deliberation,
We now resolve to sham the nation
Into another restoration:
Promising in our wonted fashion,
Without the least equivocation,

To make an ample reparation.
And, for our re-inauguration,
We chuse to owe the obligation
To our kind subjects inclination,
For whom we always shew'd a passion.
And when again they take occasion
To want a king of our persuasion,
We'll soon appear to take our station
With the ensuing declaration.

ALL shall be safe from rope and fire,
Or never more believe in J. R.

J. R.

WHEN we reflect what desolation
Our absence causes to the nation
We could not hold ourself exempted
From any thing to be attempted;
Whereby our subjects, well beguil'd,
May to our yoke be reconcil'd.
Be all assur'd both whig and tory,
If for past faults you can be sorry,
You ne'er shall know what we'll do for you.
For 'tis our noble resolution
To do more for your constitution,
Than e'er we'll put in execution.
Though some before us made a pother,
England had never such another,
No, not our own renown'd dear brother.
We have it set before our eyes,
That our main interest wholly lies
In managing with such disguise,
As leaves no room for jealousies.
And, to encourage foes and friends,
With hearts and hands, to serve our ends,
We hereby publish and declare,
(And this we do, because we dare)
That, to evince we are not sullen,
We'll bury all past faults in woollen:
By which you may perceive we draw
Our wise resolves from statute-law.
And therefore by this declaration
We promise pardon to the nation,
Excepting only whom we may please,
Whether they be on land or seas.
And further, bloodshed to prevent,
We here declare our self content
To heap as large reward on all,
That help to bring us to Whitehall,
As ever did our brother dear,

At his return, on Cavalier;
Or we, to our immortal glory,
Conferr'd on non-resisting Tory.
Then be assur'd, the first fair weather,
We'll call a parliament together,
(Chuse right or wrong, no matter whether)
Where with united inclination
We'll bring the interest of the nation
Under our own adjudication:
With whose concurrence, we'll redress
What we ourself think grievances.
All shall be firm as words can make it:
And, if we promise, what can shake it?
As for your church, we'll still defend it;
Or, if you please, the pope shall mend it.
Your chapels, colleges, and schools,
Shall be supply'd with your own tools:
But, if we live another summer,
We'll then relieve'em from St. Omer.
Next for a liberty of conscience,
With which we bit the nation long since;
We'll settle it as firm and steady,
As that perhaps you have already.
We'll never violate the test,
'Till 'tis our royal interest;
Or till we think it so at least,
But there we must consult the priest.
And as for the dispensing power,
(Of princes crowns, the sweetest flower)
That parliament shall so explain it,
As we in peace may still maintain it.
If other acts shall be presented,
We'll pass them all, and be contented:
Whatever laws receiv'd their fashion
Under the present usurpation,
Shall have our gracious confirmation,
Provided still we see occasion.
Our brother's Irish settling act
(Which we, 'tis true, repeal'd in fact)
We'll be contented to restore,
If you'll provide for Teague before:
For you yourselves shall have the glory
To re-establish wand'ring Tory.
But now you have so fair a bidder,
'Tis more than time you should consider,
What funds are proper to supply us
For that, and what your hearths save by us.
Therefore consult your Polyhymne,
To find another rhyme to chimney;
Or, if I bleed, the devil's in me.

And, lest a project, in its prime,
Should be destroy'd for want of time,
We'll soon refer the whole amount
To your commissioners of account.
  Thus having tortur'd our invention,
To frame a draught of our intention,
By the advice of Hun———ton,
Wise Ely, F———ck, and Tom D——e
And of all ranks some fifty-one:
Who have adjusted for our coming,
All gimcracks fit for such a mumming:
And 'tis their business to persuade you,
We come to succour, not invade you.
  But after this we think it nonsense;
Besides it is against our conscience,
To trouble you with a relation
Of tyranny and violation,
Or burdens that oppress the nation.
Since you can make the best construction,
Of what may turn to your destruction.
  But since our enemies wou'd fright you,
Telling our debt to France is mighty;
As positively we assure you,
As if we swore before a jury;
That he expects no compensation,
But what he gains in reputation
For helping in our restoration.
And all must own, that know his story,
How far his interest stoops to glory:
Whose generosity is such,
We doubt not he'll out-do the Dutch.
  We only add, that we are come
By trumpet's sound, and beat of drum,
For our just title's vindication,
And liberty's corroboration.
So may we ever find success,
As we design you nothing less,
Than what you owe to old QUEEN BESS.

THE

CHAPLAIN'S PETITION

TO THE

Honourable House for Redress of Grievances.

BY ONE OF THE CAMP CHAPLAINS.

London: Printed for the use of the Petitioners; and sold by Thomas Ramew, in Fleet-street, near Temple Bar. 1693. Quarto, containing four Pages.

1.

SINCE the ladies 'gainst men
Have to paper put pen,

By way of most humble petition,
In hope your good pleasure
Will once be at leisure
To mend their now scurvy condition.

2.

And since you allow
That impertinent crew,
Your patience to weary and vex,
With a thing of no moment,
That has small weight, or none in't,
But's as idle and light as their sex.

3.

We, humble famelicks,
Divinity's relicks,
In plain English, chaplains domestick;
To make known our grievance
For you to relieve once,
On your door do our earnest request stick.

4.

Viz. Be it enacted,
That as we've contracted,
Our salaries may be paid us,
That when we're dismiss'd ill,
We may not go whistle,
As an ord'nary footman or maid does.

5.

For as to the land all,
It will be a scandal
To see sons of Levi go thread-bare;
Even so to be sure,
If the pastor is poor,
His flock will ne'er greet him with head bare.

6.

Next, when we've said grace,
Let's at table have place,
And not sculk among the waiters,
Or come in with the fruit
To give thanks, and sneak out,
To dine upon half empty platters.

7.

But besides store of dishes
(One part of our wishes)
To fortify maw sacerdotal,
Eleemosynary funk,
And leave to be drunk,
We humbly desire you to vote all.

8.

Item, pray make us able
To command steed in stable,

When we are dispos'd *ad ridendum;*
And, if we want boots,
Whips, spurs, or sartoots,
Oblige surly groom straight to lend them.

9.

Nor let our great patrons,
Or their ruling matrons,
Read the butlers a juniper lecture,
If sometimes they pass
To our hands a stol'n glass,
Or some little orts of confecture.

10.

When long we have serv'd,
And preferment deserv'd,
Let's not miss of our just expectations,
By every fop's letter
For his friend, that's no better,
Or our patron's more blockhead relations.

11.

For 'tis cause of grieving
To see a good living,
Which our thoughts had long been fix'd on,
Be giv'n to a wigeon
With no more religion,
And learning much less than his sexton.

12.

Nor yet let matrimony,
The worst sort of simony,
Be the price of our presentation;
Nor to wed a cast mistress
When she's in great distress,
Our requisite qualification.

13.

And if't be our chance
To serve against France,
At sea, on the Rhine, or in Flanders;
We earnestly sue t'ye,
That exempt from all duty,
We may dine with our pious commanders.

14.

Then brandy good store,
With several things more,
Which we sons o'th' church have a right in;
But chiefly w' intreat,
You'll never forget,
To excuse us from preaching and fighting.

15.

Let not a commission
So change the condition,

Of him that just carried a halbert;
That a dunce of no letters
Should hector his betters,
For truly we cannot at all bear't.

16.

Nor when the war's done,
Let's be broke ev'ry one,
To languish in rags and lie idle,
Nor be so ill serv'd
To be left to be starv'd,
And kept by a bear and a fiddle.

17.

May it therefore you please,
For your own and our ease,
To relieve us without hesitation,
For the grievances told
Are as frequent and old,
As any besides in the nation.

18.

Then on us take pity,
And chuse a committee,
Let no other business prevent ye;
Our request do not spurn,
Nor vote it to burn
With a *nemine contradicente.*

19.

To this if you yield,
Our mouths shall be fill'd
With encomiums of your piety;
Whose excellent fame
We will loudly proclaim,
And worship next that of the Deity.

20.

When thus you remove
What we disapprove,
We all, down to Z from the letter A,
By night and by day,
Will fervently pray,
As in duty bound, &c. &c.

THE

PETITION

OF THE

Ladies of London and Westminster,

TO THE

HONOURABLE HOUSE FOR HUSBANDS.

London: Printed for Mary Want-man, the Fore-maid of the Petitioners; and sold by A. Roper, in Fleet-street, 1693. Quarto, containing four pages.

WE know you are harrassed with petitions from all quarters of the nation; for to whom should the miserable subject apply himself for a redress of his just grievances, but to this awful assembly? At present you have no less than the safety of all Europe, and that of England in particular, depending upon your supplies and assistance; yet, you sometimes condescend to entertain yourselves with things of far less importance. Give us leave, therefore, to lay our lamentable condition before you, and to expect a relief from your generous appearing in our behalf. We demand nothing but what is highly reasonable and advantageous to the state, nothing but what the laws of God, nature, and the end of our creation plead for, and, next to what immediately employs your counsels at this juncture, we offer a matter of the highest consequence that ever came within your walls.

You need not be reminded with what scorn and contempt the holy state of matrimony has of late years been treated: every nasty scribbler of the town has pelted it in his wretched lampoons; it has been persecuted in sonnet, ridiculed at court, exposed on the theatre, and that so often, that the subject is now exhausted and barren; so that, if no new efforts have been lately made against our sex's charter, we are not to ascribe it either to the good good-nature, or conversion of the men, but only to the want of fresh matter and argument. What afflicts us most, is to find persons of good sense and gravity, considerable for their estates and fortunes, so shamefully laid aside from their duty by the feeble sophistry of these little unthinking rhiming creatures; and to see that a scurrilous song, to the tune of a 'Dog with a bottle,' shall make a greater impression upon them than all the wholesome precepts of the apostles put together.

One, forsooth, is mortally afraid lest his head should ach within a fortnight, or so, after marriage; and yet makes no conscience of filling his carcass every night with filthy stummed wine, which in all probability will sooner give him a fever, than a wife confer a pair of horns upon him. A second professes he has an invincible aver-

sion to the squalling of children, and rocking of cradles, though the sot can sit a whole day at Will's, amidst the eternal quarrel of the no-wits, and the endless disputes of the no-politicians. A third is apprehensive of the thing called curtain-lectures, as the nauseous fellows love to talk; and yet suffer themselves to be tamely rid by common, ungrateful Hackney-prostitutes. A fourth has a great respect to his own dear person, and thinks that a wife will drain him to mere skin and bones, who for all that so manages himself as to have occasion to visit Dr. * Wall twice a quarter. Lastly, the graver sort exclaim at the caudles, the pins, the midwives, the nurses, and other concomitants of wedlock; they pretend the taxes run high, and that a spouse is an expensive animal; little considering that they throw away more upon their dearly beloved vanities than would maintain a wife and half a dozen children.

These are the common topicks against matrimony; and yet, to behold the vanity of these pretences, they immediately disappear and vanish, as soon as a good fortune comes in their way. Shew the sparks but a rich heiress, or an old griping alderman's daughter, and they soon forget curtain-lectures and cuckoldom, consumptions and skeletons, pins and caudles, impertinence and confinement, with the rest of their terrible objections. Then you hear not a syllable of liberty; but, oh! what a blessed, what a comfortable thing is a wife! nay, a widow, though past fifty, and as ugly as one of the witches in Macbeth, if she has but store of money, shall go down as glibly with them as the new oaths for preferment at court, without the least wry face or remorse of conscience; and the vain coxcombs think themselves as happy, as if they had got both the Indies for their possession.

But though the laity, not to mince matters, have almost universally degenerated in this wicked age; yet we bless Heaven, that our sex has still found the benefit of the clergy, and that the churchmen have been our surest and best friends all along. Had not these pious gentlemen taken pity of our condition, how many superannuated chambermaids had lain neglected, how many languishing farmers' daughters gone the way of all flesh without propagating their kind? Whatever prevarications they have made in other parts of the Bible, we have, to our unspeakable comfort, found that they have kept constant to the text, *Increase and multiply;* and indeed it was but reasonable, that these people, who are every moment trumping their *Jure Divino* upon the world, should by their own example support and countenance that sort of life, which is as much *Jure Divino* as the priesthood.

We never questioned, notwithstanding the unwearied attempts of our adversaries to render marriage contemptible, both in their writings and conversation, but that nature, mere nature, without any endeavours of our own, would have reduced the men long since to a true sense of their duty, had it not been for the two following impediments. The first is wine, which we that are maids have as

* A Pock-Doctor.

much reason to complain of as those that are married. It is a burning shame, and it highly concerns the wisdom of the nation to prevent it, that the young fellows of the town should so scandalously abandon themselves to the bottle. They ply their glasses too warmly to think of any thing else; and, if the liquor happens to inspire them with any kind inclinations, the next street furnishes them with store of conveniences to relieve their appetite. And this leads us to the second block in our way, which is the intolerable multitude of mistresses, who, to the great prejudice of the publick, divert the course of those streams, which would otherwise run in the regular channel of matrimony. As long as these contraband commodities are encouraged or connived at, it cannot be expected that virtuous women should bear a good market-price, or that marriage should flourish.

It would look like affectation or vanity in those of our sex, whom the malicious world supposes to be conversant in nothing else but books of receipts and romances, to acquaint so experienced and learned a body as yours is, how highly marriage was reverenced, and how industriously cultivated by the wisest governments in the world. The examples of Athens and Sparta are too notorious to be long insisted upon. Those were glorious places for us, poor women, to live in; a man there could neither be church-warden or constable, nay, nor be concerned in the meanest, most scoundrel parish offices, unless he was married. An old musty batchelor was pointed at like a monster; they looked upon such a one to be disaffected to the state, and therefore as constantly indicted him every quarter-sessions for letting his talent lie unemployed, as now we do Jacobites, and false retailers of news. The same policy was observed at Rome, where the *Jus Trium Liberorum*, the privilege of those that had got three children, was one of the greatest favours the emperor could bestow upon a subject, and was courted with as vigorous an application as a knighthood is now-a-days. By this means that victorious city arrived to the empire of the world; and we, if we would beat the French into better manners, must follow the same conduct: but it grieves our hearts to consider, that in a christian, and much more in a protestant country, we are forced to stir up the charity of well-disposed persons by citing pagan examples.

We therefore humbly petition you, that, for the increase of their majesties liege people, in whom the power and strength of a nation consists, and for the utter discouragement of celibacy, and all its wicked works, you would be pleased to enact,

First, That all men, of what quality and degree soever, should be obliged to marry as soon as they are one and twenty; and that those persons, who decline so doing, shall, for their liberty, as they are pleased to miscall it, pay yearly to the state, which we leave to your discretion to make as great or as little as you shall think fit, one moiety whereof shall go to the king, towards the payment of his army in Flanders, and the rest be distributed amongst poor housekeepers, that have not sufficient to maintain their wives and respec-

tive families, by such married officers as you shall nominate and appoint.

Secondly, That no excuse shall be admitted, but only that of natural frigidity or impotence; which, that it may not be pretended when there is no just occasion for it, and likewise that impotent persons may not, to the disappointment of their spouses, enter into the holy state of matrimony, there shall be erected, in every county in England, a court of judicature, composed of half a score experienced matrons or midwives, who, by a writ of *De maritali supellectile inspiciendâ*, may summon, or cause to be summoned, all such people as pretend the above-mentioned excuse, or are justly suspected thereof.

Thirdly, Since it is found by experience, that the generality of young men are such idolaters of the bottle, and that wine is the most powerful rival which the ladies have reason to be jealous of, that no person whatsoever shall be privileged to enter a tavern who is not married, under pain of having his wig and gilt snuff-box confiscated *Toties quoties*.

Fourthly, That every poet, or pretender to be a poet, or any one that has hired a poet to write any play, satyr, lampoon, or song, to the derogation of the matrimonial state, shall be obliged to marry before Lady-day next ensuing, and to make a solemn recantation of all, and every wicked thing by him uttered in any play, satyr, song, or lampoon, to the derogation of the matrimonial state; that all such disaffected papers shall be called in, and publickly burnt by the hands of twelve city clergymen's wives, on next St. Valentine's day.

Lastly, That to prevent the grievous multitudes of, and frequent resorts to misses and harlots, every person of quality pretending to keep a miss, after the commencing of this act, shall be enjoined, in order to his farther punishment, to keep a regiment of foot for his majesty's service upon the Rhine; or, in case he chuses to disband her, to dispose of her in marriage to his footman and groom, and allow them wherewith to set up a coffee-house. And, as for the inferior harlots, all justices of peace and constables shall execute the laws against them.

Having thus, most noble patriots, laid open our grievances before you, we doubt not but you will take effectual care to redress them. Could you condescend so low, as to debate about making the rivers Wye and Lug navigable; and will you not endeavour, as much as in you lies, to unite the male-streams with the female? Could you think it worth the while to take care of the propagation of woods, the draining of the fens, and the converting of pastures into arable land; and will you not much more encourage the propagation of mankind, the draining of the superfluous humours of the body politick, and provide, that so many longing young ladies shall not lie unploughed, unharrowed, and uncultivated? Besides, there was never a fitter occasion for such a bill, than what offers itself at present: the mighty numbers of men that our wars carry off in Flanders, with the little or no increase at home to balance the

loss; and, what ought to be no small argument with you, the few unmarried sparks that tarry behind, are of late grown so imperious and proud in their demands, that nothing will go down with them now but an heiress. Here are an infinite number of advocates to incline you to be kind to our cause: wit and youth, beauty and good-nature, besides the publick advantage, and the protestant religion plead for us; but, what cannot fail to move even hearts of marble, this very petition is subscribed by ten thousand green-sickness maidens.

That single consideration, we know, will prevail with you to espouse our quarrel, to restore matrimony to its primitive splendor; and, lastly, to destroy celibacy as effectually as you have done popery. Which will oblige your petitioners,

As, in duty bound, ever to pray, &c.

This petition is subscribed by threescore thousand hands, and never a cracked maidenhead or widow amongst them.

THE

PETITION OF THE WIDOWS,

In and about London and Westminster, for a Redress of their Grievances.

London, Printed for the use of the Wide---o's, 1693.

Quarto, containing Four Pages.

By the same Sollicitor that drew up the Petition for the Ladies.

LAST week a petition subscribed by the unmarried ladies came before you, and what reception it found yourselves know best. It is true we wondered to find an army of maids, from whom the world usually expects modesty and silence, so emboldened on the sudden as to petition for husbands, and that in the face of the world. Widows indeed, who lie under no such restrictions, are allowed in all countries to speak for themselves; and it is but reasonable we should, for few besides will submit to the trouble. It is our privilege to be obstreperous, when we are not heard; and there is one of our predecessors upon record in the New Testament, who by virtue of her everlasting clack, forced an old musty gentleman of the long robe at last to grant her request.

Now heaven be praised, we are not unacquainted with mankind, which the maids, we suppose, will not pretend to; and therefore may appeal to them without infringing the rules of decency: we have seen them in their best and weakest intervals. We know what weapons they carry about them, and how often they can discharge in an engagement. We have in our times had very severe conflicts with them, and sometimes they were uppermost, and then they fell on like thunder and lightning; but for all that your petitioners obliged them soon to quit the field, and leave part of their ammuni-

tion behind them. Give us leave, good gentlemen, to talk of these our combates; for we always fought upon the square, and therefore have no reason to be ashamed of a recital. As we hinted to you before, we have been concerned in several fierce engagements, and the men played their sharps against us, when we could only produce flats on our side; and, besides, they drew their heavy cannon upon us, while we were forced to lie by and receive their shot. After all, though we were so disadvantageously set upon, and the blood-shed, that happened on these occasions, was always on our part; yet when the fortune of the battle began to change, and declare herself in favour of us, we never treated them otherwise than christians; we never nailed up their cannon when we had it in our possession, so to render it unserviceable for the future, but gave them time to recover breath again, and furnish themselves with a new train of artillery. Is not this a generous and honourable way of treating an enemy? In short, the devil take that word *short*, for your petitioners mortally hate it; but in fine, we have been intimate with the men, and the men have been no less intimate with us; but what is the chief errand that sent us here, we have every woman of us buried her respective man.

Not that we value ourselves upon that score, for God forbid we should; but widows will speak the truth, let the consequence be what it will, and should you make ten thousand acts, to oblige us to hold our tongues, it would signify just nothing, we should break them all in a moment, and that with as much alacrity as the vintners in town daily break the adultery act. Well then we have all of us buried her respective man, which we mention not, heaven knows our hearts, out of ostentation, but with due grief and sorrow. We know a man's value too well, not to regret the loss of so serviceable a creature. We had all of us good husbands, at least we will say so now they are gone; and though perhaps we had some reason to complain of them when they were alive, yet we forgive them all their faults and infirmities, for that single good-natured act of dying, and leaving us once more to ourselves.

The foolish people of Athens, after they had lost a good king, would have no more of the kind, forsooth, lest a bad one should succeed him. But your petitioners are not such a scrupulous sort of people: we, that have had good husbands, are encouraged to try once more, out of hopes of meeting the same success; and we, that have had bad ones, are not for all that deterred from matrimony, but hope to mend our hands in a second bargain. After all, should we be deceived in our expectations, the first may afford to undergo a little penance, since they were so happy before; and the latter, being accustomed of old to bear burdens, are therefore the better enabled to support themselves under them:

The body of your petitioners, for after so much preface it is high time to come to business, consists of four several classes; viz. the old widows, the young or middle-aged widows, the rich widows, and the poor widows, and each of them presents you with a different petition.

To begin then with the old widows, and that preheminence is due to them upon the score of their age and experience, they humbly supplicate that you would be pleased to take their miserable condition into consideration. Old people according to the proverb are twice children; what wonder is it then if they still have a hankering after childish play-things, and long to have their gums rubbed with coral? Pray do not mistake them, good gentlemen, they mean it in a lawful, matrimonial sense, and hope you will not censure or think the worse of them for using this freedom. They appeal to all the world who it is that most stand in want of warm, comfortable things, the young or the old: that it is the greatest charity to relieve the last, needs no formal proof, all the hospitals in the kingdom speak as much; but alas! in this uncharitable age they do not expect to meet with many friends. Upon this consideration they intirely submit themselves to the mercy of the house, not presuming to carry their petition so high as to request you to force people to marry them; but only that you would recommend their case to the benevolence of those persons, who, having lived wickedly and at large all their life-time, are willing to compound for their sins, and do acts of supererogation in the last scene of it. Nor are they difficult in their choice, they will sit down content with any thing; and cripples with wooden legs will be chearfully entertained, if they have received no damage in the distinguishing part.

Next to these come the rich widows; and they earnesty beg of your honourable house that you would make it felony, without benefit of the clergy, for any one to make court to them before the mournful twelve month is expired. They are so perpetually pestered with suitors of all complexions, that they can neither eat, nor sleep, nor pray for them. A new favourite has not more humble servants in a morning at his levee, nor the commissioners of the pay office a greater croud of surly, grumbling seamen than they have. Nay, some of their passionate admirers have had the impudence to accost them upon this chapter, as they have been following their husband's corpse to the grave, in the very heighth of their sorrow, and in the midst of the funeral pomp. If you think it too severe to make it felony in persons so offending, they desire you to commute the punishment, and oblige every person trespassing after that manner to marry some widow as fancy inclines him: which is all the favour that the poor widows beg at your hands.

And now comes up the main body of the young and middle-aged widows, who, as they are by far the most numerous, especially since the wars have made such havock among the husbands, so they crave leave to lay their petitions at your feet. But, before they do that, they think it convenient to remove all those popular slanders and objections, which ill-natured people have been long accustomed to level against widows in general; and, because their adversaries shall have no reason to complain that their arguments are mangled, they will urge them as home as either themselves, or their best advocates, could do it for them.

It is in the first place pretended, that widows want several of those recommendations that set off their sex, and particularly a maiden-head, without which no wife, they say, can be acceptable; that they are still trumping up stories of their former husbands, purposely to confront their new ones, and so excessively talkative, that nothing but deafness is an antidote against the noise; that marrying a widow is like splitting upon a rock where others have been shipwrecked before. After this, they run the metaphor into Long-lane, second-hand gloves, cloaths of another's wearing, and the Lord knows what impertinent stuff. But we shall answer them all in order.

To begin then with the loss of a maiden-head, about which they make so horrid a clamour, we could tell them sad stories of several of their betters, that on the wedding-night have fancied they have dug up this same chimerical treasure, though it was stolen many months before; nay, we have a hundred and more of our company here, that, if occasion were, could attest this upon their own personal knowledge. So certain it is, that the nicest criticks among the men may be as easily imposed upon in this affair, as your pretenders to antiquity in counterfeit medals. But, if no woman can please them without this imaginary wealth, and indeed it is no more, for most people take it upon trust, we see no reason why a young widow may not be as capable of obliging them as the best virgin in the world. It is but using a few astringents before, and, at the critical minute, crying out, 'Fie, sir, pray, sir, will you split 'me up? Will you murder me alive? Can you take any pleasure 'in what is so painful to another?' And the sparks are satisfied they have made a real sacrifice, though, in truth, no more blood was shed in the encounter than we see upon the stage when one actor kills another. If this is their dear diversion, and, by the bye, it is a sure sign of their ill nature, that they cannot be pleased but at the expence of the party, whom they pretend to love so dearly; rather than lose them, we promise them to howl, and sigh, and roar every night in the year, as heartily as an ox, when he's led to the slaughter-house, and so entertain them still with the ceremony, at least, of their dearly beloved maiden-head.

In the next place, why should we not be permitted to refresh the memory of a dull, lazy husband, with the noble performances of his predecessors? The men, in King Charles the Second's reign, took the liberty to talk of the glorious conquests of our former fighting monarchs, and yet, for all that, thought themselves as good subjects as any in the kingdom. If the reproof is just, where a God's name lies the harm: and surely the wife must be allowed to be the best judge of that affair. 'Oh no, say they, it is not the horse, but the 'man, that best knows whether he rides easy. Content. But does 'not the horse likewise know, whether his rider carries true horse-'man's weight, and whether he sits even in the saddle.' If not, why would Bucephalus suffer himself to be backed by none but Alexander the Great?

But then we are excessive talkative. So are they, and so are most of our sex, but especially the longing maids, and under cor-

rection, if it is a sin, we are of opinion it sits better upon us than upon them. This is not all, marrying a widow is like splitting upon a rock where others have been shipwrecked. Well, we are glad however it is like something. But, since one simily is best drove out by another, why not, like drinking in a room where some honest gentleman has made merry before? Since nothing will go down with these squeamish creatures in the matrimonial way but a spick and span new virgin, we wonder why they do not keep up the frolick in every thing else; why, as often as they drink, they do not call still for a virgin glass; why they do not every meal call for a virgin plate: why they do not still pull out a virgin snuff-box, lie in virgin-sheets, talk politicks in a virgin-coffee-house, and pursue their dearly beloved variety to the end of the chapter. Lastly, their indignation rises at the thoughts of Long-lane, and all second-hand things whatever. If the sparks are resolved to be true to their argument, we are well satisfied they must even say good-night to all thinking, and writing, and talking: for at present they think at second-hand, and write and talk at second-hand; and this objection, as terrible as it looks, is a thread-bare weather-beaten second-hand objection with a witness.

A late monarch, of happy memory, who was inferior to none but Solomon in natural philosophy, and chiefly in what relates to our sex, was often heard to say, that getting of a maiden-head was a drudgery fit for none but porters. We save all that labour and pains, for there needs no great trouble to enter a city when a breach is once made in the walls, and our husbands have that satisfaction, as to see their ground ploughed up ready to their hands. To conclude all, a widow is a tried gun, and carries the tower mark upon her; now who knows but a maid may split in the proving?

Having thus justified the state of widowhood against all the objections that are used to be made against it, we have nothing more to add, but that you would be pleased to give your consent to the three following articles:

First, That all persons, who are not of known parts and abilities, may not only be rendered uncapable of marrying maids, or such as are reputed maids, but confined to the choice of widows only. This we request not so much for our own advantage, as for the ease of the men; for you know several people can make a shift to keep the king's highway, that are not able to leap a ditch, or break open a quickset.

Secondly, That all persons resolving to marry before the age of twenty-one, if they have made no natural experiments before that time, shall be likewise obliged to take a widow, as they do pilots, in difficult or unknown places. It is an ancient but well grounded complaint, that, where two maiden-heads meet, they produce nothing but mere butter-prints, addle-pated fops, and dull senseless, sleepy boobies. Now, if you pass this into an act, in all probability it will contribute much to the improving of our present degenerate race, and certainly, if ever we wanted solid heads, it is at this conjuncture,

Thirdly and Lastly, That all widows, during their widowhood,

may be excused from the taxes: for is it not hard, good gentlemen, to pay four shillings in the pound for empty houses. We hope you will consider farther of these our reasonable supplications.

And your petitioners, as in duty, &c.

AN HUMBLE

REMONSTRANCE OF THE BATCHELORS,

In and about London, to the Honourable House, in Answer to a late Paper, intitled,

A PETITION OF THE LADIES FOR HUSBANDS.

London: Printed for, and sold by the Bookselling Batchelors, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. Quarto, containing Four Pages.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are the sanctuary of the oppressed; and it is natural for the subject, whenever he finds himself unjustly treated, to fly to his representatives for a redress. You that have so effectually mortified arbitrary power, even in a great monarch, will certainly never cherish it in a lower station; and this inclines us to hope, that the ladies will not find that encouragement at your hands, which their vanity prompted them to expect. Though their petition to you speaks in a very sublime stile; yet for all that they can assume a different sort of language in other places. There they not only dispute the superiority with the men, but even pretend to the right of conquest over them; for their grandmother Eve, they say, triumphed over the weakness of our great grandfather Adam in Paradise; and no doubt on it had insisted upon that article before you, but that your house, last week, so punished the unpalatable doctrine of conquest. To disarm them of this illegal pretence, which is prejudicial to the liberty and privilege of our sex, we have examined all the old records, but cannot find the least appearance to colour such a plea. At present, we shall dismiss this point to descend into the particulars of their petition, and leave unto you, at last, to decide the controversy, now depending between us.

They complain, that the holy state of matrimony has of late years been very irreverently spoken of; that it has been rhymed to death, in sonnet, and murdered in effigie, upon the stage. Now we would not be guilty of that ill breeding, to say that the ladies, all along, found the matter, and the satyrist only found the words. However, we are assured from all hands, that those persons, who have taken the greatest pains to expose that holy state, were all of them married; to prove which, we could name a famous abdicating poet, if we were minded; and we hope the ladies do not expect we should either defend or condemn them, till we are married ourselves, and consequently in a capacity to judge on which side the truth lies. At

present we know no more of matrimony, than a mere land-man knows of the sea; every gazette tells him of abundance of wrecks; but for all that, he will venture to sea, in hopes of making fifty per cent. by exchange of his commodities.

But, to make amends for this melancholy scene, they very devoutly thank heaven, in the next place, that their sex found the benefit of the clergy, when the laity had, in a manner, abandoned them. Pray, gentlemen, observe what returns of gratitude the ladies have made their best and surest cards the church-men for this their loving kindness. One would have thought they might, at least, have allowed their ancient friends the first choice of the vintage; it is no more than what the French do to the Scotch merchants at Bourdeaux, out of respect to their old alliance; but we find no such thing. Old superannuated house-keepers with a maiden-head defunct, and farmers daughters, are the best presents, they give the poor church; so they, on this account, serve the christian parsons, as their predecessors, the pagan priests, did their deities, who used to compliment Jupiter with the guts and garbidge, and reserved the remainder of the bullock for themselves. After all, whether this happens by their own fault, or no, the Levites are made but a civiler sort of scavengers to carry off the dust and rubbish of the sex, so that the ladies may spare their thanks to them if they please; for it is we, of the laity only, that are in their debt for this great civility.

After this, gentlemen, the ladies are pleased to avouch, that, if it had not been for a certain damned liquor, called wine, the men by the mere impulse of nature had been long since reduced to their duty. Here, by the word duty, they plainly insinuate a conquest; and therefore we humbly beg that their petition may be sent to the Palace-Yard, and there served *Secundum Usum Sarum*. In the mean time, it is a mystery to us, what makes the ladies vent their spleen so furiously upon poor wine, which by the bye never meant the least harm in its life to the God of Love's subjects, unless they intend to monopolise all the drinking to themselves; or else, since their sex has been so familiar with brandy, blasphemed by the name of cold tea, a jury of red-nosed midwives have pronounced wine to be a feeble impotent creature, in comparison of that. They wonder, why the men should scruple to marry, out of fear of cuckoldom, and yet not scruple to drink stummed wine for fear of a fever. To which we reply, that the case is extremely different. Not one man in an hundred gets a fever by drinking; at the same time, scarce one in an hundred, that is married, escapes cuckoldom. And, gentlemen, is not that great odds?

They would have you pass it into a law, that every man should be obliged to marry, immediately after twenty-one; and, in case he refuses so to do, to pay a good round sum yearly for his liberty: though we are all of us agreed that one and twenty is somewhat of the soonest to begin at. For why should a man be forbidden to travel upon the road, unless he sets out exactly at sun-rising? Yet, out of complaisance to the ladies, we are willing to let it pass, though we are certain that half the racers will be foundered before

thirty, provided always (and to be sure, they will never mistake that word, either in an act of parliament, or out of an act of parliament) that all virgins, or reputed virgins, who are passed the age of one and twenty, and have wherewithal to set up some honest, well-chined younger brother, but tarry in expectation of striking a country-squire or alderman's son, shall be likewise amerced the same sum for their maiden-heads. The ladies, perhaps, will here object, that it is hard to be taxed for an invisible estate; but we say, No. We can name them a hundred tradesmen here in the city, that, since the revolution, have paid for what they never had; those, for instance, that have been rated at four hundred pounds, when they were not really worth one; and yet so valuable a thing is reputation, whether we deserve it or no, lost nothing by the bargain.

They would have none excused from marriage, but only the impotent and frigid, which, by the bye, gentlemen, is full as severe, as if you should vote that all must troop to the wars, but the parsons, and desire you to erect a court in every county, consisiting of half a score experienced matrons, who shall have full authority to examine all persons, whom they suspect to carry clipped money about them, for fear they should put upon their spouses, when it is not in their power to change it. Pray not altogether so hasty, fair ladies. Let your court have some men in it, and not all women: then we may expect to have justice done us; for experienced matrons are too much a party concerned to be trusted by themselves. We demand, whether it be convenient, that only vintners and aledrapers should have the sole right of determining measures. Vintners never think the measures small enough; but it may so happen, that your experienced matrons, *Anglis*, your midwives, may be of a different opinion, and so think no measure large enough. Gentlemen, do but remember the Tryers, under the late reign of Fanaticism; they were a parcel of inquisitor-divines set up by the then no government, to license all such persons that were to be dispatched into the vineyard. Now these conscientious judges, if they had a quarrel to a man, certainly rejected him, and put him by, though, perhaps, he was master of a more unexceptionable talent than several others that had passed the pulpit-master before him. This needs no application.

They complain of the excessive multitude of misses and harlots, in and about the town, who, as they express it, divert the course of those streams that would otherwise run in the regular channel of matrimony. It is a sad truth, we confess it, the number of these interlopers is very grievous: and yet it is as sad a truth, that the petitioning ladies have occasioned it. Let them but leave quarrelling about jointures, and carry a little more christian complaisance about them, and the other fry would disappear in a moment: for whores in a state are like copper farthings in the way of trade, only used for the convenience of readier change. But, though these obdurate females are really accessory to the great increase of misses, they would have every person of quality who keeps one, in his own defence, pay a good swinging fine to the government. Is this reason-

able or fair? Would governor Walker, do ye think, have done like a gentleman, if he had fined his heroes of Londonderry for feeding on horse-flesh, contrary to the statute, when they had nothing else to help themselves with? It is the same in all cases, where there is no choice but downright necessity.

They would have you enact, since they find wine is so potent a rival, that none but married men should have the privilege of entering into a tavern, that is, modestly speaking, of being drunk. With all our hearts, gentlemen, provided always, that none but married women shall be licensed to appear at the theatre, Chocolate-house, Whitehall, or the park; or, if they do, that any vigorous cavalier shall have full liberty to carry them off, without incurring the fate of poor Sir John Johnson.

To present you at one view, with the merits of the cause. The ladies are weary of lying alone, and so are we. They would fain be advantageously married, and so would your humble servants. The quarrel, therefore, on their side, is unjustly begun. They look upon us to be their adversaries, whereas we have the same kind inclinations to their sex, as any of our fore-fathers; the same desires, the same wishes, by the same token, we heartily believe they have equal beauty, and equal, if not superior charms to any of their sex before them. But as, in a long tract of time, innovations cannot fail to start up; so the ladies, either presuming on their own strength, or on the inadvertency of the men, have trumped up several new doctrines upon us. A courtship, as the ladies are pleased to order it, is now the greatest penance any man in the world can undergo. We must swear as many oaths as would serve one of his majesty's largest garisons for a twelve-month, till we are believed. We must treat them like goddesses, lie prostrate at their feet, make presents so expensive and numerous, that, perhaps, the wife's portion will scarce make amends for what the mistress extorted from us. Because Jacob could serve two apprenticeships, for his Rachel, they imagine, that we must do the same; not considering, that the race of the Methuselahs and patriarchs is quite extinct, and that this Old Testament-lover, were he in our circumstances, who begin to decay at thirty, would have taken wiser and better measures.

Gentlemen,

These are our sentiments upon this subject: and, as we do not doubt the justice of this honourable house, so we little question, but that our cause will prevail. In a word, let love be encouraged, and cruelty and coyness be punished,

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

A NEW BILL,

Drawn up by a Committee of Grievances,

In Reply to the Ladies and Batchelors Petition and Remonstrances, &c.

Quarto, containing Four Pages.

VIRGINS and batchelors, or rather ladies and gentlemen, for that is your safer name, and so we would advise you to title yourselves, we have received both your addresses, and both your suits lie before us. We confess that, to do you equal right, you both plead strongly, and pray heartily: however, the fervour of the suppliant does not always argue the honesty of the petition. The most unreasonable, most unjust things in the world, may be as vigorously prayed for as the best. A man, in his angry moments, may as zealously wish to see his honest neighbour hanged, as he ever wished in a fit of sickness to be saved. The same tradesman's wife, that at morning service could think of nothing but Abraham's bosom, before night, perhaps, has altered her note, and prayed with greater vehemence to meet her gallant.

The merit, therefore, and not the oratory of the plea, is the business of our examination. But, before we descend to particulars, we must so far join with you, to own your cause (that we may use your own phrase) a matter of the greatest consequence that ever came within our walls. For hymen and love, generation and progeny, the fulfilling of the great first commandment, 'increase and multiply,' is indeed an importance so high, that not only the present race of mankind, the now occupants of the world, but even the yet unborn, are concerned in it.

Having therefore duly weighed the whole controversy between the petitioners and remonstrancers, we must declare our ready tenderness, and, without partiality, favourable inclinations both to the complaints, and complainants, the aggrieved petitioners: for having considered, that long customs, out of the memory of man, are, by the British constitution, equivalent to the most binding laws; we find upon search, that England has been always the heaven of women, and also, by another customary female claim, that a woman never loses her honour; and, consequently, that the practised deference and complaisance to the sex is an unalienable right. Upon the said premises duly considered, as we sit here not to destroy fundamentals, but to support them, we must allow a great many unquestioned prerogatives, as their just and natural right; a fair Magna Charta on the soft sex's side.

Nevertheless, not to come to any conclusive determination, *Causa inaudita*, we think it highly concurrent with our own honour and justice, to discuss the main points in dispute between the ladies and batchelors, before we come to any final decision on either side.

First then, we cannot but take notice that the batchelors very unjustly charge the petitioners with difficult courtship: the pretend-

ed servitude of tedious Jacob-prenticeships, &c. being in the whole a most notoriously false and malicious suggestion. For how can any man in his right wits believe that ten thousand green sickness maidens, subscribers to the petition, can be those hard-hearted Rachel mistresses, as if life, health, and love were so little dear to them, that they would rather die martyrs to oatmeal, loam, and chalk, than accept such able doctors and such pleasant physick for their recoveries, in that only *Elixir Vitæ*, man and matrimony.

Nay, do not the whole body of petitioners most frankly and generously avow, both for their majesties' and the nation's service, their ready inclinations and desires of recruiting the yearly Flandrian mortality, by an immediate consummation and propagation. Is not the fair Festival-sheet hung out, with all the heartiest bridal compliment, of 'Wake, sleepers, rise and eat?' And can the ungrateful batchelors talk of seven years courtship, after such endearing invitations! But, however, if by chance, once in an age, they meet with a thick-shelled bitter almond, must the generality of the sex, the tender pistachoes, requiring not half the cracking labour, and with ten times the sweeter kernel, be falsly reproached and reviled?

And whereas the batchelors ridiculously object their fear and dread of entering into the matrimonial state, from the suggested frailty and brittleness of the weaker vessels: to obviate the folly of that fear, and the shallowness of that argument, we declare, *Nemine contradicente*, the fair sex, not to diminish their value, to be true precious porcelane, and it lies only in the gentle usage and tenderness of the handling, to preserve them.

And we farther declare this petition of the longing ladies, notwithstanding the scurrilous batchelors ridiculing and censorious reflexions, to be as honest a supplication, as a prayer for daily bread; for every thing would live.

And whereas one great bar to matrimony are the common pretensions of good husbandry, in chusing rather to buy at Hackney, than keep a milcher of their own; as thereby endeavouring to avoid the expensive concomitants of wedlock. Now, as these unthinking remonstrancers never consider the dangerous risques of their own *Latitudinarian* principles and practices, in incurring the hazard of coming to *Sassapiralla* and *Guiacum*, and the rest of the dry drugs, infinitely more expensive than the objected matrimonial sweetmeats and caudles, gossipings and christenings, &c. the confectioners a much easier than the apothecaries bill, and one Dr. Wall a heavier incident charge than two Chamberlains.

We therefore think fit to lay before their eyes the too common too threatening malevolence of those malignant ascendants, viz. Venus in the lower house, and Mercury in the upper one; and withal advise them to reflect, that the nursery of a whole fire-side is not half the expence of rearing of galloping runners into standing gouts. We could likewise further convince them, that the universal havock of all the maims and cripples, from French chain-shot and splinters got betwixt wind and water, is much the vaster hospital rent-charge, than the pensions of Chelsea and Chatham.

However, if no counsel nor precept can reduce them from their infamous reprobation to the honourable state, we hereby enact this punishment of their apostasy, that they live in their sins, and die in their shame; and, as the last publick brand, be utterly debarred even that common civility of bribing the searchers, and softening the bill of mortality, by slurring a shame-faced consumption upon a scandalous rot.

But to begin our examination into the petitioners greatest and loudest-tongued grievance, the multitude of misses; and all the fatal influences from those reigning ascendants; that not only, as the petitioners modestly complain, divert, but, as we may safely add, poison those wholesome streams which would otherwise run in the regular channel of matrimony; we shall here subjoin our power and authority for accomplishing a thorough reformation in this particular; with the following inflictions and punishment for the discouragement and suppression of the said notorious vice and enormity.

Whereas therefore, to the scandal of the age, it has been often experienced, that a witty and beautiful spouse has been abandoned for a hard-favoured dowdy miss; under no other shadow of excuse, than the pretended discovery of having found a fiddle abroad, and therefore slighting the unmusical instrument at home. Now, in utter detestation of such abominable pretences, and such unnatural conjugal abdication, together with the manifest justice of *Lex Talionis*, we do hereby license and authorise the aforesaid fair abandoned, as well for the alleviation of doleful widowed nights, and virgin sheets, as for the support of the family, possibly in no small danger from such neglect and desertion, to borrow the assistance of some dignified younger brother, to raise heirs, &c. without incurring the *præmunire* of elopement; or, upon non-readiness and failure of such honourable supply, to have free leave to take up with some coarser domestick menial, though but to the homely tune of *Drive on, Coachman.*

And, in like manner, it is resolved and ordered, that all those ramblers and strays under that misleading *ignis fatuus*, the sweet sin of variety, that shall therefore grasp at out-lying pluralities, though, possibly, naturally so weak-gifted, as to be scarce sufficiently qualified for due incumbence at home, shall, for the said wilful offence of non-residence, incur the penalty of sequestration, to be supplied by a curate, from the choice of the parish.

And whereas the fair complainants too loudly inveigh against their powerful rival, wine, and the present too spreading idolatry of the bottle, and the dangerous concomitants thereof: which the batchelors endeavour to soften and sweeten, by insinuating the juice of the grape no ill-meaning enemy to the God of Love's subjects. For adjustment of the dispute, be it resolved, that wine be no farther encouraged than as *amorum famulus*, a good servant but a bad master; to be indulged and cherished as a moderate grace-cup; to make love chirp, but not sleep; and be used for sauce and relish, not for souse and pickle. Be it therefore enacted, that, for due

punishment of those violent claret-hunters, that, by abuse of this lawful and limited indulgence, do outrun all bounds, to the making a toil of a pleasure, and a tedious tiresome fox-chace of it; it may and shall be lawful for the sweet neglected Venus, like the old modest Diana, to punish all such capital offenders with the front of an Acteon; it being the opinion of this committee, that the wilful neglect of family duty, and all false measures of due benevolence, fall as justly under parliamentary censure and lash as the false packing of butter.

And whereas the crying shame of the daily scandalous rhimes, the licentious scurrilous pamphlets, doggrel and play-house farces upon the holy state of matrimony, is no small grievance of the petitioners: this honourable committee, as fully impowered to search papers and records, have found the said libels to be wholly matter of malice and calumny, the generality of the authors being either some scribbling, aspiring, slighted pretenders to some fair disdainful Celia; and therefore, in pure spight and revenge, pelted and persecuted with satire and lampoon, for no other sin but her being deaf and invincible to ditty and sonnet; and thereupon the whole honourable state of wedlock maliciously vilified, with the outcry of dry meat, for no other reason, but that themselves are thrown out of the chace, and excluded the game: or otherwise, if such wedlock railing be the venom and gall of any married author, we conclude it the product of some very hard bargain, as possibly some old tapped leaky broach at home, and thereupon his palate wholly depraved and sowred with this nauseous draught of lees. Nevertheless, all the said villainous ribaldry and libels, as hatched and contrived for sowing sedition, and fomenting schism within the peaceable and united ecclesiastical provinces of hymen and love, we do hereby adjudge and sentence to the old doom of *hæretico comburendo.*

And whereas our fair petitioners enforce their suit, from our condescension to the humble debates of cutting the rivers Lug and Wye, &c. Be it therefore resolved and ordered accordingly, that the present Virgin Shallows, hitherto of no farther use than the driving a poor water-mill, &c. be dug into deeps and channels, and made navigable for traders and voyagers, and so rendered useful to the publick for the serviceable bearing of bulk and burthen.

Provided still, that all the fair bridal pretenders shall bring their whole loaf to the spousal board, and not have any of the kissing crust pared off by any hungry sharper for breakfast, before the good man in black has said grace for the nuptial night supper, with the rest of the usual ceremonies of 'Fall to in God's name.'

But if, by any frail mischance, an unhappy falling fair, under pretence of a pure untouched domestic utensil, shall bring a crazed pipkin into play, she shall be obliged, by a true and thorough reformation, and engagement of her future more steady uprightness, to give security that a cracked maidenhead, like a broken bone, shall be the strongest where it is set again, or otherwise to forfeit all right and benefit of our favour and protection.

Lastly, Be it ordered, in favour to the petitioners proposed supply towards recruiting the human dearth and scarcity made by the hungry devourer, War, that a clause be inserted to root out of all the female physick-gardens, and indeed from out the whole commonwealth, those dangerous plants called Cover-Shame, alias Savin, and other *anti-conceptive* weeds and poisons, those notorious restoratives of slender shapes, and tender reputations, to the loud and crying shame of 'love lost, and a good thing thrown away.'

As for what relates to the chaplains, we are willing to allow them plenty of meat, drink, and tobacco, the most zealous part of their supplication, nay, to sit down at table with their patrons, provided they do not take upon them to censure the management of the family. But, whereas they petition to be freed from any obligation to marry the chamber-maid, we can by no means assent to it; the *Abigail*, by immemorial custom, being a *Deodand*, and belonging to holy church.

We thank the poets for their good-will to the government, as appears by their proposal to raise a fund of six-hundred thousand pounds for the support of it; but do not think it convenient to raise any money either out of them, or the ribbon-weavers. The only tax we lay upon them, is to canonise all our heroes that die in Flanders, and to record their victories in verse. And this will be no burdensome employment for them.

And, lastly, as for the widows, provided they will engage never to talk bawdy, and quote the sayings, or praise the valour of their dead husbands, we will grant all and every clause in their petition, viz. The old widows shall have their gums rubbed with coral. The rich shall be indulged a twelve-months rest. The poor shall have the forfeitures they beg for; and the young receive full satisfaction in their three articles.

THE VINDICATION

OF THAT HERO OF POLITICAL LEARNING,

NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL,

The second Tacitus. MS.

NICHOLAS Machiavel is cried down a villain, though many think he deserves a better title.

Who intends to express a dishonest man, calls him a Machiavilian; they might as well say, he was a Straffordian, or a Marlborian; thus men embrace the first apparitions of virtue and vice, and let the substance pass by untouched.

He was not only an Italian, but a courtier.

He was secretary to the state of Florence, of which he wrote an excellent and impartial history.

He lived in the days of Pope Alexander the Sixth, being familiar with his son Cæsar, and what those princes were, is sufficiently

known; no times were fuller of action, nor shewed the instability of worldly honours more, than the occurrences that happened in Italy in his time.

Now from a man wholly employed in court affairs, when it was thought a madness to look beyond second causes, worse things might have been with better reason expected, than these so bitterly condemned; which are indeed but the history of wise impieties, being before imprinted in the hearts of ambitious pretenders, and by him made legible to the meanest understandings; yet, he is more blamed for this fair expression, than they are that daily commit far greater impiety, than his or any pen else is capable to express.

Most of the estates of Italy did in his time voluntarily, or were compelled to change their masters; neither could that school teach him any thing more perfectly, than the way to greatness; nor he write a more acceptable treatise than Aphorisms of state.

He saw the kingdom of Naples torn out of the house of Anjou, by Ferdinand, and the people kept in tyranny both by the father and the son.

He saw the no less mad, than disloyal, ambition of Lodowick, Duke of Milan, who took the government upon him, out of the hands of young Galeas, with as much treachery and cunning as Francis Sforza, father to Galeas, had done from the Duke of Orleans.

He beheld Charles the Eighth, king of France, brought into Italy, by the said Duke of Milan, to keep the people at gaze, whilst he poisoned his nephew, who was to expect the dukedom, when he was of age.

He saw the descent of Charles winked at by Pope Alexander the Sixth, in hopes to raise a house for his son Cæsar, out of the ruins of some of the princes, in which he was deceived; for the French king made himself master of all Italy, entered Rome twice, put the Holy Father, to take sanctuary, in the castle of St. Angelo, and to subscribe to such conditions, as the victorious king was pleased to prescribe him; upon which his holiness came out, and though Charles, in shew of reverence, did kiss his foot, yet he took his son Cæsar for hostage, to secure the performance of his promise, though he covered it with the name of Ambassy, ever to reside with the king, in token of amity.

And after Cæsar made his escape, the holy father, contrary to his oath, made a league against the French king.

He was an eye-witness of an amity, contracted between the vicar of Christ and his known enemy, the Turk; with whom he agreed, for money, to poison his brother, who was fled into christendom, for fear of his brother Bajazet, then reigning, and was under the pope's protection at Rome; he saw the French king lose all Italy, within the small time he had gained it.

He saw both Pope Alexander and his son overthrown, by one draught of poison, prepared by themselves for others; of which the father died presently, but the son, by reason of youth, and antidotes, had leisure to see what he had formerly gotten torn out of his

hands, and he forced to fly to his father-in-law, the King of Navarre, in whose service he was murthered.

He was an observer of ambitious practices of princes; of the domestical impiety of the pope, who was corrival with his two sons, in the love of his own daughter, the Lady Lucretia, whom they all three enjoyed; which bred such a hatred between the brothers, that Cæsar, being jealous, that the other had a greater share in her affection, killed him one night, and threw him into the Tyber.

He observed that men in soft raiment might be found at court, but their consciences seared and hard.

He saw how princes never kept their promises so exactly, as not to fail, when they see a greater profit falling out, another time, by breaking them.

Is not falsehood and deceit their true dialect, nay cozenage, reduced into so necessary an art amongst them, so that he, that knows not how to deceive, knows not how to live? Let any one judge, that reads their stories.

Breach of faith in private men is accounted dishonourable and damnable, but kings claim a larger character, by reason of their universal commerce; and, as ambassadors ought to be excused, if they lie abroad for the good of their country, because they represent their masters persons, with far greater reason, then, may they do it, that employ them.

Many governments are like natural bodies; outwardly they shew a comely structure, but search into the intrails, from whence the original and true nourishment proceed, and there will be found nothing but blood, filth, and stench.

His fortune is to be commiserated, that he in particular should bear the infamous marks, which belong to the vilest statesmen in general.

It was his profession, to imitate the behaviour of princes, were it never so unseemly; nay, religion itself cannot condemn the speculation of ill, in ministers of state, without laying herself and professors open to all injury.

What are chronicles, but registers of blood, and projects to procure the spilling of it? The princes, there named, put in red letters, yet none blames them that write them.

Who could advise better than this Florentine, a member of the Roman church? And he is in that regard to be less blamed, for discovering the wicked practices of ambitious men, because he had as much converse with the pope, then in being, as any man, and with whom all impieties were as familiar as the air he breathed in.

If any can pretend a just quarrel with Machiavel, they are kings; for as it is the ordinary course of light women, to find fault with the broad discourse of that they maintain their power by: so statesmen may best blame the publication of those maxims, that they put in practice, with more profit and security.

If the unjust steward was commended for his worldly wisdom, what doth he say more of Cæsar Borgia, than that he was a politick tyrant? And if, without leave of the text, he proposes him, for an

example, yet it is of ill; and who is more fit to be a pattern of, or to villainy, than one of the same coat?

If the lives of Lewis the Eleventh, or the Fourteenth, were examined, it will be found they acted more ill than Machiavel wrote, or, for ought is known, ever thought; yet the first has wisdom inscribed on his tomb, and the last is cried up for a great statesman. And did not they always kiss their crucifix, after the doing of a dishonest thing, pronouncing a sentence or two, that discovered the complexion of their hearts, they might have passed for as honest men, as their wise ancestors, or any princes in their times, who now lie quiet in their graves; a favour this man is denied, by ignorant and ungrateful posterity.

He being to make a grammar for the understanding of tyrannical government, is he to be blamed, for setting down the general rules in it?

He instructs wise princes to dispatch their ungrateful actions by deputies, and those that are popular with their own hands.

Upon how great disadvantage should a good prince treat with a bad, if he were not only familiar with the paths of wickedness, but knew other ways to shun them, and how to undermine the treacherous practices?

He hath raked the truth too far, in many things, which makes him smell as he doth in the nostrils of ignorant people; whereas the better experienced know it is the wholsome savour of the court, especially where the king is of the first head.

He would have men prepared to encounter the worst of men; and therefore he resembles him to a man driving a flock of sheep, into a corner, and did there take out their teeth, and instead, gave each of them a set of wolves teeth; so that, whereas one shepherd was able to drive a whole flock, now each sheep had need of a particular shepherd, and all little enough.

He was of an honourable family born at Florence, and the writer hereof, being about the year 1642, at Florence, made what inquiry he could after his reputation, and found that he left a good name behind him, as of a pious, charitable, sincere, good man, as any in that city.

By James Boevey, Esq; at Cheam in Surrey.

Anno Salutis 1692,
Ætatis 71.

* Cheam, in Surry.

On the North Wall, on a fair Marble Monument, is this Inscription:

In Memory of
James Bovey, Esq;
who was buried near this place, January the 13, 1695.
And also of Margaretta, his Wife,
buried August the 3d, 1714.
In the 76th Year of her Age.

* Vide Anb. Ant. Surrey, Vol. II. p. 115.

N. B. The copy of this discourse, which was in the Harleian Library, being imperfect, we have been obliged with that which is here printed, being the author's original MS. by Peter Thompson, Esq; the present worthy High Sheriff of Surrey.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LATE TERRIBLE EARTHQUAKE IN SICILY,

WITH MOST OF ITS PARTICULARS.

Done from the Italian Copy, printed at Rome.

London: Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms, in Warwick-lane, 1693. Quarto, containing thirty-six Pages.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THIS account of the late terrible earthquake in Sicily, I thought, deserved to be put in English. The author, who is a priest, has wrote it in a very plain style; and I have ventured to leave out several things that are in the original, especially that relate to miracles, and other fopperies his profession leads him to believe. As to the rest, I have translated it as near the Italian as I can, and with the same simplicity of expression, which is more to be valued in accounts of this nature, than flourishes of rhetorick.

THE late earthquake, that fell out in Sicily, is of so astonishing a nature, as can be easilier imagined than expressed; and such a one as can hardly, if at all, be paralleled in any preceding age. It is true, that island has been often the scene of such kind of tragedies, and the irruptions of mount Ætna have been no news in the world for near two thousand years past: but whether, as an effect of the anger of heaven, or of the craziness of this globe of the earth, which seems to begin to yield to the injuries of time, as all other things do; certain it is, that this last earthquake, for the suddenness of it, and the mighty desolations it has produced, is the most astonishing one that ever was.

Philosophers will be inclinable to search for the natural causes of such a phœnomenon, in the quality and temper of the summer that went before: and I am willing so far to humour them, as to suppose, that the many great rains and intense heats, succeeding so often one another this last summer in all the southern parts of Sicily, might contribute to this affrightful irruption: for the imperceptible chasms, thereby made into the bowels of the earth, might probably give room for the vapours of the atmosphere, to insinuate

themselves into those subterraneous cavities, which afterwards dilating themselves, and requiring greater room, must needs force their way through all obstacles that penned them in.

But, leaving this disquisition to others, it would seem this earthquake carried along with it some more than ordinary marks of an immediate stroke of heaven. And as seldom the divine vengeance exerts its power upon us mortals in any national calamity, without giving us some previous warnings; so this late stroke was ushered in with unwonted presages, of which it were hard, if not impossible, to give any natural cause, though perhaps, I be as little a votary to superstition, as any man can be, notwithstanding the world is pleased to tax our order with it; yet the strangeness of one or two omens, that preceded this earthquake, may justly prevail with me, to give here a short account of them.

Passing over that mighty loud warning from mount Ætna, that happened for three days together in June last. which is always remarked as a forerunner of some irruption, either of the mount itself, or of some part thereabouts; this following strange phœnomenon fell out at Syracusa, on the fifteenth of May before.

About two hours before sun-setting, the atmosphere being very clear, the heavens appeared, on a sudden, all on fire, without any flashes of lightning, or the least noise of thunder, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. About which time were seen in the air, as it were perpendicularly above the city, two rainbows, after the usual manner, with points towards the earth, and a third transversed; the colours of all three being extremely bright. This was by all spectators thought the more supernatural, that during the whole time these rainbows appeared, there was not one single cloud to be seen in any part of the horizon.

In July thereafter, at Catanea, the nearest town to mount Ætna, there fell out another as surprising presage. In the church of the Minims there, one father Baletti lies buried; a man who was believed by the people of that country to have, by his prayers, stopped the progress of that fearful irruption of Ætna, which happened about a hundred and twenty years ago. The story goes, that a flood of bituminous matter, like burning oil, being thrown out of the mountain, was carried down with a mighty rapidity, to the very gates of Catanea, bearing every thing before it in its way. Every body expected to be immediately devoured by this sulphureous inundation, when this holy man, by his exorcisms and prayers, in presence of all the people, put a stop to its career. Now this tomb being ever since held in greatest veneration by the people of Catanea, and notwithstanding his name was never in the calendar, yet daily prayers and offerings ceased not to be offered at his shrine. It fell out, as I have said, in July last, that one morning when the doors of the church came to be opened, the statue of the saint, that was placed upon his monument, was fallen down, and lay flat on the ground. This was at first thought to be but an ordinary accident; but the statue, every time it was set up upon its basis again, for seven or eight nights together, was constantly found fallen down

to the ground in the morning, and at last was forced to be laid flat upon the tomb, in which posture it lay till this late destruction both of it, and the town itself.

A third presage, that seemed to foretel this earthquake, happened in a little village, within three miles from Catanea, named Alari, where used to grow as good wine as any in Sicily. In February last, about sun-setting, all the people of the country about saw, as they thought, this village all in flames. The fire, they imagined, began from less to more, increasing for about a quarter of an hour together, and then all the houses of the village appeared as in one flame, which lasted for about six minutes, till it seemed to decay, for want of more fewel. A great many people, that lived near the village, when they saw the fire first begin, came running to it, to do the friendly office of helping to extinguish the fire; and, all along the road, till they were almost within the very village itself, they imagined they saw the fire extend itself more and more; but, being entered, they found all was a deception of the sight, if not a presage of that calamity that, some months after, befel the place.

But I come to the dreadful earthquake itself, a greater than which we read not of, in either ancient, or modern history. It is here indeed, that I can neither give myself, nor others, the satisfaction I could wish, there being so many little places, and even some considerable towns destroyed, where there are no inhabitants left to give us an account of the manner how these places were swallowed up; so that, of these, we can have no other narrative, but what people at a distance, and in a hurry themselves, for fear of sinking into the same ruin, have been able to give us.

This earthquake diffused itself into all these three districts, or divisions, into which the island of Sicily is ordinarily divided; which are, 1. Valli di Noto, comprehending principally the eastern parts of the island; 2. Mazaro, containing the western and southern parts; and, 3. Mono, which confines itself to the north and north-east parts of the island. The greatest shaking reached, from mount Ætna, all along to Cape Passaro, the Pachynus of the ancients. In all this vast tract of land, nothing stood the shock, but all fell under the weight of a general ruin.

It was on the seventh of January, 1693, about ten at night, that mount Ætna began to utter those hideous roarings, which commonly usher in some tragedy of the nature of what followed. Those loud bellowings continued till the ninth, when, about twelve of the clock, they began to cease, or rather fall lower. Within an hour after, the inhabitants of Catanea, which was the next town to the mountain, began to perceive a shaking under them, about three minutes together. This did little other hurt, than affright the people, and give them fears of some further hurt. It was remarkable, that, during the three minutes this shake continued, and an hour before, there was not the least noise heard from mount Ætna, but, within less than a minute after the shake was over, not only did the noise redouble, infinitely more terrible than it had been before, but the

whole top of the mountain appeared all in flames, which, the wind blowing from the westward, carried with it a vast quantity of burnt ashes, which have always been found to be the ordinary attendants of those flamy irruptions. It is not certain how far this shake of the ninth diffused itself, but it is probable, that more or less of it was felt through most of the south parts of this island; for the inhabitants of the cities of Mineo, Palaonia, Ragosa, and the town of Licodia, felt all of them the same shake, and at the very same minute of the day, as Catanea had done.

All this was but the forerunner of the horridest shake of all, which fell out on the eleventh. This affected the whole island, but very unequally; and, by the exactest computation that can be made, the whole period of it lasted not above six minutes, from Messina northwards, to cape Coio, the farthest point of Sicily to the south.

Catanea is thought to have been the first that fell under the weight of this heavy calamity. This city, which is as ancient as most in Sicily, seated in a pleasant and rich soil, inhabited by several of the gentry thereabouts, endowed with an university, and containing about twenty-four thousand souls, was sunk out of sight in a moment. There happened some fisherboats to be at that time in the bay that lies south of the town, and within a league's distance, who give an account, that they saw the city sink down, with the noise, as it were, of some thousand pieces of great ordnance discharged all at once. After it was thus vanished out of their sight, the fishermen say, that, some minutes thereafter, to the eastward, near where the city stood, there rose up a little mountain, which, lifting itself up several times a considerable height above the ordinary level of the ground thereabouts, sunk at last likewise out of their sight. The fishermen do likewise declare, that, during all this horrid tragedy, which they saw befal the city Catanea, they themselves were every moment expecting to be swallowed up in the bay, by reason of the strange violent agitations of the sea; and scarce was this heaving up of the imaginary mountain on the south-side of Catanea over, but they felt the sea calm. It is thought there have not escaped, of the inhabitants of Catanea, above two thousand in all: those, that escaped, came away either after the shaking of the ninth, or the morning of the eleventh; and the hideous roaring of mount Ætna, which used to be the forerunner of some calamity on that side, gave them warning to flee: but they were the better sort of people only, that had the opportunity to make so happy an escape, the rest falling under the universal ruin. In the place, where Catanea stood, appears now at a distance a great lake, with some great heaps of rubbish appearing here and there above the water.

I had almost forgot one circumstance very remarkable, which the fishermen, that were in the bay of Catanea, at the time of this last shake, do positively affirm. They say, that both before, and some minutes after the earthquake happened, mount Ætna appeared more than ever in flames, and the noise was greater than it had

been since its first irruption of the seventh. But, a few minutes after Catanea was swallowed up, there was neither flames to be seen, nor the least noise to be heard for the space of five or six hours together. And then the mountain began a-new again to roar and throw out flames more duskish and smoky than at any time before.

The same shake, that utterly destroyed Catanea, did lay in heaps more than half of Saragosa, the ancient Syracusa. This city, once the greatest of Sicily, and, if we will believe some ancient historians, particularly Strabo, the largest once in the world, may contend with any in Europe for antiquity, having been the seat, for a great many ages, of a flourishing commonwealth, and the scene of a great many warlike actions. It retained still some marks of its ancient greatness, and, with the advantages of a rich soil, and pleasant situation, and a strong castle to defend it, might contain about sixteen thousand people. This ancient city suffered much by the shake of the ninth, most of the best buildings, and the greatest part of the castle being rent in several places. Upon the tenth at night, it underwent another considerable shake with a mighty tempest of wind, so that the great bell in one of its churches was heard several times to make a sound, through the violent trembling of the steeple. A great many were killed by the fall of houses the time this shake and tempest happened; and most that were able, or had the opportunity, fled out of town that night, which was the occasion of their safety.

But the shake of the eleventh brought with it a sudden and inevitable destruction, throwing down, in a moment, more than two parts in three of the whole city, and burying in its rubbish above four parts in five of the people that were left. The least computation that can be made of the loss of the inhabitants of it, is above seven thousand, the rest escaping, as I have said, the night before, and some hundreds were digged out of the ruins alive, but lame and bruised, so that few of them, it is thought, will recover. Most of the magistrates, and people of best fashion, ran into the great church for shelter, where they met with death by the fall of the stone roof and the steeple both together.

The city of Noto had yet a worse fate than Syracusa, scarce any part of it now standing. This place is one of the ancientest of Sicily, and once contended for the preheminence with Syracusa itself. It is situate on a very high rock, almost inaccessible on all sides, but by one narrow passage; having under the cape Passan, one of the best and largest harbours of the whole island, and being the key of Sicily on that side. The mighty hardness of the rock on which Noto stood, seemed to secure it from the hazard of earthquakes, but it felt that shake on the ninth, with more violence than any other place of the island. That of the eleventh laid it, in a moment, in heaps, the manner whereof we cannot attain, by reason none of the inhabitants are left, but some few that left the place on the ninth. There is seen yet standing a part of the church of a

Benedictine monastery, and scarce any more of the whole town; the inhabitants being computed about seven thousand souls.

Augusta, a city well situated, having a large prospect into the sea, and adorned with very large and safe harbours, a place of good trade for corn; this place suffered considerably by the shake of the ninth; many of the inhabitants, to the number of about six hundred, were bruised to death with the fall of the houses. On the tenth, there was another shake, which obliged most of the people of note to betake themselves to the castle for their security, which proved as unlucky to them, as the great church had been to them of Syracusa; for, there happening great flashes of lightning, which seemed to set the whole heavens on fire, one of them fell on the magazine of powder kept there, and blew up the castle and all the people within, amounting to about eleven hundred. The shake on the eleventh put an end to the catastrophe, by overturning the town, and burying the rest of the inhabitants in it; so that there scarce remains any thing of the ancient Augusta, but the name. The inhabitants were reckoned near six thousand, of whom we have account of none left.

Lentini, the ancient Leontium, famous for the beautiful lake on which it stood, a place of about three thousand families, and a place of tolerable trade by fishing and salt-mines, underwent the misfortune of its neighbour, and ancient rival, Syracusa. The shake of the eleventh reduced it to ashes, and it is not known if any of the inhabitants be saved. There are now to be seen several great heaps of earth in the lake, where there was none before: and the peasants, who live on the other side, opposite to the place where Lentini stood, have reported, that since this earthquake, the lake, which was formerly clear and limpid, and wonderfully stored with all variety of fish, is now become brackish, and of a salt and bituminous taste, and vast number of fish are found every day dead upon the shore.

Some better fate had Calatgirone, a pretty town, containing above seven thousand people, and well built, most of hewn stone. The shake of the ninth was very little perceptible there; and that of the eleventh was much less than any where within some miles of it. It was not so little, but that it overturned about the fifth part of the town, and two monasteries, and, it is thought, destroyed in all no fewer than two thousand souls.

Minco felt both the shakes of the ninth and the eleventh, and there seemed but little difference betwixt the violence of either, or the damage each did. At both times several houses, and a pretty large church, were overturned, and it it is thought near four thousand of the inhabitants are perished. It was remarkable, that the time of the shake of the ninth, the heavens about this town were very serene, scarce a cloud appearing above the horizon: but that of the eleventh was attended with a mighty storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which lasted above six hours together.

Monreal, commonly called Morreal, received some damage in its buildings, and some few of the inhabitants perished by their fall. The shake of the eleventh did greatly shatter the cathedral church,

which is, indeed, one of the beautifullest structures in the world. The dome, which stands above the high altar, fell, and crushed in pieces four curious pillars of brass, with several statues of saints of as good workmanship as any in Christendom. Neither was the archbishop's palace free, it being set on fire by lightning, and a considerable part of it burnt down.

Palermo, the seat of the Viceroy, felt little or nothing of the shake of the ninth, though several small shakings they had had some days before. But that of the eleventh was almost as terrible as in any other place, except Catanea, Syracusa, and Augusta. A great many houses were shattered, and some fell to the ground. The cathedral suffered extremely in its roof, and a church, belonging to the Carmelite monastery, was totally destroyed. The Viceroy, with all his family, and the archbishop, retired a-board the gallies in the harbour, where, by the violent motion of the water, they expected every moment to be swallowed up: some part of the great mole built of stone, that secures the port, being shattered within a few feet of their galley. It is said, there were not above one hundred people in all killed at Palermo, and those mostly that lived in a suburb built of wood.

The town of Pasceni, it is not known whether the shake of the ninth, or the eleventh, destroyed it. It was a pretty place, consisting of about two hundred families, and those thought the richest of any little town of Sicily, by reason of the goodness of its wine and silk exported thence to the sea in considerable quantities. Now there is not one single house left standing, nor one single person saved. A new lake takes up now that spacious valley on the east-side of the town, which was all, hitherto, covered with the best of vines; and the water thereof is of a blackish colour, and a bituminous taste.

Patuzolo, a bigger place than Pasceni, though not so happily situated, nor so rich, fell under the same fate with it. None of the inhabitants, for any thing is yet known, were saved, the number of which might probably amount to about one thousand people at least.

Furla, a town about the bigness of Pasceni, and seated on a rising hill amidst quarries of stone, much of the nature of marble, was nothing more fortunate, we having no other account of its ruin, but what those, who saw it at a distance, could give. It may be worthy of remark, that in several parts of the mountain about Furla, the rocks, which formerly were almost as white as Genoa marble, in the chinks that the earthquake made amongst them, the stones are now of a burnt colour, as if fire and powder had been used to rent them asunder. The fountains of fresh water, wherewith these mountains abound, have lost their clearness, and have both a sulphureous smell and taste. The inhabitants of Furla were reckoned to be near a thousand souls.

A town much greater than any of the three last, Sciorti, situated in a pleasant valley, and a rich soil, where the best rock salt is digged, was likewise totally demolished by the shake of the eleventh,

and now nothing but vast heaps of rubbish; and, which is strange, a church belonging to a Benedictine nunnery, yet intire, are to be seen, where Sciorti once stood. We know of none of the inhabitants that have saved themselves from this calamity, and they are reckoned to amount to two thousand souls.

The same fate befel Militello, no inconsiderable town, whereof the inhabitants were esteemed pretty rich, by the means of one of the most considerable manufacturies of silk that was in Sicily. It is probable this place was destroyed before the shake of the eleventh; for the country people, who dwell on the neighbouring ridge of mountains, do affirm, that it was not to be seen upon the eleventh in the morning: but at what precise time it was swallowed up, they cannot tell, seeing, for three days before, they could not see so far as Militello, by reason of a thick fog, which continued from twelve of the clock of the eighth day, till the morning of the eleventh. It is scarce to be imagined what a surprising change this place has undergone: for a considerable part of the mountain, that lay on the northside of the town, has been, through the violence of the earthquake, torn asunder, and the one half has overwhelmed the town: there being a vast chasm now to be seen betwixt it, and the other part of the mountain that remained still in its first posture. Militello might probably contain about six thousand people, whereof no one is left to give tidings how its calamity came about.

Luochela had not altogether so bad a fate as the former. This place felt the shake of the ninth very severely, insomuch that a great part of the houses fell by it. The inhabitants over and above this, and some former shakes, had another prognostick of the ruin that was coming on the place, which influenced a considerable number of them to leave the town upon the ninth at night. There was an old castle, which stood upon a rising ground, about two miles from Luochela, said to have been built by the Romans in the time of the Punick war. This castle was, in the view of the people of Luochela, swallowed up in a moment, and no remaining vestige was to be seen where it stood; but, instead thereof, there gushed up a prodigious quantity of waters, which, in a few hours, made up a very considerable lake where the castle had stood. So that it is to the affrightful view of this castle's being overturned, that more than the half of the people of the town owe their safety, as having fled the town upon sight thereof. The rest of the town and inhabitants were utterly destroyed on the eleventh; and now there remains nothing but vast heaps of rubbish where the town formerly stood. Luochela might probably contain two thousand people, whereof near the half are destroyed.

Palonia, a very pretty little town, very well built, and endowed with one of the beautifulest churches in the whole island, felt several shakes, of which those of the ninth and eleventh were the most terrible. The church was shattered in a thousand places; and the dome was on the eleventh thrown down, which broke the high altar to pieces, and crushed to death some three hundred peo-

ple, with the priest that was saying mass. There was little other damage done in Palonia; most of the people having betaken themselves to the fields, upon the accident that befel the dome of the church: so that the loss has not been so great, neither in the fall of houses, nor death of people, in Palonia, as it was in most other towns about it.

Buchino, a considerable village, escaped very near as well as the town of Palonia, most of the houses being thrown down; but scarce any of the people killed, though some much bruised.

Scodia, a burgh, about the bigness of the other, was greatly shaken on the eleventh, and about one hundred and fifty people killed by the fall of the church in the time of mass. Within a mile of this village, there was a lake about two miles about, and very deep. The shake of the ninth was seen clearly to occasion the lessening of the water of the lake, so that it was dry for some paces round the banks. But so strange was the effect of the shake of the eleventh upon this lake, that near the midst of it, there opened a large chasm, which swallowed up all the water, and left the whole channel dry land, which continues so.

Another village, called Chivramonte, had yet a worse fate. The shake of the ninth shattered the houses; but that of the eleventh overturned them altogether, and buried the inhabitants in their ruins, which were computed to be between three and four hundred.

Monterusso was considerably shaken, both on the eleventh and ninth; but the only loss of the people was of about two hundred that fled into the castle, standing upon an eminence for shelter, who were, with the castle itself, buried in the ground, and the place where it stood is now a pool of water of a brinish taste.

The beautiful town of Vizzini underwent a fortune like that of Catanea. Scarce any place seemed more secure from such accidents than it; for it lay on a rising hill, made up of nothing but hardest stones, of the nature of marble; yet, on the ninth, and some days before, it felt several shakes, which did no great damage, by reason of the buildings being all of stone. However, the inhabitants began to fear the worst, and most of the people of quality and fashion went out of town, and settled themselves in tents upon the hill above the town; but, thinking the hazard was over, as finding no shakes all the tenth, they returned home on the eleventh in the morning, and within some hours thereafter, they and the town were swallowed up. The inhabitants were reckoned to amount to three thousand five hundred souls.

The large village of Modica, containing about one-thousand four-hundred people, was so suddenly swallowed up on the ninth, that no one person escaped; and it was indeed the only place of the whole island, that received not its full ruin by the shake of the eleventh. This was not the first time that Modica has been laid in heaps by earthquakes; for within these hundred years, it has twice changed its seat; though, till now, the people were all so happy as to save themselves, and to seek for new seats.

Within two miles of this place, there runs a small river along a very narrow and fruitful valley, which in some places admits of high cataracts, through the great inequality of the channel. By the shake of the eleventh, there is a hill thrown over, or rather athwart one of these cataracts, for about twenty paces breadth, so that in that place, the river is not to be seen, but creeps under the hill, and comes out again in its own ordinary channel below. The same accident has happened to several rivulets in Sicily; the earth being torn from the brink, and thrown over the rivulet, as it were, in form of a vault, or natural bridge.

The village Bisenti felt all the shakes that happened, but received no other damage than the fall of some of the houses, and the bruising to death of about a hundred persons.

Francofonte, a very pretty town, and well inhabited, but built most of timber, received little damage by the earthquake, though it shook down some houses; but what the earthquake did not, the lightning and thunder did: for never was there seen so terrible a storm of both these last, than Francofonte felt for three days together. The spire of the steeple, which was built of wood, and covered with lead, was burnt down, and the nunnery of the Carmelites was almost utterly destroyed, and that so suddenly, that five of the nuns were stifled to death in their beds. If the wind had been high, as it was not, certainly the whole town had been burnt to ashes; but by reason of the calmness of the wind, and the care of the inhabitants, there were not above twelve or fourteen houses burnt.

Carlontini, a town of good trade, and very well inhabited, was greatly shaken on the ninth, several houses being thrown down, and the people buried in their ruins. On the tenth, the bishop and magistrates exhorted the inhabitants to remove out of the town to the fields, for even then were some small tremblings of the earth felt almost every half hour. The people began to get out of town on the tenth, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and most were gone with the best things they could carry with them; when the shake of the eleventh overturned the whole town in a moment, with what remained of the inhabitants. The place might contain about four thousand people, and, it is thought, about a sixth part have perished in the earthquake.

There scarce can be found in any part of the world a more beautiful town than Ragusa: its situation, buildings, churches, monasteries, and territories about it, combine to make it a sort of terrestrial paradise. It felt a great many small shakings on the eighth, with a mighty tempest of lightning and thunder. The shake of the ninth did some, but no great hurt; but that of the eleventh overturned the town-house, a very superb edifice, two churches, and a great many houses. One street, the biggest of the town, and inhabited by the best merchants and tradesmen of the place, was overwhelmed in less than the second of a minute, the earth sinking down, and leaving a vast chasm where the street was. One of the churches sunk after the manner the street had done, but the other

fell down. It is not yet known how many people perished in Ragusa; but the least calculation that has been made of them, amounts to eight thousand souls, of whom the citizens of the best quality make up a great part of the number. There are to be seen from the brink of the chasm I mentioned, the tops of some of the houses, a great way below the superfice of the ground; and out of this cavity there comes a sulphureous smell, like to choak any body that comes near it. One of the churches that are ruined was that of Sancta Barbara, famous through all Sicily, for the miracles done at the shrine of that saint, and in which was some of the best sculpture, especially that of the altar-piece, that could be seen in any place of the christian world.

The town of Scodia felt the shakes of the ninth and eleventh, as fiercely as any. Yet, which was strange, the town itself received no damage; but the bishop's palace, a very beautiful and new building, was overturned on the ninth, and about twenty-four persons perished in its ruins. The bishop had not gone out but an hour before, having held a meeting of his diocese in the chapel of his palace in the morning, so that he and they were all saved.

Specafurno, a town of a considerable bigness, lying on the south side of a hill, all planted with vineyards, and very well inhabited, fell under the common calamity. The shake of the ninth did it but little hurt, only the convent of the Capuchins was destroyed; but all the tenth, from morning till night, there never was heard so violent a storm of thunder and lightning, as if heaven and earth had been mixing together. By the lightning, the town-house, a very regular building, was burnt down to the ground, with several other houses. Some few of the inhabitants fled out of the town on the tenth at night, and so escaped the destruction that befel the rest upon the eleventh. That shake brought over the whole town in a moment's time; and there now remains nothing but vast heaps of rubbish where Specafurno stood. To the south side of the town, about a mile, there lies a very pleasant fresh water lake, abounding with fish, which now is almost all dry land; only what water remains in one end of it, is of a brinish taste, and of a black colour, the fish being all dead on the shore. It is remarked by the peasants that live on the hills about this town, that the thunder and lightning which happened on the tenth, has so far burnt all the vines, that they expect no grapes to grow on them next year: not only so, but they smell a sort of sulphureous smell, and feel a kind of a bituminous dew upon the ground all thereabout. The people that perished in Specafurno, are computed to amount to three thousand five hundred at least, there being about three hundred only that saved themselves by a timely flight the day before.

Sicily could not brag of a better built town, and a place of better trade, considering its distance from the sea, than the town of Scichilo was. This place seemed to be designed by nature to fall by an earthquake, for within these fifty years, it has been in hazard eight times. Five years ago it had a very considerable shake, which damaged several of the houses, and overturned a

church dedicated to St. Roch. But all this was nothing to what befel it in this last earthquake. The trembling of the earth began to be felt on the eighth at night, and within twenty-four hours time, there succeeded above twenty shakes one after another, the last still exceeding the first in violence. At last, the shake of the eleventh, instead of overturning the town, as in most other places, the earth here sunk down, and in less than two moments, the town vanished out of sight. In its room, there is now a stinking pool of water, where the dome of the church of St. Stephen, with a part of the steeple of St. Salvator, stands above the water. It is thought there was no one saved of all the inhabitants of this pleasant town; and they were calculated to be about the number of six or seven thousand souls.

There stood a very strong castle, built after the Gothick fashion, on the east side of the town, belonging to the family of Cantelmi; it is now all in heaps, and about thirty people buried alive in them.

Cefamero, a village, containing about two hundred houses, and seated on a rising ground, was much shaken on the eighth, ninth, and tenth; but the shake of the eleventh overturned the church, whither most of the people had fled for shelter, and to implore the aid of St. Catharine of Sienna, whose chapel there was held in the greatest reverence; they were all crushed to death with the fall of the roof, being of lead, and little other damage done in the village itself. It is thought there were near two hundred people perished in the church, and about twenty in the village.

Sainto Croce, another village, something bigger than Cefamero, was as ill shaken as the other, though there were not so many people killed. The church here stands intire, and only the houses that were made of timber have suffered, and, in them, near a hundred of the inhabitants, the rest having fled to the fields without the town.

The little town of Giamontano was greatly shaken on the eleventh, that whole quarter, that lay nearest the river, being quite overturned, and all the people killed; the rest of the town escaped, only a small hospital, near the south gate, was sunk into the ground, with the people in it, which might amount to forty. Those that perished in the quarter nearest the river, were about three hundred and fifty souls.

The tower of Licodia underwent very near the same fate. All the houses of timber were overwhelmed by the shake of the eleventh, and in them about three hundred of the inhabitants. The houses of stone stand yet, though much shattered, and the dome of the church was burnt down by lightning the day before. There is one thing more remarkable fallen out near this town: about a mile and a half from it, there is a pretty high steep hill, famous for pine trees of a vast bigness, that grow upon it: the lightning and thunder has burnt down and scorched most of those trees, and on the top of the hill there is a vulcano opened, out of which there ascends constantly a very thick smoke, which is the more strange, in that there was no such thing heard of in that part of Sicily before.

Jaci, a very big town, was greatly shattered, especially in the fall of two churches on the ninth, the time of divine service. Many of the houses of the town were overturned on the eleventh, together with two convents; and particularly that of the Minims, where was kept St. Peter's net, in which he took that vast quantity of fish mentioned in the gospel. By the fall of the houses and churches, there perished in all about two thousand people, whereof more than the half died by the fall of the two churches.

La Motta, a village, the most famous of the whole island, and the ordinary retirement in the summer time of the citizens of Palermo, was totally overturned on the ninth, and now there remains no vestige of it, a salt pool succeeding in its place. The inhabitants were reckoned to be about two hundred people.

The last place of Sicily I shall name, that felt this earthquake, was Messina, a city of great trade, superb buildings, and great riches. The shake of the ninth was here felt so sensibly, that it struck a terror into the inhabitants, and more than half of them forsook the city, and betook themselves to the fields. Those that remained betook themselves to their devotions, and all the churches were thronged with the multitudes of people, young and old, that flocked to them. The archbishop of Messina had ordered forty-eight hours prayers to be said through the whole city, and several relicks to be carried in procession, to appease the wrath of Heaven. On the eleventh, the whole city was so terribly shaken, that twenty-six palaces were overturned, and a great many of the timber houses. Every body expected immediate death, and, in vast multitudes, run to the cathedral, where the archbishop of Messina preached, and said mass, and thereafter gave absolution, as did all the priests through the rest of the city by the archbishop's commend. After absolution given, every body made the best of the way they could to escape from the common danger, and betook themselves to the fields, where they were not out of hazard through the violence of the thunder, lightning, and rain, that continued three days together. The archbishop retired with the rest, and, at last, the people did set up tents to protect them from the injuries of the weather. There are but few people killed in Messina, but most of the churches are shattered more or less, and the chapel of the archbishop's palace overturned.

This mighty stroke of God was not only on the land, but was felt also on the sea. For several ships and smaller vessels were drowned all along the coast of the island, and even in harbours, by the violent agitation of the water. Neither was there ever seen so high, and so impetuous a tide as that of the tenth, being above three feet higher in most parts, than ever was heard of before.

In short, a more astonishing, a more universal, or a more swift destruction, was never known. And Sicily, that was one of the beautifullest, richest, and fruitfullest islands in the world, is now a heap of rubbish, and a continued desolation.

It is impossible to make a computation of the immense losses of money, merchandise, houses, and lands. It may modestly be com-

puted to at least six millions of ducats; and it will take an age to repair the damages it has made. The number of the inhabitants that perished in this affrightful calamity, may be safely reckoned to come to one hundred and twenty thousand souls, over and above a vast number bruised by the fall of churches and houses, whereof many are dead since, and some continue yet in hazard, which may amount to twenty thousand more.

This terrible earthquake has communicated itself to the island of Maltha on the one side, and to Calabria on the other; and the desolations it has made, in both those places, are very great.

A

COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE TAXES OF FRANCE,

AN

OPPRESSIVE METHODS OF RAISING THEM.

London, printed by J. M. and B B. for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane, 1694. Quarto, containing forty Pages.

To the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Stamford, Lord Gray of Grooby, &c.

MY LORD,

THE design of this treatise being only to inspire the English nation with a greater love of their liberties, by representing, in its true colours, the miserable slavery to which France is reduced, it could not properly be addressed to any other, than to a publick assertor of the publick liberty. But, amongst the several competitors for that glorious title, I think I may with justice say, no person has so good a claim to it as your lordship: your being committed to the Tower, and a scaffold erected for your tryal, are demonstrations that they, who then conspired the ruin of England, looked upon your lordship as a principal bulwark that obstructed their design; and therefore did their utmost to remove you, in order to their farther progress. Your lordship's sufferings, for the nation's safety, intitled you to the general thanks of the kingdom; though, I must not say, your lordship was the only nobleman that was struck at by the persecution (not to say tyranny) of those times.

But whosoever recalls to mind the transactions of 1688, must, withal, remember the important services wherewith you signalised yourself, for the rescue of this nation. You, my lord, amongst the illustrious undertakers, durst shew a good example, by appearing the first in arms, and displaying, in open field, the colours of liberty, thereby giving life to that famous, but languishing, association, when it had been almost cast away in a storm at sea.

This is a glorious circumstance, and, must be allowed, peculiar to your lordship.

There are some persons in the world, who appear very zealous for their country, and for their princes; and yet have been so unhappy, as not to escape the prejudices of having their zeal been thought to have chiefly centered on their private interests. What your lordship has done, leaves no room for any such suspicion; for nothing can be found more disinterested.

You have vigorously asserted the right of your country, and as vigorously expressed your zeal to their majesties, in contributing so much to the placing the crown on their heads, and afterwards, your fidelity, in that great share which it is well known your lordship had in its further settlement, by the recognition bill.

You have done all to an eminent degree, and all this too at your own expence: for, hitherto, your great and noble services have only been their own reward.

What I have as yet mentioned, concerning your lordship, has been only with relation to publick affairs, and the service of their present majesties; but what could I not say of those shining qualities and virtues which are conspicuous in your lordship, and render you eminently valuable to all those who have the honour of being personally acquainted with you?

These are particulars I could easily enlarge upon, without fearing any other censure than that of your own modesty, which I am unwilling to offend; but justice obliges me, at least, to say, that what your lordship has performed for the publick, deserveth the gratitude that distinguished the first age of the Roman commonwealth; and will be admired, so long as people retain any sense of, and love for liberty.

These, my lord, must needs be the sentiments of all true Englishmen; since, even natives of other countries are charmed with so extraordinary a merit, for which I cannot but express the greatest veneration, though I was born and bred up in a country wholly infected with servitude. Wherefore, upon so just an occasion, I thought it my duty, as it is my ambition, to profess myself, with all imaginable respect and sincerity,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble

And most obedient servant.

HOW very great the tyranny is, that the French king exercises over his subjects, I hope this English nation, in general, are not to learn now; because so many learned pens have, in their various excellent ways of writing, endeavoured to acquaint all the world with it. This I must confess; but yet, at the same time, I cannot forbear to say, that, in my opinion, none of those admirable authors have hit upon the true turn of it. For though it is plain and manifest, that the French king could never have built so many beautiful and costly palaces, never have bought so many towns, corrupted and bribed into his interests so many men in all the courts

of Europe, and kept such numerous armies as he has in pay, without vast sums of money; and that that money could be no other than the blood and sweat of his people: yet, in my judgment, such a consequenee, how natural and plain soever it be in itself, is not fitted for all capacities. This very consideration alone has obliged me to take another method; and, that I may the better convince all men of the excessive tyranny of Lewis XIV. I will not make use of the pathetical figures of rhetorick, but only set before the eyes of this nation a compendious history of the taxes, which the French king's subjects are forced to pay to their insulting master; and, if I am not extremely mistaken, these will give us a true and impartial idea of the gentleness of the French government, which is so much talked of, and so much admired by the enemies of the felicity of England.

Though the execution of my design may seem at first pretty easy, yet, when it is narrowly and thoroughly examined into, it will be found attended with innumerable difficulties; and, I dare say, that the matter I design to handle now, is not only an original, but also a very dark mystery, almost impenetrable to strangers, and much unknown to the greatest part of Frenchmen themselves. It is not then to be expected, that I should be nicely exact in every particular; that is what I dare not promise: but what I engage myself to do is, to advance nothing in these papers, but what shall be most certainly true, and which I have set down, as they have occurred to my mind, without having any regard to the antiquity of the taxes I speak of. Another difficulty which has been insuperable to me, is a genuine translation of the names which the French have given to those impositions: for, as England has always vigorously preserved her liberties, the very words which express the servitude and slavery of other nations, are wanting in her language. O fortunate island! mayest thou for ever continue in that happy ignorance.

Article I. *Of the Taille.*

THE taille is a tax or subsidy, which was formerly granted to the kings of France, by the three estates of the kingdom, upon some extraordinary and emergent occasions: but, in process of time, it became a tax *jure divino*, and was continued in succession by arbitrary power. Lewis the eleventh, who was the first that openly invaded the liberties of his subjects, was also the first that raised this tax without the consent of the three estates; and who made it successive likewise. The taille is threefold; viz. real, personal, and mixed. Real is, when it is only imposed upon lands, as in some parts of the province of Guienne, where a man must pay a certain sum to the king for every acre of land he is possessed of. Personal is, when it is assessed upon any personal estate; that is, among the French, the money that a man is supposed to have in his own hands, or to be worth in lands, and houses, in his industry, art, or ability, to get money. Lastly, the mixed

is so denominated, because in some parts of that kingdom the lands are not only assessed so much per acre, but the proprietor besides is taxed for his money, art, and ability. This explanation I thought necessary for the better understanding of my subject.

The real taille, though very burthensome, yet, however, it is the least heavy upon the people: for, if a man has but forty acres of land, he cannot be assessed for fifty; whereas, in all provinces of France, except Guienne, the taille being every where personal, or mixed, a man is assessed for what he has, and for what he has not, that being at the discretion of the intendants of the provinces, or some other officer, called Eleus, who are only appointed for those things. Hence it comes to pass abundance of people are assessed much more than what their yearly rent is really worth; and a cobler, or other poor fellow, that hath nothing in the world to live on but the benefit of his arms, shall yet, notwithstanding, be taxed four or five crowns a year. Were it not beyond my design, I could easily give you many instances of the extreme heaviness of this tax; but, for brevity sake, I shall content myself with this: that a baker, of Gonesse near Paris, was assessed for his personal estate, though he had not an inch of land, twelve hundred French crowns a year; that is, two hundred seventy pounds sterling. This is a pattern by which we may readily judge of the whole piece.

To say positively what the whole sum amounts to, that is imposed upon the kingdom for this taille, it is in a manner impossible; for the French king does increase or diminish it, according as he himself pleaseth; that is to say, according to the expences he sees himself obliged to be at. Anno 1684, when I was in France, the said sum amounted to forty millions of French livres, that is, above three millions sterling: but if we consider, that at that time the French king had peace with all the world, we may easily believe that this tax exceeds now fifty millions and above. How this tax is imposed and levied, all inquisitive persons, I hope, will be glad to know; and therefore, for their satisfaction, I will relate it as plainly as the darkness of the matter will permit.

The king resolveth first in his council what sum of money is to be levied on his subjects; then commissions are issued forth to the general treasurers of the generalities of the kingdom, to give them power to levy the sum agreed upon. These commissions being received, the treasurers make a division of the sum to be levied, proportionable to the extent of the several elections under them; which division, or repartition, is sent to the king, who thereupon sends a commission to the officers of each election, by which they are ordered and enabled to raise such a sum in their respective districts. These officers meet, and make the registers of taxes, wherein each town, borough, hamlet, or parish, is assessed. Each parish has one of those registers sent to it, whereupon the inhabitants make choice of one or more of them to raise the sum assessed by the officers of the elections. These are called collectors, and they tax each inhabitant according to his estate: but, though

they are forbidden to do it out of any ill will or malice, yet they will ease their friends, though they crush others: and this is the cause of a great many mischiefs, and of divers families being absolutely ruined by these unjust stewards.

The kingdom of France being so very great, it is not forty or fifty millions that would ruin its inhabitants, were that sum but equally shared; but, as I have already observed, some being eased, when others are overcharged, and this misfortune coming upon every man in his turn, the collectors being changed so every year, it happens that at last all become poor and miserable. Well, we have now seen how that tax is imposed; let us, in the next place, see how it is levied. Should I say that the manner of collecting the taille is very near as grievous as the taille itself, I should say nothing but what is very true, though at first it seems almost incredible. To clear therefore this point, I shall observe to you only, that the people being grown very poor, they cannot exactly pay all that they are assessed; and upon failure thereof, which must be quarterly, the general receiver or treasurer of each election immediately sends an officer, called Porteur de contrainte, or commissary, to quarter upon the collectors or inhabitants of such a parish, which is so in arrear, with two or three men, whose pay amounts to thirteen or fourteen shillings a day, where they remain till they have other orders from the receiver, which he never grants but upon full payment. And, though this way of levying is rude and severe, yet it is very gentle, if compared with what they do in some provinces of France, where the receivers, instead of commissaries, make use of soldiers, whom they quarter at discretion upon those who make the least default in payment. And this is nothing less than dragooning. It is also worth our remark to observe, that when an inhabitant is become so poor, as he is utterly unable to pay his tax, or suppose that the collector should prove a rogue, and play away the king's money, the other inhabitants are bound to answer for each of these disasters.

There are some provinces in France that are not liable to the taille; for those of Burgundy, Britanny, and Languedoc are free from it, at least as to the name: for truly, at the bottom, they pay too as well as the rest; but with this only difference, that, instead of taille, their subsidy is called don gratuit, a free gift of the estates of those provinces. What those of Burgundy give, I cannot tell at present; but the free gifts of Britanny and Languedoc amount every year to above six hundred thousand pounds of our English money. Those who are not thoroughly acquainted with the state of France, will likely fall into a great mistake at the first reading of this, and fancy to themselves, that the states of those provinces are like the parliament of England; but, lest I should give any occasion for so great an error, I think it necessary to explain myself. The truth is, that the states of Languedoc and Britanny were formerly like those of England, but now they are only a shadow of what they have been. They meet every year, and, upon their meeting, the governor of the provinces, or some other great

lord, demands from them, in the name of the king, three or four millions of livres, more or less, as the king pleaseth. His speech, for the formality sake, is indeed taken into consideration; but the sum must be granted, with this only shadow or remain of authority, that they grant somewhat less, perhaps, by fifty crowns, than the king hath demanded. This is all; for they have no power to meddle with any other affairs. After such a digression, which I have thought necessary for my reader's information, give me leave to resume the thread of my discourse.

Some towns also are free from the taille; but instead of that they pay some other duties, more than an equivalent with that horrid tax. Those duties are called entries; but they deserve to be considered apart by themselves in another article, which will be no less curious, or useful to be known. Where the taille is personal, the noblemen and chief magistrates, as counsellors in parliament, are also free from it, at least as to their personal estate; but their lands are assessed, as well as those of other men, except seven or eight acres, and provided they plough them themselves, that, as the king is resolved to lose nothing, it happens that their farmers are a great deal more taxed than other men; and I remember thereupon, that a farmer of a manor at Villeneuve St. George, called les Bergeres, about four leagues from Paris, was assessed every year,* nine hundred livres, though he paid but five hundred to his landlord, Monsieur de Commartin, counsellor of state.

These are the observations I have thought fit to make upon the taille, which, I hope, will give a pretty clear idea of it. I will now proceed to consider the consequences of it: for it is not of this monster, like that of the naturals, that those die without any issue, but this has a numerous posterity. The first is the taillon, which is an additional tax, and that was raised at first by Henry the Second, anno 1549, towards the increase of the pay of his gens d'armes, who then lay billetted in villages, and to enable them to pay their hosts whatever they had from them. The poor countrymen thought then to have got a little ease; but soon after they became as much oppressed by their unruly guests as ever: so that whatever had been pretended to them, for their ease, proved only a trick to drain their purses the more. Now every body knows, that the custom of billeting the gens d'armes, in villages, has been laid aside; but, for all that, the taillon is still continued, and so the people are bound to pay it, which amounts to above the third part of the taille.

The other children of that monster are the contributions which the French king raises upon his subjects, and a subsidy for the winter quarters of his soldiers. To explain this, it must be observed, that, in time of war, the French king is obliged to quarter his troops upon the frontiers, as also, or at least the greatest part of them, in time of peace, because of the numerous garisons he is

* Sixty-nine pounds four shillings and six-pence sterling.

forced to have. Now, to keep them in pay, there is a general assessment laid upon most of the towns of the kingdom, whereby they are forced to pay the subsidy called the winter quarters, at the rate of five-pence a day for each private centinel; and because the country people are bound to contribute oats and hay for the maintenance of the horse that are garisoned in the towns, when the troops are in Flanders, or in other frontiers, they are likewise forced to convert those oats and hay into money; and this is called contribution, which brings to the king a great sum of money; those commodities being valued at the discretion of those officers who are appointed for that purpose. Now, what sum that subsidy or contributions produce, it is impossible to determine; but it cannot but be very great, considering the vast number of soldiers that the French king has in pay, and the numbers of the towns he has in France.

And yet, how chargeable soever that subsidy is, the French soldiers are such insulting and sawcy guests, that the people would pay twice as much more, if they could but free themselves from those troublesome visits. And this insolence is countenanced by the government so much the more, because of the great advantage the king receiveth by it, many towns paying more to be free from their winter quarters, than they do for the taille; which they should not do, were these soldiers kept under as severe a discipline as they are in England, and only quartered in publick houses.

Article II. *Of the Gabelle.*

THIS is not so much a tax laid by the French king upon his people, as it is the engrossing of a trade to himself, whereby his subjects are forced to buy the salt from him at his granaries, and at his own price. How great a profit he maketh of that commodity, few people know; and, I am afraid, that few will believe what I am going to say upon that, subject: For though we are used to hear of the great and advantageous returns, that our merchants receive from the East and West Indies, yet they are not to be compared to what the French king gets upon his subjects by this gabelle.

How common salt is in France, those that have travelled in the *Pays d' Aunix*, or *Xaintonge*, cannot be ignorant of; but, for those who have not seen the salt-marshes of that country, I hope, it will be sufficient to let them know, that a certain measure, called Muyds de bosse, weighing five thousand two hundred pounds, is bought there, at some times, for three shillings and six pence, and never dearer than four shillings and six pence of English money. It is there that the French king buys that commodity, to sell it again to his subjects, in all the provinces of his kingdom, except Poictou, Xaintonge, Guienne, and Britanny, where the gabelle is not as yet imposed. There may be also some other tracts of land free from that tax, but they are very inconsiderable.

Now, to understand what profit he maketh upon that merchandise, it ought to be observed, that the muyds de bosse contains fifty-

two other measures, called minots, that is, one-hundred pounds weight; and that each minot is sold, at this time, in Paris, at the king's granaries, for sixty-four livres: so that, there being fifty-two minots in each muyds de bosse, as I have said, it follows, that the same quantity of salt that the French king buys for four shillings and six pence, at utmost, is sold to his subjects, at his granaries in Paris, for three-thousand three-hundred and twenty eight livres; that is, two-hundred and fifty-six pounds sterling. It is true, it is not sold at that rate in all the provinces where the gabelle is imposed; but there is a very inconsiderable difference; and now every where near Paris, as in Normandy, &c. it bears the same price.

I do not question, but that, at the first sight of so extravagant a price, many people will be apt to think, that I impose upon their credulity; but there are so many considerable witnesses of what I say, in this kingdom, it is very easy for any man to enquire into the truth of this matter. I must only give you this caution, that, in time of peace, the minot, which is now sold for sixty four livres, was then bought for forty-four pounds, but, with this difference alone, the whole account is but pure matter of fact.

How necessary soever the commodity of salt be, that high price would discourage many people from making use of it; but, to prevent that, there are such good orders made that it is impossible to avoid it. First, The importing of foreign salt is forbidden, upon pain of death: so that, let the salt of the king's granaries be never so dear, yet, because it is absolutely necessary, the French are forced to buy it. Secondly, Salt is imposed upon the people there, as the taille; so that each family must take every year a certain quantity of it, proportioned to the number of their family and estate; and so, let them be never so willing to eat their bread and meat without salt, yet the king will lose nothing by it.

This is the reason that some provinces are said to be liable to the salt of granaries, and others to the salt of imposition. To understand this distinction, it must be observed, than in Paris, and some other cities and countries, salt is not imposed upon the inhabitants as the taille; and that, if they buy any, it is out of necessity, and not from any other violence. But in Normandy, Picardy, Champaigne, Anjou, and other places, there are officers appointed to examine each family, and to assess them a minot more or less, according to their number and estate. Let people say what they will, as, that they are so poor, as that they are unable to pay it, they must take the quantity assessed; and, if they do not pay it within six months after, they must expect a military execution; and God knows how severe that is.

A man so compelled to buy a commodity, which is a great deal too dear for his purse, would gladly sell it again, could he find a favourable opportunity. And there is nothing in this, but what is very natural; but there are such penalties, both for the buyer and seller, that it is very dangerous for either of them to drive on such a trade. The first offence is punished with a fine; but, in case the offender be unable to pay it, he is condemned to the penalty of the second

offence, which is corporal; viz. To be branded with a red flower-de-lis upon the cheek, or the shoulder. And so hard a punishment ought, one would think, to deter any man from offending twice. Yet there are some who offend a third time; and those, upon conviction, are sent slaves to the gallies, were it only for a pound of salt, given, sold, lent, or bartered. The same punishment is inflicted upon the Faux Sauniers; that is, a sort of people, who, invited by the high price of salt, convey it secretly from Poictou and Britanny, into the provinces liable to the gabelle.

The fishermen, and other inhabitants of the sea-coasts, would have a very officious neighbour, were they but suffered to make use of salt-water: but, to hinder it, there are watches appointed; and, were a man once convicted for having made use of it, he would be no less severely punished than a Faux Saunier.

How heavy that cursed gabelle is upon the French nation, will appear, I hope, by what I have already said. But yet, were it fairly managed, it would not however be intolerable; for it is certain, that the cheats and knaveries, committed on that account, are more to be feared than the imposition itself. This tax robs a man but of his money; but the managers of it can deprive him both of his reputation, life, and estate: for the tools of slavery and arbitary power being always, and every where alike, I mean covetous, base, unmerciful, and treacherous, it happens, many times, that, under colour of searching a man's house upon pretence of forbidden salt, they will hide some themselves in a corner, where they are sure to find it again upon a second visit; and this is sufficient to fine a man, perhaps, more than he is worth in the world. But, if a man should have an enemy, who is so base as to bribe the officers of the salt into his interests, and oblige them to serve that trick thrice upon him, which he can do for a little sum of money, that man shall be sent a slave to the gallies, which is a punishment worse a thousand times than death itself. This observation is not grounded only upon a bare peradventure, but there are many examples of it; and, were it not for fear of bringing a disgrace upon some families that are now in England, I could produce very good authorities.

I have said, that the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Britanny, and Guienne, are free from the gabelle; and, perhaps, some will wonder at it; and, should I omit to say what I know upon that point, likely enough I should be blamed, That distinction, in my opinion, is grounded upon three reasons:

First, Britanny being united to the crown of France but since Charles the eighth, who married the heiress of that fine duchy, it is no wonder that the inhabitants of that province have greater privileges than others. And so I may say the same thing as to Poictou and Guienne, those countries being formerly subjected to the crown of England. But as for Xaintonge, or Pays d'Aunix, truly there is another particular reason: for,

First, Would it not be too severe, nay, and inconsistent too with the French king's interests, to impose the gabelle in that very place where the salt is made?

Secondly, If we consider how common and general the insurrections were in Britanny and Guienne, in 1674, when the French king attempted to put that burthensome excise upon them, perhaps we shall find a reasonable cause to conclude, that, if the gabelle be not introduced in those provinces, it is purely because the inhabitants are no ways disposed to suffer it. Their insurrection was so great, that they were forced to give over that design; and, had the confederates but made use of that favourable opportunity, it might have proved of fatal consequence to the grandeur of that prince.

Thirdly, Though these reasons seem very probable, and it is possible that they have in a measure contributed to the ease of those provinces; yet I take the French king to be so great an enemy to every thing that has but the shadow of liberty, and so jealous of his arbitrary power, that, I do verily believe, he would have crushed the pretended privileges of those provinces, and imposed upon them the gabelle, had he not been kept from it by other considerations. What they were, I cannot tell, except those great sums of money which those counties have, finance, from time to time, presented to the king; at least, I know this, that they were given for that end, that so they might be free from that terrible tax: and I see no cause why I may not conclude, that this is the principal reason, why they have not yet undergone a fate that is common to all the other provinces of France.

Now an excise that is so heavy and burthensome, would bring into the king's coffers a world of money, were he not forced to be at such vast expences; first, in transporting of salt from the place where it is made, into other provinces; and, secondly, in maintaining above twenty thousand men, that are employed about raising the gabelle, or for watching over the Faux Sauniers, and others, who would cheat the king otherwise, in all probability.

Article III. *Des Aides. Of Aids.*

LES Aides are an excise upon wine, which is very considerable; but, for the better understanding of it, I must in the first place, tell you something of the measures that are used in Paris. We had so great a trade at Bourdeaux for wine, that, I believe, very few are ignorant of what the measure is the French call there a tonneau; but in Paris, and the environs of that city, they speak only of muyds, which is the third part of a tonneau, and contains about two hundred and eighty pints, Paris measure, which is about as many London quarts. And now, after this explanation, I will proceed.

When the proprietors of the vineyards about Paris have sold their wine, they are obliged to declare it at a certain office, which is appointed for that purpose, in a convenient place, and to tell the officers, or clerks, at what price they sold it per muyd, and to pay one penny per * livre, besides an additional duty of sixpence half-pen-

* The French livre is eighteen pence sterling.

ny per muyd. The wine-coopers, or whoever have bought that wine to be carried into Paris, are forced to make a like declaration at the gates of the city, and to pay the like sum, viz. one penny per livre, and sixteen pence half-penny per muyd for the additional duty. But here we must take notice, that this second office has a greater power than the first; for, by their own authority, they may arbitrarily put what price they please upon the wine, which very much increases the duties upon it; and, God knows, they seldom, if ever, fail of this. But, over and above all these impositions, they pay for the duty of entry twenty-two livres per muyd to the king, besides some other duties to the town-house. Wine being thus brought into their cellars, they then must pay yearly to the king eight livres one sous, or penny halfpenny, for having the liberty to sell it again: and, when they sell it, they must make again the like declaration as before, and pay the like sums. As these duties and declarations were too frequent, the wine coopers used formerly to conceal the true price of wine; but now they dare not do it, for fear of being catched: for the excisemen knowing the general price of wine, as well as the wine coopers themselves, and having power to take it, paying to the coopers the price he has put upon it in his declaration, they would run the risque of suffering great loss and damage.

We have hitherto seen what the duties are that the wine-merchants pay; let us see now what those are that are imposed upon the vintners, I mean, those who sell wine by retail. It is not free for any man in Paris to set up a sign and sell wine, as it is in London; I mean, after he has served an apprenticeship, the time appointed by the customs: this liberty must be obtained from the French king: and, for it, a man must pay yearly eight livres one sous, or penny half-penny; this is called, The duty of sign. Besides, they were formerly obliged to give the eighth part of the money they received for the sale of their wine; but, because this was too troublesome, as well to the king's officers, as to the vintners themselves, they made an agreement to pay eight livres one sous half-penny, for every muyd of wine they sell, let it be good or bad. This is what the French call *le huitieme*, and in what duties that great excise upon wine doth consist, call *les aides*, I think now not improper to re-capitulate, all those duties, that we may see, in one view, what they amount to.

And, the better to illustrate the matter, I must put a price upon the muyd of wine, and see what money comes to the king by the sale of that muyd, that is somewhat like our hogshead, but a little larger, containing about two-hundred and eighty quarts. The common price, about Paris, was, in time of peace, eighteen or twenty livres per muyd, but now it is four times as dear again. Supposing, however, for our purpose, that a muyd of wine be sold in the vineyards for eighteen livres, that is, near twenty-seven shillings of our money, the proprietor must pay, in the first place, two shillings and ten-pence half-penny, for the first duty of the declaration; the like sum must be paid by the wine merchant at the gates of the city,

supposing the officers to be honest (but, if they will put a higher price upon it, for it absolutely depends on their roguery, or capricio, I cannot say nothing to that) and twenty-two livres, besides, for the duty of entry; so that it is manifest, a hogshead of wine, which was sold for twenty-seven shillings sterling, pays to the king, besides some duties to the town-house, thirty-eight shillings and nine pence.

These are the duties of the first sale: now let us suppose, that the same muyd be sold to a vintner. As the wine merchant must get something to live, he cannot sell it for less than sixty livres, having laid out forty-three already, besides the expences of the carriage; upon which, he must pay again, for the declaration, one penny per livre, and the additional duty, which comes to five shillings and ten-pence half-penny; and the vintner, besides, being obliged to pay eight livres, one penny half-penny; it followeth, that the king receiveth, from this second sale, twelve livres and seven-pence, that is, nineteen shillings and six pence one farthing, of our English money, which, being joined to thirty-nine shillings and nine-pence of the first sale, it appears, that a muyd of wine, sold at first for twenty-seven shillings, pays to the king, two pounds, nineteen shillings, and three-pence farthing.

Now, it is not only in Paris that these aides are imposed, but all the provinces of this kingdom, except Languedoc, Guienne, Limosin, and Britanny, are liable to this excise. Indeed, the entries are not so considerable in the other towns, as they are in Paris; but they pay every where the huitieme, that is, the eighth part of the price for heir wine. And as to the countries, because there can be no duty of entry laid on them, they buy therefore, in lieu of it, another, which, in my opinion, is much worse. As soon as ever the vintage is over, the rats de cave, cellar rats (so the people call the officers for the aides) go into every man's cellar, be he of what sort soever, and take an exact account of the wine they have in them: and three months after, they make a second search, to see what is become of that wine; and, if any has been sold, they must straight produce the acquittances of the office, which is appointed for the declaration of the price, and of the additional duty, which I have already explained. And as for wine which has been drank in the family, they pay another duty, called *le trop beu*, that is to say, too much drunk; and this tax amounts to eight livres, or twelve shillings sterling. Now, this visit, coming quarterly, must needs be very troublesome: but is not this an undeniable proof of the fatherly care the French king takes of his people? Perhaps, they would otherwise make an immoderate use of the creature; but this duty indoctrinates them to be sober, in pity to their purses.

I had forgot, the province of Normandy must also be excepted; though others pay only the eighth part, but this pays the fourth of all the liquors that are sold in publick houses, as wine, beer, cyder, aquavite, and the like; so that, if a quart of wine should be sold for two shillings, the king must have six-pence out of it, besides all other duties of entry, &c. which I have before mentioned. These duties

of entry are different one from the other, almost in every town; but at Rouen, the capital city of the province, they amount to fifteen livres per muyd, that is, twenty-two shillings and sixpence sterling. I cannot say positively, what it is they pay for cyder, or beer, but, as much as I can remember of it, it is about the fourth part of what they pay for wine. It is likewise to be observed, that, because Normandy produces no wine, and there are excessive customs every where upon the frontiers of that province, as well as the sea-ports; therefore, instead of the quatrieme, or fourth part, the king receives above one half.

When I said, that the duty of entry for wine amounts, at Paris, but to twenty two livres, or thirty three shillings and nine-pence sterling, it is to be understood, of the most common wine; for the best pay a great deal more. The muscadine, for instance, pays two pounds ten shillings, and the aquavite three pounds, sixteen shillings, and sixpence: but I must observe to you, that the aquavite pays a double duty, that is, the fourth part instead of the eighth.

Though Britanny be a *pays d'etats*, as the French call it, yet it hath a terrible excise there upon wine. Such are the great and little duties of the states, which come to a hundred livres, or seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and nine-pence sterling, per *tonneau*, Bourdeaux measure, that is, four hogsheads of wine, containing, in all, about eight hundred and forty of our London quarts. And, though this excise is raised upon wine, sold only in publick houses, and no where else, yet, about six years ago, was it let to farm for three millions of livres, which amounts to two hundred thirty thousand seven hundred sixty-nine pounds, four shillings, and sixpence sterling, whereof, two millions five hundred thousand livres are paid to the king, and the other five hundred thousand are to bear the charges of the states of the said province. Over and above these duties, there is another, called impost and billot, belonging only to the king, which brings every year into his coffers five hundred thousand livres. This duty consists in thirty-four shillings and seven-pence, which the king takes there upon every ton of wine. He hath also a custom of three shillings and nine-pence upon every ton of wine, brought to Britanny by sea: so that all these duties, when compared together, make it plainly manifest, that the excise upon every ton of wine amounts to nine pounds, four shillings, and sixpence, which is more than the price of the wine. This, I think, is sufficient to explain the matter I was to make out, viz. wherein consisted the excise upon wines which the French call les aides; but, to have it more clearly understood, I would again desire the reader, to read it with care and attention.

Article IV. *Of the Entries.*

THIS is a general excise upon every thing that comes to Paris; for nothing there is free, but air, besides the river, which runs through the middle of the city. I wish I could be as particular upon this article, as I have been upon the others; but it cannot reason-

ably be expected, that the memory of a man is able to supply him, for such an undertaking; however, I will do my endeavour to explain it, as well as I can.

In the entries of Paris and Rouen, there is included a duty, which the French call Piefourchie, that is, an excise upon all cloven-footed beasts; as oxen, sheep, swine, and the like. They pay for every ox, at this time, nine shillings sterling; for a cow, seven shillings and sixpence; three shillings and four-pence, for a calf, or a hog; half a crown for a sheep, and five groats for a lamb. I say, at this time, for in times of peace, this duty was not so high by one half. There is a duty too upon fowls, which is four-pence per livre, let unto farm, near twenty-five thousand pounds.

The imposition that is laid upon timber, and other wood, fit for work and service, is lett, or, at least, was so some years ago, for fifteen thousand three hundred eighty-four pounds, twelve shillings sterling, per annum.

That upon fire-wood amounts to much more; but, indeed, I cannot now remember, nor learn, how much the just sum is: but this I can say, that they pay one shilling and three-pence, for every load of fire-wood; and whosoever will consider the largeness of the city of Paris, the number of families in it, and, that they burn no sea-coal, cannot but agree, that this tax must bring in a vast sum of money to the exchequer. I must plead the like excuse, as to the duties of entry laid upon charcoal, and hay, and both salt and fresh fish; but the reader may easily guess, that they are not in any disproportion to those I have already mentioned.

Eggs, butter, cheese, and all manner of herbs, pay four-pence per livre, that is, four shillings per pound.

If all the money, accruing from those impositions, were brought into the king's treasury, it would amount to a vast sum. But it must be observed, that, from time to time, the French king createth to use the French phrase, many employments en Titre d'Office, that is, hereditary employments, to be overseers of the sales of certain commodities, with a privilege, that no body shall sell what they sell themselves; and, besides, they take for their own use one part of the duties that are laid upon some certain commodities. Some years ago, there were forty-four Jurez, so they call them, created all at once, to sell, or appraise fowls, and each of them paid down above three thousand pounds, and, to repay themselves, they took three half-pence per livre. A like number was created for fish, with the same salary. Those for hay are far more numerous, but then they are not altogether so dear, for they may be bought for two thousand three hundred seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and sixpence. Those upon charcoal cost above three-thousand pounds, but they are not many; but those upon wood are innumerable; and I am very well informed, that the French king has received, out of those offices for wood, near two millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling. Now, to repay themselves, they are allowed, as I have said, some duties; but the king, very often, demands from them some ready money, and this increaseth their duties so much the more, and is the

reason, that all manner of things are grown, gradatim in Paris, to such an excessive price; for there is a general excise upon all things that come into that city, even to the very ashes, and old lees of wine; and the duty, laid upon them, was lett at twelve-hundred twenty-three pounds, one shilling, and sixpence

And this duty of entry is not particular only to Paris; for it is imposed upon most parts of France, with this only difference, that the duties are not exacted so high, every where. One example of this, I hope, will be sufficient:

At Caen, in Normandy, a place well known to our Englishmen, they pay, for every pound of butter, a half-penny.

For a load of fire-wood, ten-pence.

For a load of timber, thirteen shillings and four-pence.

For a load of hay, one shilling and eight-pence.

For a horse-load of wood, as they use in that country, two-pence half-penny.

For a horse-load of fish, three shillings and five-pence.

For the load of a man, or woman, of fish, eight-pence. And,

For a horse-load of corn, one shilling.

Article V. *Of the King's Demesn and Customs.*

I have but very little to say upon these heads, for I do not look on them to be an effect of arbitrary power. All crowns in the world must have a sufficient revenue, either in lands, or customs, to support them; and so has the crown of France. But, as the French kings have, within this last century, very much enlarged their primitive power, it is no wonder, if they have increased, likewise, their ancient patrimony. The duty joined to the demesn, which I take to be tyrannical, is that called Lods & ventes; that is, a certain sum of money, which people are forced to pay, whenever they sell their estates, or any part of them. Indeed, this duty is not in all places alike; in the country, where the customary law of Paris is received, the buyer is obliged to pay the king the twelfth-penny: that is to say, out of twelve thousand pounds, one thousand; but, at Troyes in Champaign, they pay three shillings and four-pence, out of every pound; and that duty is paid, the one half by the buyer, and the other half by the seller. This is very hard.

This tax, for truly it deserves no better a name, is not of the creation of this French king; but, about twelve years ago, he created another very like it; for he ordered, that all people should pay the same duty, whenever they bartered their lands, as if they had sold them for ready money. This was harder yet than the other; and never were the French king's subjects so much harrassed and plagued upon account of any tax, as they have been of this; for they have been forced to pay the arrears thereof, if I may so call it, having been called to give an account for these twenty years last past.

The traites foraines, or customs, are a duty laid upon all commodities, that are exported from France, or imported into it. But this,

in itself, is not very surprising; since some such duty as this is generally over all the world, and is, no doubt, the slightest of all taxes; yet the French king has raised it to such a vast degree, that it is become absolutely tyrannical and slavish. I will give you but one instance, viz. upon sugar, which pays three-pence per pound. Another observation, I shall make upon these customs, is, that the following provinces, to wit, Britanny, Poicton, Xaintonge, Guienne, Languedock, Provence, Dauphine, Lorrain, and the new conquests, being looked upon all of them as foreign states, there is another custom upon all commodities that are exported or imported into these provinces, which is so severe and rigorous, as if they were exported into Holland. Why these provinces should be accounted foreign states, I could never hear any other reason given, but that formerly they were subjected to some particular princes, and not to the crown of France; but pray, was not Normandy ruled by her own dukes, as well as Aquitain?

ARTICLE VI. *Of several Taxes, and Creations of Offices.*

THE offices of counsellors in parliament, in France, are not disposed of like those in England; for these are given gratis, but the others are sold by the French king. There is also another considerable difference between them, viz. that the place of a judge, here, is, *quam diu bene se gesserit;* whereas the employments of counsellors in parliament in France are hereditary: but this must be observed, that, to keep those places to their families, they are obliged to pay every year a duty, which is called paulette, from one Paulet, who was the first that contrived this tax. This duty amounts to fifty pounds per annum for each counsellor; and, besides all this, they are forced likewise to make a loan, or rather, a gift to the king, every five years, which is nine times as much as the annual duty; and, should they fail performing these conditions, they presently lose their right of inheritance. Whenever a counsellor dies, or, by any resignation, his son comes into his place, he must pay another duty, which amounts to the eighth part of the price of the place, whatever it be; so that if the place be valued at fifty thousand crowns, he must pay above six thousand. There is an office appointed, for the receiving of this money, and for the sale of vacant places, called Le bureau des parties casuelles.

The decimes, or tenths of the clergy, is a tax, which all the clergymen of the kingdom pay to the king out of their livings. This tax, at first, was granted the kings of France, upon pretence of a war against the infidels; and, if I am not mistaken, it began in 1189. It was very inconsiderable at first, as appears by its very name, and granted only for a certain time; but succeeding kings have found out a way to raise it, and not only so, but to make it perpetual. This present king especially, the most ingenious and exquisite prince in the world, for increasing his revenues, has raised it, as he hath done other taxes, according to his own pleasure; and from the tenth he has brought it up now to the

fourth part; so that, if a curate hath a living but of a hundred pounds per annum, he must pay every year to the king twenty-five pounds of it, besides what he is obliged to contribute towards the free gift, that the clergy make every five years to the king. If the clergy, who are favourites, be so much oppressed, what must be the condition of the laity?

The paper and parchment marked was imposed in the year 1672. And they are so called from a flower de luce, wherewith they are stamped; all indentures, bonds, agreements, leases; in a word, all manner of writings, except private letters, and bills of exchange, must be written upon this paper or parchment only, otherwise they are void in law. The paper is divided into sheets, half sheets, and quarters of a sheet. The whole sheet is sold for three-pence, the half for three half-pence, and the quarter for three farthings. The parchment is dearer, for you must give twenty-pence for a skin. Now whosoever considers the great extent of France, must needs agree, that this must bring in a mighty sum of money.

At much about the same time, that this paper-tax was imposed, there was another tax found out, called Controlle. Now to rightly understand, what this is, I must observe to you, that, whereas law-suits generally begin, here in England, by arrests, they begin in France by a summons, to appear before the judges. This summons must be controlled, that is, viewed and signed by an officer, called comptroller, whose fee is five pence.

All the silver and gold plate that is made, throughout the kingdom, must be also stamped with the king's mark, and the goldsmith pays for that three shillings and four-pence, for every mark, that is, for every eight ounces. This duty was yearly set to farm for twenty-five thousand pounds.

Pewter must be also stamped with the king's mark, which costs one penny per pound.

The stockings coming from foreign countries are also marked, and the king hath, for his mark, two-pence per pair.

So are also all hats, and the duty upon them is ten-pence a piece.

Iron, steel, copper, and leather must be also marked; but, indeed, I cannot positively say now, what the duty is.

Every hackney-horse, in the kingdom, pays yearly to the king two crowns.

The new tax upon chocolate, tea, and coffee, was let yearly at thirty thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds, four shillings and sixpence.

In many provinces of France, as in Normandy, &c. the pigeon-houses are assessed in ten years; some of them pay twenty-five crowns, others, more or less according to the bigness of them.

The French nobility and gentry being obliged, or, at least, used to spend more than their yearly revenue, it often happens, that they contract so many debts, as makes them forced to sell their estates. Now, if their noble manors are sold to any merchant, or other, under the quality of a nobleman, they must pay, every twentieth year,

a whole year's revenue to the king, and this is what the French call Francfief.

There is another duty all over the kingdom, called Barrage, which is paid by the waggoners and carriers, and this was employed for the repairing of bridges and highways. Now the king hath appropriated it all to his own use, under the promise, that he himself would take care of the pavements, bridges, &c. But, he has kept his word herein, as religiously, as he hath the treaty of Nimeguen.

Every house in Paris was assessed at a certain sum for the poor, and the scavengers, as they are here in London; but the king hath obliged the proprietors of each house, to redeem that tax, by paying a certain sum into his coffers, and he hath taken upon him the care of keeping the poor, and of cleansing the streets; but, how he hath performed what he had promised, we may learn from publick intelligences, wherein, we are told, that all the inhabitants of Paris have been now lately assessed, upon the account of the poor.

Besides the duties of the custom-house, there is a kind of tax upon tobacco, I say, a kind of tax: because it is rather, in reality, an engrossing of the trade of that commodity. There are a company of people, that pay to the king a sum of money yearly, to have the privilege of selling tobacco, and that at their own word. This sum amounts to about sixty thousand pounds sterling.

All people who let lodgings furnished in Paris, and all the innkeepers, upon high ways, have been taxed within these three months.

Though the counsellors in parliament be very numerous, yet the French king hath lately, I mean, since the beginning of this war, increased their number an eighth in each parliament, who have paid ready money for their places, each of them an hundred thousand livres, that is, seven thousand six hundred ninety-two pounds, six shillings, and one penny half penny sterling; and, over and above this sum, they pay the annual duty, as well as others; and each of them have been taxed, since that time, twelve-thousand livres, or nine hundred seventy-six pounds eighteen shillings sterling.

The French king hath erected en Titre d'office the mayors of all the cities of the kingdom; and, because this place is hereditary, and those in possession of them are free from quartering of soldiers, and other publick charges, besides the honour, they have been sold very dear. I will give but an instance: the mayor of Caen in Normandy, which is not one of the most considerable cities in France, has paid about four thousand pounds sterling.

Those, who sell any brandy by retail in their shops, or in the streets, at a half-penny a glass (as they use in most parts of France) have been erected also, since this war, en Titre d'office, and have paid twenty-three pounds, one shilling, and sixpence.

A very poor sort of people, called Criers of old shoes, hats, and rags, have also been erected en Titre d'office, and each of them has paid seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and sixpence.

The barbers, who were peruke-makers, were erected en Titre d'office in 1672, and then they paid one hundred fifty-three pounds eighteen shillings: and, soon after, they were forced to

pay a like sum; and, since this war, they have been taxed a-new, each of them at thirty-eight pounds, seven shillings, and six-pence.

I will not, however, say, that in all the cities of France they have paid so much: for I would have this be understood of Paris only; for, in the other cities, they have paid proportionable to their trade. Another observation, I must make, is, that the very country-village barbers have been forced to take letters of license from the king; and, I suppose, no-body will think that they are granted gratis, when they are so forced upon them.

The French king begun by the peruke-makers to tax tradesmen; for, in a little while after, all the other tradesmen and artificers throughout the kingdom were assessed likewise. To be particular in this point would require a volume, and so I must content myself, for brevity's sake, with one example, which shall be of the weavers of Paris, the most miserable tradesmen in France, who were assessed at seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and sixpence.

All officers of justice, as judges, attornies, registers, bailiffs, notaries, &c. have also been taxed, every one of them, according to the fees of their several respective places.

The packers have been also erected en Titre d'office, but I cannot yet tell what they paid.

Every month produces some new found out offices; and, about a year ago, the porters were erected en Titre d'office, under the title of Bouteurs a port, that is, with the privileges of unloading the boats laden with wine, and some other commodities. They paid each of them about eight hundred pounds sterling, and they are allowed about five pence per ton. This will look somewhat romantick, at least, very surprising; but it must be considered, that, these places being hereditary, and of a great revenue, a man can make no better use of his money, than in purchasing of them.

Since the beginning of this war, the French king has created some officers for funerals, called Criers. When any persons die, these officers are appointed to take care of their funerals, which they make at what expence they please, for nobody can oppose them, under a very great penalty. They are allowed for their trouble a certain sum of money; and, besides, they enjoy some privileges and immunities, as, from quartering of soldiers, and other parish-charges.

There is a world of other duties, taxes, and offices, which it would be too tedious to relate, and, in a manner, impossible. But, I hope, what I have said is sufficient to convince any man of brains and sense, that is not of a resolved and obstinate inflexibility, that this French king hath carried his tyranny, as well as his prerogative, to a degree unknown unto all former ages. I will therefore leave this subject, after this short remark, that, in the new conquests, people are no better treated, than in France. The brewers in Mons have been lately erected en Titre d' Office, and have been forced to pay a hundred crowns a-piece; a man cannot be admitted into

holy orders without paying four crowns, nor contract matrimony without a licence, which costs ten shillings.

I had almost forgot mentioning one thing, which is even more intolerable, than the heaviest tax I have yet spoke of, I mean, the raising, or lessening the current coin; and, to explain my meaning, I must observe to you, that when the French king is at a pinch for money, then he raises his coin as high as he pleaseth; and afterwards he lesseneth it when he hath no such need. Thus louis d'ors are risen, at this time, from eleven to fourteen livres, and his crowns in proportion; so that, whenever this war shall be at an end, people will lose four shillings and sixpence in every louis d'or, and sooner too, if this war continues. For the king, by his royal edict, will, as he hath already done several times, set a lower value upon the same pieces, and command them all to be brought into the mint, by a certain stated time, under severe penalties, to be new stamped, and then afterwards he will raise the price as high as he pleases; by which means he will get a vast profit himself, to the depression and ruin of his people. One instance will serve to clear up this: The louis d'ors, which are current now at fourteen livres, will be valued but at twelve, and they must be carried to the mint, where the king will pay them in, at that price, with his new stamped coin: and, some time after, those very louis d'ors, with the new royal stamp shall be worth fourteen and fifteen livres, or whatever other higher value the king is pleased to put them at.

I must not forget neither the five millions of livres, that the city of Paris is now, at this day obliged to pay to the king, as we may see in our Gazette. This forced payment, which amounts near to four hundred thousand pounds sterling, is a little hard, considering the other taxes, which that city is charged withal.

ARTICLE VII. *Of the French King's yearly Revenue, and how it is collected.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all the taxes I have already mentioned, and the many others, which I have here omitted, yet the French king's yearly revenue amounts not to so great a sum, as one would be easily tempted, at first, to imagine. I have been often told, that it came to above an hundred and fifty millions of livres; but, after a narrow inquiry into it, I found, that, at the death of Monsieur Colbert, it came only to an hundred thirty-three millions, two hundred thousand livres, or ten millions, two hundred forty-six thousand, one hundred and fifty-three pounds, sixteen shillings, and sixpence of our English money. Now, when we consider, that, since this war, the French king hath raised his taxes higher than ever they were, and created many offices and employments, we shall be apt to think, that his revenues must needs be so much the more increased; but yet, if, at the same time, we do but reflect upon the lamentable decay of his trade in that kingdom, we

shall find, upon a serious examination, that the increasing of his taxes can hardly make amends for the loss of his customs, and, consequently, that his revenue is much about what it was at the time I speak of.

But, perhaps, somebody will say, how can the French king keep such great armies in pay, if his yearly revenue be no more? The answer to this objection is very easy to any one, who knows, that twenty-thousand horse stand this nation in more, than an hundred thousand cost the French king. Our single troopers have near two shillings and sixpence a day, and the French have hardly five pence; our foot foot-soldiers have eight-pence, or, at least, sixpence in the field, and the French have only six farthings and the ammunition-bread.

Here I could very well put an end to this discourse, but that I think myself obliged to remove one objection more, which, I know, some people will be apt to make against me, viz. That, if the French pay yearly but ten millions, and England five, we lie under harder circumstances, than they do, since France is twice as big as England, at least.

This, I confess, seems, at first, to be a very specious and considerable objection; but, in answering of it, I would desire my reader to make, with me, these following remarks: First, it is a truth beyond contradiction, that the taxes laid in England, how heavy soever they may seem to be, are but for one year, and these, too, laid on as by our own consent; but those in France have been made perpetual, by the grand imposer on his subjects estates, and liberties, for above these twenty years. This is a very notable difference. Secondly, it must be observed, that all taxes in France, except the taille, are let to farm, whereby it is manifest, that they must produce more than what the king receives: for, as a farm, in any country, must not only produce enough to make the farmer able to pay his landlord his rent, but also to repay his expences, and maintain himself and his family: even just so it is, in relation to the taxes that are laid on the French, but with a far more comfortable difference to the farmers of the French king's revenues, I mean, to those who have the least finger in them: for they, in a short time, become so vastly rich, that the greatest lords in France, as the Marshal de Lorges, and several others, have thought themselves happy in marrying their daughters.

These farmers advance money to the king, and then they repay themselves out of the people's pockets, and God knoweth with what vexations and tyrannical oppressions, for they are impowered to do whatever they please. Those, who have computed, as near as possible they could, how many men are employed in the levying the king's revenues, do assure us, that they are above eighty thousand who are kept at the people's charges, the keeping of whom is dearer by far, than the barely maintaining of an hundred thousand soldiers: but a man must have seen this to believe it.

Now, whosoever will consider these things, will, no doubt, agree with me, that the French nation groans under a very slavish

and worse than Egyptian bondage, and that they pay a great deal more, than what appears in the books of the royal treasury. I was, one day, discoursing in France upon this point with a very learned man, and one that very well understood this business; and he told me, that, upon a very modest computation, he had found, that the kingdom of France paid yearly above two hundred thousand millions, upon account of the king's taxes, that is, above fifteen millions, three hundred eighty-four thousand, six hundred fifteen pounds, seven shillings, and six-pence sterling. Tho' I will not absolutely rely on my friend's account, yet this small treatise, I hope, will be enough to convince any unprejudiced person, that it is not altogether improbable.

I will only now desire my readers to peruse this little book with care, and then to consider how much they are obliged to those, who are indefatigable in their labour and industry to bring this nation under the dreadful tyranny of France.

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR SEAMEN AND MARINERS.

IN TWO PARTS.

Being a proposed Method for the more speedy and effectual furnishing their Majesty's Royal Navy with able Seamen and Mariners: And for saving those immense Sums of Money, yearly expended in attended the Sea Press. In order to prevent those many Mischiefs and Abuses daily committed, by disorderly Press-Masters, both at Sea and Land, to the great Prejudice of their Majesties, and Injury of the subject. By George Everett, Shipwright. London, Printed in the Year 1695. Quarto. Containing twenty-four Pages.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of England, assembled in Parliament.

With Submisssion,

IN humble respect to his Majesty's most gracious speech, I do most humbly offer these following proposals, for the encouraging of seamen, in order to furnish their Majesties Royal Navy on all occasions: Wherein is briefly set forth the great hardships and sufferings of those employed in the sea-service, together with proper remedies to prevent the same; whereby their Majesties, and the publick, may save those immense sums of money yearly expended on such occasions; the seamen be happy and easy in such service; the merchants enjoy a free trade, without interruption; the whole nation be happy under the present influence of a war, many grievances attending thereon be redressed, vice punished, virtue promoted, our enemies terrified, and ourselves encouraged, by the blessing of the Almighty, to prosecute this so great and glorious undertaking, and thereby regain our former honour of being master of the British seas, to the glory of their Majesties,

and the peace and happiness of the whole nation: most humbly begging your honours to pardon this my undertaking, to pass by my errors with patience, and to correct all that is amiss with prudence, and to consider my former proposals, humbly offered for the saving one hundred thousand pounds per annum in building and repairing the royal navy; which, by his Majesty's order of the 22d of March last, was referred to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and, at the writing hereof, is yet lying under their lordships consideration. All which, out of a hearty and zealous inclination of serving their Majesties, and the publick, I do most humbly recommend to your honours consideration, as the only physicians under God, from whom a redress of our grievances is desired and expected, in hopes of your favourable acceptance and encouragement thereof, for the service of their Majesties, the benefit of the subject, and the good and welfare of the whole nation; most humbly praying, that a committee may be appointed to examine and consider the same; and that I may be admitted to give reasons, and answer to all objections. I humbly submit myself.

Your honours most faithful and obedient servant,
GEORGE EVERETT.

PART I.

FORASMUCH as it is altogether needless to give an account of the particular charge of the nation, in impressing seamen for their Majesties service, that being already performed by others; and it being well known, that, after all the charge and trouble therein, many of the most able and fitting for sea-service, do lie lurking and concealed, taking an opportunity to make a voyage or two to Newcastle, or otherwise, as they see most convenient for their own advantage, to the great hindrance of their Majesties service, the discouragement of others belonging to the fleet, and great prejudice of many, who, being unfit for sea service, are forced to supply in such case.

Proposal 1. For remedy thereof, upon the especial approbation of the honourable Admiral Russel, and several other eminent persons of known experience in maritime affairs, it is humbly proposed, 'That in every sea-port town, according to the greatness thereof, an officer or officers, being persons of known integrity, and good repute, may be erected and settled, for taking and keeping a register of seamen and mariners: and, to that end, the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of every parish, within ten miles of any sea-coast, or navigable river, within this kingdom, shall, within fourteen days after notice given by proclamation, be sworn duly to enquire and take a list of all seamen and mariners, inhabiting and residing within their respective parishes, being between the ages of sixteen and sixty, whether at home or abroad, and shall deliver the same, under their hands, to the sheriff of the county to which they do belong; which said sheriff shall, within twelve

days after the receipt thereof, transmit a copy of the same to the next port-office, where the same shall be carefully entered alphabetically, for every parish and county distinctly, in a book or books for that purpose to be provided.'

*** This cannot be accounted any great trouble, there being in every parish four or six such officers at least, who, dividing themselves, with their beadle, who is generally acquainted with all the parishioners, may perform the same effectually in one day.

*** Neither can it be accounted troublesome to the sheriffs, it being not expected to be more than once a year at most; and may, by their directions, be performed by their servants: And, being a national concern, ought to have a national assistance, which will partly be effected by such officers changing places every year.

Proposal 2. 'And that all masters of ships, and other vessels, using the sea, or trading from port to port coast-wise (except such vessels as are, or shall be employed in the home trade of fishery, for supplying the several markets of this kingdom) shall, at the beginning of their voyage, and before they depart the first port, give into that port-office a true list of the names of all seamen and mariners retained to serve on board their said ships, or vessels, together with their age, and what outward marks may be found, as also their place of residence, or habitation, if any such they have; which being performed, the said masters, if not restrained by embargo, or other order, may, with their company, have liberty to proceed on their intended voyage, both out and home, without danger of being impressed; one of the said officers first giving a certificate under his hand and seal, as a protection, for the use of every seaman thereunto belonging, being between the age of sixteen and sixty years, as aforesaid; and also a duplicate thereof to the master, for which he shall pay unto the said officer, if a coaster, two shillings and sixpence, and, if a trader to foreign parts, five shillings per head for every person therein nominated; which said monies may be allowed for and towards the maintenance and encouragement of such officers.'

*** By the aforesaid means it may be possible to obtain a full register of all the seamen of England, and thereby know who is in service, and who is not; whereby the royal navy, upon all occasions, may be readily manned with able seamen, and no hiding-place left for deserters, or others; and the head-money proposed will be gladly paid, to avoid those great perils and losses, which too often happen, to the great prejudice of their Majesties, and all others concerned at sea, by means of the sea-press.

Proposal 3. 'And, upon return of the said ship, or vessel, to her port of delivery, or unlading, that then the said master thereof shall be further obliged (if belonging to a ship or vessel using the coast-trade) within four days; or, if a merchant-ship trading to foreign parts, within ten days, or more, as may be thought convenient, to pay such his ship's company, in the presence of one of the aforesaid officers, at a place and day prefixed. And, if it happen that any change or alteration hath been made amongst the said company, during the said voyage, that then the said master

do give an account to the said officer, who may be impowered to make enquiry therein; and whosoever of the said company, shipped outward or homeward, appeareth not in person to receive his wages, at such time and place prefixed (without some lawful cause or let shewed to the contrary, being such as may be allowed by the directors of such office, or officers) shall lose and forego his whole wages, one half to the use of their Majesties, and the other to the chest at Chatham, or otherwise, as may be thought convenient.'

*** And the said officers, being impowered to make enquiry, as aforesaid, will cause masters to be more cautious how they do imprison and pack their seamen off in foreign countries; an abuse too much practised, even to the ruin of many families, which bring much poverty on the nation, especially about rivers and sea-port towns.

Proposal 4. 'And, if it should happen, that any of the said ships, or vessels, should deliver, or unlade at any other port within this kingdom, that then the officer of such port may, by the master's duplicate (he being obliged to produce the same, or otherwise by a copy of the register from the other first officer) be enabled to proceed, in all respects, as aforesaid.'

*** For conveniency, a copy of all registers may be transmitted from all ports to Yarmouth and Portsmouth, for the ready dispatch of all such affairs; but more especially to the port-office of London.

Prop. 5. 'And that every officer, in his respective place (at the time of paying such seamen, as aforesaid) shall then cause all such, as are fit for their Majesties service, to be forthwith sent on board some ship belonging to the fleet, as occasion shall require; the charge thereof to be paid by their majesties: and all such, as are so sent on board their majesties ships, shall have equal benefit with those seamen who do, or shall enter themselves as voluntiers.'

*** By such means, there will be a constant supplying of the royal navy with able seamen; and, by this means, such, who use to steal a voyage or two, will unavoidably be brought into their Majesties service, without prejudice to any; which will be an encouragement to others belonging to the fleet, and will prevent the pressing of tradesmen from their business.

Prop. 6. 'And, as every merchant-ship, or vessel hath a carpenter or two belonging unto it, who for great wages go voluntarily to sea, their Majesties ships may, by the means aforesaid, be plentifully supplied with able shipwrights, the most experienced and fittest for sea-service.

Prop. 7. 'And, at the end of every year, the said officers shall present their Majesties with a general list of all seamen and shipwrights, so sent on board of every particular ship; and, if thought convenient, shall have an additional allowance from their Majesties of two shillings and sixpence per head, as an encouragement and maintenance for such their service.

Prop. 8. 'And whatsoever officer or shipmaster offendeth herein, contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall forfeit

pounds to the use of their majesties, pounds whereof may be allowed to the informer.'

*** This charge cannot be accounted great; for, by this means, the prodigious expence of hiring smacks and ketches to attend the press will determine; and one thousand men and boys, commonly employed therein, may be at liberty to serve their majesties on board the fleet, besides the charge allowed and expended by captains and lieutenants, on such occasions.

*** And the seamen and shipwrights belonging to merchant ships, being so secured for their majesties service, may enjoy the benefit of selling and disposing of what they have, as an adventure on board their respective ships, together with the happiness of receiving their wages, and providing themselves with apparel and other necessaries fit for sea service, and be sent on board the fleet like men; who otherwise, after a long and tedious voyage, without recruit or money, are forced on board their majesties ships in a poor and ragged condition, which is one main occasion of sickness and distempers on board the fleet; and for such reasons many refuse to go to sea, and others forsake their ships, in foreign nations.

*** And by such means, as aforesaid, merchant ships at sea, and under convoy, may be secure from the rage and ill usage of some commanders; who, if denied their unreasonable demands for light or convoy money, do often cause the seamen to be impressed; whereby such ships or vessels are too often disabled, and the ships and goods, with the small and helpless number of men left on board, do often miscarry, or perish at sea; whereby the merchants lose their goods, their majesties lose their customs, the subjects lose their lives, the owners their ship, or vessel, and many become widows and fatherless thereby; which brings great complaints and poverty throughout the nation.

PART II.

Proposal 1. 'And, as the honour and glory of the English nation doth so much depend upon the strength and good conduct of the royal navy, so it may be highly necessary at such time, when the common enemy is so potent and powerful, that all due encouragement be given to seamen and mariners; and, to that end, it is most humbly proposed, that no offices belonging to the fleet be bought or sold, but that every person may be preferred according to his deserts and merits.

Prop. 2. 'That the said seamen be allowed their full share of all prizes that shall be taken, and that some law be passed to prevent embezzlements therein; and that those persons, in what station soever, that shall endeavour to defraud them of such parts and shares, as have by custom, or may hereafter be allowed, shall (being convicted thereof) forfeit his said office, or employment.

Prop. 3. 'That, if any seamen be dismembered in their majesties service, such smart-money, as hath been formerly allowed,

may be advanced, and be forthwith duly paid. And further, that there may be an additional allowance made for all such pensioners, as shall be dismembered in their majesties service.

Prop. 4. 'That, if any seamen be killed in their majesties service, that the bounty-money, generally allowed on such occasions, be forthwith paid to those who shall produce a just right to receive the same.

Prop. 5. 'That all profaneness, which having, by long custom, gotten the ascendant on board the fleet, be forthwith suppressed and abolished; and all offenders, being officers, may be displaced, and others receive such punishment, as may be appointed by authority of parliament.

Prop. 6. 'And that no seaman or mariner, that hath served twelve months in any of their majesties ships, shall be turned over, to serve on board any other of their majesties ships, before he be paid all wages due to that time.

Prop. 7. 'That when, and so often as their majesties, by their royal proclamation, shall require the service of such seamen, on board the royal navy, by such a day or time prefixed; that all able seamen, who shall, in obedience thereunto, voluntarily enter themselves, by applying to the next port-officer, or officers, shall be allowed, during the whole voyage, twenty-eight shillings per month, according to the course of the navy; and that so often as any of their majesties ships shall arrive into any harbour, to lay up for any time, that then the seamen and mariners, thereunto belonging, shall be forthwith discharged; and that all wages, to them then due for such service, be fully paid, not in tickets, but in money: and, if the voyage be long, that then their wives or friends, having a lawful power to receive the same, may be paid six months wages out of every nine months, that such ship shall be abroad.

Prop. 8. "That all such seamen, now belonging to the royal navy, as shall be continued on board the fleet, at such time as the service of others shall be required by proclamation as aforesaid, may have and receive the full benefit of such, as shall then enter themselves voluntiers.

Prop. 9. 'That there be one clerk at the navy-office, to attend all accidental business that may happen touching the premises, and that he be allowed, by their majesties, fifty pounds per annum, to answer and receive money for all such persons, as shall employ him on such occasion; and that he may be allowed six-pence or twelve-pence per pound, as shall be thought fit, for all such money as he shall so receive; and the said clerk, making default therein, to be displaced, and suffer such fine, or other punishment, as the parliament shall think fit.'

*** By such payments, as aforesaid, seamen may be inabled to provide for themselves and families, and to pay their debts; which is one means to make money plenty, throughout the nation, and will encourage them, when occasion shall require, freely and gladly to enter themselves into their majesties service, without the charge of being pressed, or continued in pay for the whole year. And being certain of such provision, made for the maintenance of them-

selves and families, it will make them bold and daring, not being afraid to look death in the very face of their enemies.

*** It is to be observed, that, for want of such payment as aforesaid, the seamen are greatly injured and discouraged; first, especially, when, instead of money, they are put off with tickets, whilst many of them, and their families, wanting food and raiment, are compelled to sell such tickets at one-third part, and, sometimes, one-half loss; so that, thereby, the seamen's pay is very small and insignificant; who, after having exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, are so cut off, being but as slaves and drudges to the common ticket-buyers, and their upholders; who, for supplying them so with money, do carry away the greatest part of their labour, when many of their poor families are ready to perish. Secondly, the paying such their wages on board the fleet, at such time as they are ready to sail, is very injurious both to seamen and others; for, by such means, they have not the opportunity to serve themselves or families, but are obliged to buy all their necessaries on board the common higlers or boomboats, and they not many, who, making it their business to attend the fleet, do, by their extortion, bring away the greatest part of the seamen's wages. So that a great part of the treasure of the nation, which ought to be divided amongst all, falls into the hands of a few private persons; whereas, if such payment were to be made on shore, as aforesaid, they may have the benefit to buy all they want at the best hand, to pay their debts, and relieve their families. And, by this means, all such money would, as from a fountain, pleasantly distil itself into so many silver streams, until it returns again to its first rise; which would be a great encouragement to seamen, and all other their majesties good subjects, who, being now obliged to give them, and their families, credit, are forced to sit down by loss, which is one great cause of the decay and detriment of trade.

*** If it should be objected, that paying the seamen their wages on shore, upon the discharge of their service, as aforesaid, will cause them to desert their majesties service, it is humbly answered, that, there being, in England, a sufficient number, to serve both their majesties royal navy and merchants ships, at one time, as, by sufficient testimony, did appear this last summer, it is impossible to believe the royal fleet should ever want seamen, if good payment was to be made, and encouragement given, as aforesaid, for these reasons following: First, they, being in such service, are more secure from the enemy, than in merchants ships. Secondly, being allowed thirteen months to the year, without after-claps, or paying damages, which, in merchants ships, often cuts off one month's pay in three. Thirdly, if a ship of their majesties happen to be lost, the seamen's wages stand good. Fourthly, being out of all danger of being impressed, during the whole voyage; by means whereof, in merchants ships, they often lose both their wages and adventure. Fifthly, having a prospect in making advantage, by taking of prizes. Sixthly, if loss of members happen, smart-money is allowed, with a yearly

pension, during life. Seventhly, if killed in fight, a considerable bounty-gift is bestowed on their families, according to the greatness thereof; when seamen, in merchants ships, running all risques, as aforesaid, fall short of these so great advantages.

Prop. 10. 'Furthermore it is proposed, that if any difference should happen, within the term of the said voyage, between the master of such merchants ship, or vessel, and any of the seamen, belonging thereunto, for, or by reason of any wages due, or goods damaged, by leekage of the ship, or vessel, such differences may be determined by such officer, as aforesaid; who may be impowered to call to his assistance two, three, or more, honest and indifferent men, being sufficient house-keepers, who may have power to hear and determine all such differences, as aforesaid, which would be of great advantage to poor seamen; who, by reason of poverty and the press, being not in a capacity to maintain or attend a suit of law, are often ruined and undone.

*** If it should be objected, that this may prove prejudicial to the government, it is humbly answered, that the seamen in general, by such injuries, and for such reasons, as aforesaid, are not in a capacity to go to law; so that, where nothing is, nothing can be expected.

*** So that by thus civilly impressing of some, and paying and encouraging of others, as aforesaid, it may be presumed, their majesties royal navy may, at all times, be readily and plentifully provided, with the most able seamen and mariners, on all occasions, and all extraordinary charge of impressing and maintaining them on board the fleet, in the winter-season (which, by Captain St. Lo, was computed at five-hundred and four-thousand pounds for one winter-season, besides sixty-thousand pounds, expended for conduct, bounty, and impress-money) avoided and saved, as well now as in former times. And, to this, all the seamen, and faithful people of England, will say Amen.

*** If any objection should be made, that, in manning the royal navy, according to the methods of this second proposition, their majesties affairs may be prolonged or prejudiced thereby, then it is humbly proposed, that a recourse may be had to the aforesaid register, as followeth.

Prop. 11. 'That the right honourable the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, calling to the port-officers of London for a general list of all seamen in each county, taken as aforesaid, may direct their warrants to the several sheriffs of the counties aforesaid, requiring them to direct their precepts to the several constables of each parish, as aforesaid, who, with the assistance of the church-wardens and overseers of the poor, shall forthwith, to the utmost of their power, cause such, and so many as are required, by an equal quota, to appear before the next port-officer, who shall dispose of them on board their majesties ships, as shall be most meet and convenient for their majesties service; and such as press men, to be allowed but twenty-four shillings per month. And what seamen soever shall abscond from their habitation, or usual place of

being, at such time as the service of their majesties shall require them on board the fleet, shall suffer imprisonment, or as the parliament shall think fit. And that the port-officer do then forthwith pay unto the said constables, for travelling, and other necessary charges, the sum of two shillings and six-pence per head, for every person by them delivered, or produced as aforesaid; and that the said port-officer be allowed the same (with other necessary charges), for sending such on board the fleet, out of their majesties treasury.'

By what hath been proposed, I hope, it will appear, that the impressing of seamen, and others, by sea-officers, may be wholly laid aside, which hath, hitherto, been very chargeable to their majesties, and injurious to the subjects, as is briefly summed up as followeth.

1. That several vessels, employed in that service, after having laid twelve or fourteen days in the river of Thames, on that occasion, have, by the ill management of some lieutenants, thereunto belonging, been sent on board their majesties ships with twenty or thirty men at one time, who, being not fit or useful in such service, have been often discharged, and turned ashore; by which means, their majesties treasure hath been vainly expended, and many landmen and tradesmen have been often carried from their habitations to the Downs, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, to their great charge and prejudice.

2. That the impressing and detaining seamen in their majesties service, on such hard terms as before specified, causeth many to defer their majesties service, who, by such means, come to an untimely exit. And many seamen there be, who, having families, will rather expose themselves to such vile and shameful ends, than leave their families to perish for want of food and raiment.

3. Many other inconveniencies there be attending the present discipline of the navy; as, paying the fleet at Portsmouth, &c. whereby their majesties affairs are often retarded, and the seamen, whose wives or friends are very populous about the river of Thames, do, by travelling and attending at such remote parts, often expend more than they receive, whereby many families are ruined and undone: and many others there be, who, for want of money, are obliged to take up all they want upon trust, paying one shilling for the value of nine-pence, losing thereby 25l. per cent. and, by selling their tickets, as aforesaid, they generally lose 30, 40, or 50l. per cent. so that, by a modest computation, their whole loss amounts to 60l. per cent. out of their small wages.

4. The turning of seamen over from one ship to another, after having been in such service, one, two, or three years, without money, produceth the same effect as the former.

5. For the aforesaid reasons, the seamen, their wives and friends, are at a great charge and trouble, by petitioning and attending the admiralty and navy-board, on such occasions, who spend great part of their time in hearing and examining these and such like, grievances.

6. Whereas if seamen were paid and encouraged, as aforesaid, these mischiefs and disorders, with many others, occasioned by several indirect practices of clerks of the navy, &c. would soon cease and be abolished.

7. And, for promoting the same, it is further proposed, that a suitable fund of money be raised and set a-part for such uses and purposes: and if the same should fail, or fall short of what is intended, that then they may be supplied with such funds as shall be appropriated to pay merchant-dealers and tradesmen, who, being under no compulsion in making agreement for their commodities, are in a capacity to help themselves.

8. And if a sufficiency of money cannot be raised, as aforesaid, that then it may be borrowed; and suppose at 10l. per cent. per annum, yet will be of so great use in answering these ends, that it is presumed their majesties will thereby save 200,000l. per annum, or more: but if the late ingenious proposals to supply their majesties with money, at 3l. per cent. per annum, be put into practice, the advantages accruing to their majesties by this proposed method will be much greater, and the doubts and objections that may arise touching the insufficiency of making such orderly payments, as aforesaid, will be removed.

9. Thus, by preferring frugality, and abolishing extravagancy, their majesties, with the usual funds generally raised and allowed for such occasions, will soon be in a capacity of paying and providing, with ready money, all things necessary for the carrying on the war; and the enemy, taking notice of our industry and abilities, the usual forerunners of great actions, will be thereby discouraged, as they are certain presages of their approaching downfall.

10. And that, by such means, the general trade of the nation will be better supplied at home, and secured abroad; and the subjects thereby inabled and encouraged to give supplies to carry on the war, and their majesties thereby be the better supported to prosecute and continue the same.

11. Thus having, as I humbly conceive, proposed a sure and certain method to prevent those evils occasioned by the sea press, which, if put in practice, I dare affirm, will be a useful instrument to vanquish and overcome all our enemies, both foreign and domestick; it being observable, that, since my former proposals made for performing of shipwrights work, the impressing of workmen for that service hath been little practised.

In all that hath been most humbly offered, I have studied brevity more than curiosity, my design being to serve my country, rather than to shew my skill in learning; and therefore do present the same, not as the labour of my spare minutes, but as the fruit of a laborious brain, that hath and will be always ready to serve their majesties and the government upon all occasions. I shall only offer these following queries, most humbly praying they may be considered:

1. Whether the nation, under the present circumstances of a

war, can long continue a suitable supply of money to carry on the same, under the pernicious effects of extravagancy?

2. Whether money raised in parliament with care, collected with trouble, and paid with tears, requires not the most serious thoughts and endeavours of all its disposers, for converting the same, in all circumstances, to the most useful and advantageous purposes?

3. Whether the king exposing his royal person, in so many dangers abroad, for promoting the happiness and well-being of the nation, doth not expect the due assistance of all other his officers and subjects, indispensably to use their utmost endeavours for the full accomplishing his royal purposes?

4. Whether the saving those immense sums of money, as aforesaid, will not settle the minds of their majesties good subjects, and stop the mouths of the most disloyal and restless spirits, who raise animosities amongst us, and instil wicked notions into the minds of their majesties subjects, representing the government as under an unsettled condition, and groaning under oppression, by reason of great taxes, and a lingring and expensive war, and a want of trade, and raising their expectations of a speedy change, who finding their hopes defeated, by an unanimous resolution of rooting out the evils occasioning the same, can have no future pretence to such calumniating reflexions on the government for bringing to pass their evil purposes?

5. Whether the buying and selling of publick places be not an undoubted inlet to bring their majesties enemies into such stations, being of dangerous consequence to the government?

6. Whether it will not be for their majesties, and the nation's interest, to advance persons to places of trust according to their merits, and not permit those to be discountenanced, and to labour under difficulties, who expose frauds and extravagancies, and propose proper remedies for the cure of those evils? And whether the brow beating and discouraging those, who endeavour to make such discoveries, is not an effectual means to prevent all others from appearing in such like cases? Much more might be added, which, for brevity-sake, is omitted. I shall humbly conclude with the following admonition of king Henry the Fourth, who, upon his death bed, spoke to his son as followeth: 'So long as Englishmen have wealth, so long shalt thou have obedience from them; but, when they are poor, they are then ready for commotions and rebellions.' From which, and all other evils, good Lord deliver us, both now and for evermore.

SOME PARTICULAR MATTERS OF FACT

RELATING TO THE

ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND,

UNDER THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

Folio, containing one sheet.

Humbly offered to your Majesty's Consideration, in Obedience to your Royal Commands.

I. THE duke of Lauderdale did grosly misrepresent to your majesty the condition of the western countries, as if they had been in a state of rebellion, though there had never been any opposition made to your majesty's authority, nor any resistance offered to your forces, nor to the execution of the laws. But he, purposing to abuse your majesty, that so he might carry on his sinister designs by your authority, advised your majesty to raise an army against your peaceable subjects; at least, did frame a letter, which he sent to your majesty to be signed by your royal hand, to that effect; which being sent down to your council, orders were thereupon given out for raising an army of eight or nine-thousand men, the greatest part whereof were Highlanders; and, notwithstanding that, to avert this threatening, the nobility and gentry of that country did send to Edinburgh, and, for the security of the peace, did offer to engage, that whatsoever should be sent to put the laws in execution, should meet with no affront, and that they would become hostages for their safety: yet this army was marched and led into a peaceable country, and did take free quarters, according to their commissions; and, in most places, levied great sums of money, under the notion of dry quarters, and did plunder and rob your subjects; of which no redress could be obtained, though complaints were frequently made; all which were expresly contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

II. In their quarters, it was apparent, that regard was only had to the duke's private animosities; for the greatest part of those places, that were most quartered on and destroyed, had not been guilty of any of the field-conventicles complained of; and many of the places, that were most guilty, were spared upon private considerations.

III. The subjects, at that time, were required to subscribe an exorbitant and illegal bond, which was impossible to be performed

by them: that they, their wives and children, and servants, should live orderly according to law, not go to conventicles, nor entertain vagrant preachers, with several other particulars; by which bond, those that signed it were made liable for every man's fault, that lived upon their ground.

IV. Your majesty's subjects were charged with laborrows, denounced rebels, and captions were issued out for seizing their persons, upon their refusing to sign the aforesaid bond; and the nobility and gentry there, who have ever been faithful to your majesty, and had appeared in arms for suppressing the last rebellion, were disarmed upon oath. A proclamation was also issued, forbidding them, upon a great penalty, to keep any horses above four pounds ten groats price.

V. The nobility and gentry of the shire of Aire were also indicted, at the instance of your majesty's advocate, of very high crimes and misdemeanors, whereof some did import treason. These indictments were delivered them in the evening, to be answered by them the next morning upon oath; and, when they did demand two or three days to consider of their indictments, and craved the benefit of lawyers, to advise with in matters of so high concernment, and also excepted to their being put to swear against themselves, in matters that were capital (which was contrary to all law and justice) those their desires were rejected, though the like had never been done to the greatest malefactor in the kingdom: and it was told them, they must either swear instantly, or they would repute them guilty, and proceed accordingly.

VI. The noblemen and gentlemen, knowing themselves innocent of all that had been surmised against them, did purge themselves, by oath, of all the particulars that were objected to them, and were thereupon acquitted: and, though the committee of the council used the severest manner of inquiry to discover any seditions, or treasonable designs, which were pretended as the grounds of leading in that army into those countries, yet nothing could ever be proved: so false was that suggestion concerning a rebellion then designed, that was offered to your majesty, and prevailed with you for sending the aforementioned letter.

VII. The oppressions and quarterings still continued. The noblemen and gentry of those countries went to Edinburgh to represent to your council the heavy pressure, that they and their people lay under, and were ready to offer to them all, that in law or reason could be required of them, for securing the peace. The council did immediately, upon their appearing there, set forth a proclamation, requiring them to depart the town within three days, upon all highest pains; and, when the duke of Hamilton did petition for leave to stay two or three days longer, for some very urgent affairs, that was refused him.

VIII. When some persons of quality had declared to the duke of Lauderdale, that they would represent their condition to your majesty, if they could not have justice from your ministers, for preventing that, a proclamation was set forth, forbidding all the

subjects to depart the kingdom without licence, that so your majesty might not be acquainted with the said condition of your subjects, from making their applications to your majesty, no less contrary to your majesty's true interest (who must always be the refuge of your people) than to the natural right of the subject.

The former particulars relate to the invasion of the rights of great numbers of your subjects all at once: what follow have indeed only fallen on some single persons, yet are such, that your whole people apprehend, they may be all, upon the slightest occasions, brought under the like mischiefs.

1. The council hath, upon many occasions, proceeded to a new kind of punishment, of declaring men incapable of all publick trust; concerning which, your Majesty may remember what complaints the said duke made, when, during the earl of Middleton's administration, he himself was put under, and incapacitated by an act of parliament. The words of his paper against the earl of Middleton are [incapacitating] which was to whip with scorpions, a punishment to rob men of their honour, and to lay a lasting stain upon them and their posterity. And, if this was complained of, when done by the highest court of parliament, your Majesty may easily conclude, it cannot be done in any lower court; but yet, notwithstanding, it is become of late years an ordinary sentence in council, when the least complaints are brought against any, with whom the duke of Lauderdale and his brother are offended.

Instances of this are:

The declaring thirteen worthy citizens of Edinburgh incapable of publick trust, against whom no complaint was ever made to this day, as your Majesty will perceive by a paper more fully concerning that affair. The true cause of it was, that, those men being in the magistracy, the duke and his brother could not get a vast bribe from them out of the town's money, which was afterwards obtained, when they were removed.

The provosts of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Jedburgh were put under the same sentence for signing a letter to your Majesty, in the convention of the boroughs with the rest of that body; which letter was advised by him who is now your Majesty's advocate, as that which had nothing in it, which could bring them under any guilt; and yet those three were singled out of the whole number, and incapacitated, besides an high fine and a long imprisonment, as to your Majesty will more fully appear by another paper.

Sir Patrick Holme of Polworth, being sent by the shire of Berwick to complain of some illegal proceedings, and to obtain a legal remedy to them, which he did only in the common form of law, was also declared incapable of publick trust, besides many months imprisonment.

The provost of Linlythgo, being complained of for not furnishing some of your forces with baggage horses, was called before the council; and, because he said they were not bound in law to furnish

horses in such manner, he was immediately declared incapable of publick trust, and was both fined and imprisoned.

There are also fifty of the town of St. Johnston's incapacitated upon a very slight pretence, so that it is very impossible for them to find a sufficient number of citizens for the magistracy of that town.

2. Your subjects are sometimes upon slight, and sometimes upon no grounds imprisoned, and often kept prisoners many months and years, nothing being objected to them, and are required to enter themselves prisoners; which is contrary to law. It was in the former article expressed, that many of these person, declared incapable of publick trust, did also suffer imprisonment; and, besides these instances, lieutenant general Drummond, whose eminent loyalty and great services are well known to your Majesty, was required to enter himself a prisoner in the castle of Dumbarton; where he was kept one year and a half, and was made a close prisoner for nine months, and yet nothing was ever objected to him, to this day, to justify that usage.

The lord Cardross was, for his lady's keeping two conventicles in her own house, at which he was not present, fined one hundred and ten pounds, and hath now been kept prisoner four years in the castle of Edinburgh, where he still remains, although he hath often petitioned for his liberty; and sir Patrick Holme hath been now a second time almost one year, and nothing is yet laid to his charge.

Besides these illegal imprisonments, the officers of your Majesty's forces carry frequently warrants with them, for apprehending persons that are under no legal censure, nor have been so much as cited to appear; which hath put many of your subjects under great fears, especially, upon what was done in council three years ago: capt. Carstayres, a man now well enough known to your Majesty, did entrap one Kirkton, an outed minister, into his chamber at Edinburgh, and did violently abuse him; and designed to have extorted some money from him. The noise of this coming to the ears of one Baily, brother-in-law to the said Kirkton, he came to the house, and hearing him cry murder, murder! forced open the chamber door, where he found his brother-in-law and the captain grappling; the captain pretended to have a warrant against Kirkton, and Baily desired him to shew it, and promised, that all obedience should be given to it: but, the captain refusing to do it, Kirkton was rescued. This was only delivering a man from the hands of a robber, which nature obliged all men to do; especially, when joined with so near a relation. The captain complained of this to the council, and the lord Hatton, with others, were appointed to examine the witnesses: and, when it was brought before the council, the duke of Hamilton, earls of Moreton, Dumfries, and Kincarden; the lord Cocheren; and Sir Archibald Primrose, then lord register, desired, that the report of the examination might be read; but that, not serving their ends, was denied. And, thereupon, those lords delivered their opinion, that, since Carstayres did not shew any warrant, nor was clothed with any publick character, it was no opposing of your

Majesty's authority in Baily, so to rescue the said Kirkton; yet Baily was for this fined in six-thousand marks, and kept long a prisoner.

Those lords were, upon that, so represented to your Majesty, that, by the duke of Lauderdale's procurement, they were turned out of the council, and all command of the militia. And, it can be made appear, that the captain had, at that time, no warrant at all against Kirkton, but procured it after the violence committed; and it was antedated, on design to serve a turn at that time. This manner of proceeding hath, ever since, put your subjects under sad apprehensions.

There is one particular further offered to your Majesty's consideration, concerning their way of using prisoners.

There were fourteen men taken at a field conventicle, who, without being legally convicted of that, or any other crimes, were secretly, and in the night, taken out of prison, upon a warrant signed by the earl of Lynlythgo, and the lords Hatton and Collington, and were delivered to capt. Maitland, who had been page to the duke of Lauderdale, but was then a French Officer, and was making his levies in Scotland, and were carried over to the service of the French king, in the year 1676.

3. The council hath, upon many occasions, proceeded to most unreasonable and arbitrary fines, either for slight offences, or for offences where the fine is regulated by law, which they have never considered, when the persons were not acceptable to them. So the lord Cardross was fined in one-thousand one-hundred and eleven pounds, for his lady's keeping two conventicles in his house, and christening a child by an outed minister without his knowledge. The provost formerly mentioned, and Baily, with many more, were also fined without any regard to law.

The council hath, at several times, proceeded to the taking of gentlemen's dwelling houses from them, and putting garisons in them, which, in time of peace, is contrary to law. In the year 1675, it was designed against twelve of your Majesty's subjects, and was put in execution in the houses of the earl of Calender, the lord Cardross, the lady Lumsden, &c. and was again attempted in the year 1678, in the houses belonging to the lairds of Cosnok, Blagan, and Rowall, which were possessed by soldiers, and declared garisons. Nor did it rest there, but orders were sent from the council, requiring the countries about their houses, to furnish them for the soldiers' use, and to supply them with necessaries, much contrary to law. It was against this, that sir Patrick Holme came to desire a remedy; and, common justice being denied him, he used a legal protestation, in the ordinary form of law, and was, thereupon, kept for many months a prisoner, and declared incapable of all publick trust, &c.

There is another particular, which, because it is so odious, is unwillingly touched; yet it is necessary to inform your Majesty about it; for thereby it will appear, that the duke of Lauderdale, and his brother, have, in a most solemn manner, broken the publick faith, that was given in your Majesty's name.

One Mitchell being put in prison upon great suspicion of his having attempted to murder the late archbishop of St. Andrews, and there being no evidence against him, warrant was given by the duke of Lauderdale, then your Majesty's commissioner, and your council, to promise him his life, if he would confess; whereupon, he did confess; and yet, some years after that, that person, who, indeed, deserved many deaths, if there had been any other evidence against him, was, upon that confession, convicted of the crime, and the duke of Lauderdale, and his brother, being put to it by him, did swear, that they never gave, or knew of any assurance of life given him: and when it was objected, that the promise was upon record, in the council books, the duke of Lauderdale did, in open court, where he was presnt only as a witness, and so ought to have been silent, threaten them, if they should proceed to the examination of that act of council, which, as he then said, might infer perjury on them that swore; and so did cut off the proof of that defence, which had been admitted by the court, as good in law, and sufficient to save the prisoner, if proved. Thus was that man hanged upon that confession only, though the promise, that drew it from him, doth appear upon record, and can be proved by good and clear evidence. And from this your Majesty may judge, what credit may be given to such men.

We do not, at present, enlarge on other particulars, though of great importance; such as monopolies, selling places and honours, turning men of known integrity out of their employments, to which they had a good and just right during their lives: the profits of one of the most considerable of these being sequestered for some time, and applied for the duchess of Lauderdale's use: the treating about, and receiving of, great bribes by the duke and duchess of Lauderdale, and the lord Hatton, and particularly from the towns of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Lynlythgo, and many others, for procuring, from your Majesty, warrants for illegal impositions within these towns; the manifest and publick perverting of justice in the session; besides, the most signal abuses of the mint and copper coin, that are most grievous to all your subjects. But the number of these is so great, and they will require so many witnesses to be brought hither for proving them, that we fear it would too much trouble your Majesty now to examine them all; but your Majesty shall have a full account of them afterwards.

One thing is humbly offered to your Majesty, as the root of these and many other oppressions, which is, that the method of governing that kingdom for several years hath been, that the lord Hatton and his adherents frame any letter that they desire from your Majesty to your council, and send it to the duke of Lauderdale, who returns it signed; and this is brought to the council; upon which, if at any time a debate ariseth concerning the matter of that letter, as being against, or with law; and when it is proposed, that a representation of that should be made to your Majesty; then the lord Hatton, in his insolent way, calls to have it put to the question, as if it were a crime to have any warrant either debated or

general words which comprehend both, as whoredom, uncleanness, and the like. But there are likewise particular words, which distinguish the particular species of these from one another; and you have these reckoned up distinctly, Gal. v. 19, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness. And the words adultery and fornication are as much distinguished in the Greek as in the English; μοιχεία is adultery, and πορνεία is fornication. And this poor and false criticism is sufficient to carry those, who have strong inclinations, to the hazard of their souls, against the received and current testimony of the whole world; whereas they would not venture a penny against a crown, were there half that odds against them.

Let me next recollect to you the arguments they brought for their pretended opinion from reason. I call it pretended opinion, because, though men endeavour to amuse themselves, that they be not stopped in the hot pursuit of their lusts, yet I cannot believe, that, in cool thoughts, any, who has ever learned the first principles of christianity, can persuade himself (especially upon a sick-bed) that any fornication and uncleanness can be allowed in the gospel, which requires the utmost purity, not only of the eye, but of the heart. However, let us hear their reasons. They urge from justice, that there is no wrong to any third person, where both the parties are single.

But this argument will have no effect, unless they can annul the commands of God, which forbid it: because we are bound, and that in the strictest justice, to obey God's commands, even in things which are indifferent in their own nature. It was death to neglect circumcision, and other legal institutions. God sought to kill Moses himself, for neglecting to circumcise his son, Exod. iv. 24.

2. The argument is false, that there is no wrong done to any third person in fornication: for it is a great wrong to the parents, relations, and whole family. Let any man judge of this, by the resentment he would have against any who should debauch his mother, daughter, or sister, and against them so debauched.

3. If there was no wrong to any other, yet, if it be a sin, it is the greatest wrong to the person and themselves, to damn their souls. And it is the highest injustice, as to this world; it ruins their reputation, and this, especially in women, is not only a shame (if they should be content to bear with that) but it is a real loss, and hindrance of their fortunes: and, though it should not be known, it is a great injustice to the man who shall marry such a woman. If any man think little of this, let them consider how they would take it to marry another man's whore; and let them do as they would be done to. But there is yet a greater injustice, and that is, to the person herself; for she, that is once debauched, is laid open to the temptations of others; and, when forsaken by her first lover, seldom returns to her virgin modesty, but seeks out, or is found by some other; and often goes on to common prostitution; all which is, in justice, chargeable upon her first corrupter. And if, as many believe, the reason, why Dives desired the conversion of his brethren, was not

charity to their souls (for that is not found in hell), but because his punishments were increased to the same degree that his evil example did spread upon earth, by which we must suppose his brethren and nearest acquaintance to be chiefly infected, this will be a terrible consideration to those who do corrupt others.

What I have said, as to fornication, that is betwixt two single persons, will operate more strongly against that new notion of adultery which you heard advanced, viz. That *adulterium* is *quasi, ad alterius thorum*, i. e. to go to another's bed; and therefore that, betwixt a single and a married person, it is adultery only in the single person, who invades the bed of another.

But this poor quibble, upon the Latin word, *adulterium*, is lost in the Greek original of the text, μοιχεία. But, as to the reason of the thing, if the single person invades, the married does defile and betray the bed of another; and moreover adds the breach of the solemn vow to God, which is enacted in the office of matrimony. Besides, if one be guilty, both must; because it is a sin to be accessary to the sin of another.

Wretched are these shifts, which men, bent to their own destruction, have found out to delude themselves! but they will stand them in no stead at the bar of the great tribunal; no nor qualify their desponding consciences upon their death-bed; upon which men have a notion of sinful pleasures, when they are to be for ever separated from them, very different from that which they had, while they were in the pursuit of them; and those arguments, which then appeared favourable to the gratification of their lusts, will now be seen in their true colours, to be nothing but deceit and fatal delusion; like promises which are said to be made to witches by their familiars, which are not discovered, till their death, to have a double meaning; a false one to delude them with hopes while they lived; but the true one always verified in their destruction, when it is too late to prevent it.

When men sin out of human infirmity, there is a sting of conscience always remains; which, by the blessing of God, may some time or other reclaim them; though it is the most extreme danger and madness, to go on in our sins trusting to this; for, when habits are grown strong, it is the utmost difficulty to return from them. 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil,' Jer. xiii. 23.

But some, to get rid of that terrible monitor, a wounded conscience (when they are resolved not to part with their vices) do study and greedily catch at arguments, to alter the nature of their sin (which cannot be altered) and so come at last to persuade themselves that they are persuaded of the lawfulness, at least tolerableness of a darling sin; which therefore they indulge, if not without all reluctance, yet with less than they had before; and therefore think this a happy conquest.

But alas! it is a miserable one over themselves; and their condition then is most desperate, for this is a corrupting of their principles; and there is no repenting or returning from that sin, which

they think not to be a sin, or can find excuses for it, such as, for the present, shall satisfy them; at least stop the mouth of a clamorous conscience. Balaam sought such an excuse, and he found it; and 'he that seeks shall find' in this wicked sense, as well as in the contrary sense of which our Saviour spoke it.

And now let me reason a little with you upon the merits of this cause. God is a spirit, and therefore spirit is more real, more substantial than body; and the true pleasure is indeed but spiritual, in that low degree, by which our spirit or soul partakes of pleasure by the mediation of the body; or the body only by the powers of the soul, which enliven and actuate it; and from which it receives its sensation; and therefore, when our soul is gone, the body is no longer sensible either of pleasure or pain; because the soul acts no more by it. But those pure souls, which act without the incumbrance of bodies, have a perception much more quick and delicate, than can be conveyed by such gross and elementary bodies, as ours are rendered since the fall. And therefore the happiness, which is laid up for us, is to be freed from the dull and terrestrial bodies; and to have spirutual bodies given to us, fashioned like unto Christ's glorious body. This is our utmost happinesa, and thither all our endeavours should tend. And this is the great end of our religion, to wean us from the body; to fit and prepare us for the spiritual state; for we must be, in some sort, made like unto it before we enter into it; and that is to be done, while we are in this life. Now, of all sins, those of the flesh are the most opposite to the spiritual enjoyment, and therefore the flesh is to be kept under, even in our lawful allowances; we may sin by excess in them; how much less then are forbidden pleasures to be allowed of? For all these do proceed from an inordinate affection; which of itself is a sin. Therefore, taking this matter from the bottom, you see the reason of the severe prohibitions against the sins of the flesh; they are utterly inconsistent with a spiritual estate; they do, the most of all other sins, incapacitate us from the spiritual delight; they put us into a frame quite opposite to it; and that is, to God, whom the pure hearts and minds do only see (Matth. v. 8.) for he is spiritually discerned. Therefore it is said, Gal. v. 17. 'That the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other. And 1 Pet. ii. 11. Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul.' Observe they war against the soul; and the reason why we should subdue them is, because we are strangers and pilgrims, that is, in this world; our rest, our enjoyment, is not here; but we are ordained to be made partakers of the divine nature, but this shall be only to those who have escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust, 2 Pet. i. 4. That is, either those who have not been guilty of it; or who have sincerely repented, and returned from it; as Mary Magdalen, out of whom Christ cast seven devils, Mar. xvi. 9. There are evil spirits (believe it) which possess those who give themselves up to uncleanness; and these must be dispossessed before the

holy spirit of God will enter; which will never descend to a foul and polluted soul. This is the great argument used, 1 Cor. vi. That 'our bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost; and chap. iii. 17. If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy. We are members of Christ, shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot?' This consideration is dreadful! 'The body is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body.' Here is great honour given to our bodies; the Lord has reserved them for himself, and himself for them. This is a great mystery, and should strike us with astonishment! And from hence it may be argued, that, when we abuse our bodies, we commit adultery even against God; who is married to us, Jer. iii. 14. And, to shew the hatefulness of this sin, idolatry is all along through the prophets called going a whoring from the Lord, committing adultery against him. And, as this is most provoking to God, so it comes nearest to ourselves, it affects us most of any other sin. 'Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he, that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body.' It is like putting hand on one's self, assaulting of our own bodies. And God hath punished this sin severely, in Sampson, in David, in Solomon; the greatest, the wisest, the bravest of men. It was this sin of lust, for which the world was drowned, Sodom burned, and the Canaanites utterly destroyed, Lev. xviii. 27. God hath poured greater vengeance upon no sort of sin. Many late examples might be given. King James I. in his Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον to prince Henry, particularly observes that this sin is often punished with want of lawful issue, or the death of those we have; and he gives his grandfather king James V. for an instance, who was much subject to incontinency, and lost both his sons most unfortunately, and left his crown to an infant daughter. And, on the other hand, he observes how God had blessed himself with a greater gift of continency, and a numerous issue. As he did in both respects to his son king Charles I. But king Charles II. had no lawful issue; and his unlawful was a grief of heart to him, joining with the seditious party against him. How many noble families in England might be brought as instances, to confirm this observation, whose honours are fallen, or gone into collateral families, for want of lawful heirs, from the most remarkable corrupters of the marriage bed? But I will not take up time in this. I refer you, for the heinousness of this sin, and God's punishments upon it, to the Homily against adultery, and The whole duty of man, upon this head.

I shall only observe, that there is a kind of evil spirits, as our Saviour tells us, which will not be got out but by prayer and fasting; and certainly this of lust is one of that kind. For, while we pamper our body to that degree, that it is grievous to us to deny it a meal of meat; when shall we subdue it, and bring it under, that it may serve us, but not master us; not overcome our reason, to lay aside the care of the soul, which is eternal, to gratify its beastly desires, which are but for a moment? But the guilt never dies, tho' the body be laid in the dust. How foolish then, how dreadful, how

sottish is it to neglect the eternal welfare both of soul and body, for nothing else but to give the body a little swing now after childish and transitory follies! And how reasonable is it, how manly, how Christian, to keep it under a fit discipline; to feed, but not to pamper it; not to destroy it, but to hinder it from destroying itself, and us, that is, our soul with it! 'Whoredom, and wine, and new wine take away the heart,' Hos. iv. 11. they incapacitate it from serious consideration, or any business that requires thought, though even of this world; how much more then of spiritual things! These are so opposite, that they cannot come into the same mind together.

And if a man would be justly laughed at, and despised, who could not leave his whore, or his bottle, to save his estate, or any worldly matter of great moment; or to serve his friend, in a point of honour: if the pleasures of the body must be sacrificed to such considerations as these; is it then so monstrously unreasonable that they should give place, but a little, to matters of eternal moment! If we venture the health of our bodies, to sit up whole nights upon business; or it may be goodfellowship, cards, or dice; reading plays, or a romance; with what face can we pretend our health, as an excuse against watching one night, or but part of one, in divine exercises, to trim our lamps, and fit us for the coming of the Lord! No, then we cannot keep our eyes from closing; and we grow sick, that is, weary of that employment. And the reason is, sensuality takes away the relish for divine things; which cannot be apprehended but by a strong and settled thought: and, of all things, sensuality does most weaken the mind, enervates, and takes all strength from it. 'How weak is thine heart, saith the Lord God, seeing thou dost all these things, the work of an imperious whorish woman?' Ezek. xvi. 30. See a further description of this, Prov. vii. And then read an account of that which is opposite to it, the true wisdom, in the viiith chapter. St. Paul said, 1 Cor. ix. 27. 'I run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast away.' You see, he esteems it but an uncertain fighting, and beating of the air, to use all other exercises of religion, if we add not that of mortifying the body; and that, without this, he himself, notwithstanding of his great labours in preaching, his travels and persecutions, would be in danger of being a cast away. And if he needed it, who can excuse himself? He, who was, (one would think) in a continued state of mortification: For, 'even unto this present hour (says he, 1 Cor. iv. 11.) we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands', &c. And yet to hear men excuse themselves, from fasting one day in a week, who live in plenty and ease; if that was all; but who plead the vigour of their body, and strength of their constitution, as an excuse for gratifying their lusts; which, by these means, grow too strong for them! and therefore there is no hopes of per-

suading any man by reason, to forsake his lusts, unless he will first consent to mortify his body. The least measure can be advised are all the fasts of the church; and let each man's zeal add to these, as he sees cause. Without this, your lusts will never give you leave to be heard; but keep you in perpetual hurry, and want of thought. This is the deaf adder that stoppeth your ears, and her own, against the voice of the charmer. It is not words will do it; this is a more stubborn devil. We must set too our whole strength, and all our application, and fast, and pray, and beg God's assistance; we fight for our souls! we must not do it indifferently; and we must not be discouraged, if we do not presently prevail. God may think fit to try us, and to shew us the danger, we were in, and the bitterness of sin, by the difficulty of returning from it, and overcoming long habits; and to let us see our own weakness, that we have no power of ourselves, to help ourselves; and thence to teach us to put our whole trust in him; and apply diligently unto him, by earnest prayer, and a careful attendance upon all his holy ordinances: And then he will not fail us; we shall presently perceive that we have gained ground of our enemy, and we shall overcome in the end. We have gone a great length, when we are brought seriously to reckon our lust as our enemy: for then we shall begin to stand upon our guard against it; and never till then can we deny it any thing, but follow its impetuosity, as a horse rusheth to the battle; and violently pursue our own destruction; and nothing can stop us, but a stronger than this strong man; an higher relish of divine than of sensual things: till when, sensual things must prevail: and this true knowledge of heavenly pleasure is obtained in fasting and retirement. Then it is that God works with us, when we are at leisure to hear him; and shall we deny him such an opportunity?

All this may seem an excursion, and leaving of the argument; but it is not. Their arguments for this sin are easily answered; and I have, in few words, answered them, for more needed not; but that which they most want is to be stirred up, and shaken out of their lethargy. If once they come to consider, their conversion is half effected; towards which, I can only add my prayers to what I have said in the small compass to which I confine myself. And I will now go on to consider the other point, which you heard discoursed of, that is, polygamy.

This is bottomed upon the same loose principles as the other; to give the range to our lusts, and let them endure no limits. But it has more pretence than the other; because God did dispense with it, as with arbitrary divorces, in many ages of the world. But our blessed Saviour reduces both back again to the original institution, Matth. xix. from verse 3, to the 10th. 'From the beginning (says he) it was not so.' How was it then? God at the beginning made only one male, and one female. And, 'for this cause, a man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.' They twain, here, were but two; this was the original institution; and this is applied to the mystical

marriage betwixt Christ and his church; even as to the number two, and no more. Eph. v. 31, 32. 'They two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church.' This parallel is made up by two, being joined in one; but not in one being joined to many; it can hardly be said to be one with many. There is a rivalship of the many to that one, and there is a dispersion of the love of the one among many; and they cannot all partake of the one alike. This is no perfect union; like the union of one and one, which is a full perfect union; and a true emblem of the union betwixt Christ and the Church: 'My love, my undefiled is but one,' Cant. vi. 9.

The first who broke in upon the original constitution was Lamech, of the posterity of Cain, who took two wives, Gen. iv. 19. But we find not that it prevailed in the posterity of Seth; for, at the flood, Noah, and his three sons, had but each of them one wife, who made up the eight persons in the ark.

And even when polygamy was most in use, it was thought, though (in strictness) lawful, because then dispensed with, yet an imperfect, a miserable, and inconvenient state. Therefore Laban adjures Jacob thus, Gen. xxxi. 50. 'If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, ——— God is witness,' &c. And Lev. xviii. 18. It is written, 'Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister, or, as our margent reads it, One wife to another.' This was a more perfect state, though the other, 'for the hardness of their hearts,' was dispensed with, till Christ came to restore all things, who gives a plain rule, Mark x. 11. against polygamy, when he made it adultery to put away one wife, and marry another. For, if polygamy be lawful, how comes it to be adultery to marry another wife, whether he put away the first or not? To put away a wife unjustly, is a crime; but it is not adultery; the adultery is the marrying of another, while the first wife is alive.

'Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband,' 1 Cor. vii. 2. and the reason given for it, ver. 2, 3, and 5, is only applicable to monogamy. If it be said, that that was for the time to come; but did it dissolve the polygamies before contracted? I suppose not; so that, if a man, who had several wives, were converted to the Christian religion, it did not divorce from them all, or from all of them but one; but that he might keep those wives which he married before his conversion; yet such a man should not be preferred to any office in the ministerial function, and this I take to be no improbable construction of those commands, 1 Tim. iii. 2. and 12, that 'bishops and deacons must be the husbands of one wife,' that is, though polygamy did not incapacitate a man to become a Christian, yet it did to be a clergyman; at least it was so thought expedient by the apostle.

And from the apostles times, to this day, there is no one doctrine of Christianity, which has descended by a more universal consent, and uninterrupted tradition, than this of monogamy, polygamy having never been allowed in any Christian church or nation: and yet

against the doctrine of Christ, as understood and practised by the apostles, and the church of that age, and all the ages since, our thin beaux would oppose their little criticisms; and cover themselves with cobwebs; who one day, if they repent not, will call to the hills and mountains to fall upon them, and hide them from their judge, and their guilt. 'Who now, being past feeling, have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness. But ye have not so learned of Christ, Eph iv. 19. For, chap. v. 5, this ye know, that no whoremonger (πόρνος it is, not only μοιχὸς adulterer) nor unclean person hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ, and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.'

THE PARABLE OF THE THREE JACKDAWS, &c.

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THERE was a time when the feathered commonwealth fell into great disorder, about chusing a successor to the eagle, whose advanced years portended the fall of his scepter; and the disputes, which happened amongst the several pretenders, did mightily perplex the kingdom of birds, who were in doubt, whether the eagle had any genuine offspring. The magpies, who had an inveterate malice against the black-birds, and nightingales, because they were better liked than themselves, on the account of their harmonious notes, and innocent nature, improved the opportunity, to make interest with the jackdaws and cuckows, to settle the succession on a noted bird, which was reckoned brother to the eagle, because hatched in the same nest; but a mortal enemy to the nightingales, and black-birds, and accused of a confederacy with the storks and kites, to betray the winged nation to the birds of prey. The magpies were frequently told of this, and remonstrances were entered against their proceedings, as destructive to the whole volatile empire; but they turned the deaf ear to every thing, that was said to them; for being used to feed upon carrion, they delighted in slaughter. In process of time, the eagle died, and his brother, the friend to the magpies, succeeded. As soon as he mounted the throne, the magpies chattered for joy, the jackdaws cawed, and the cuckows made protestations of loyalty in their usual note; but he was scarcely seated on the throne, when the region of the air was filled with birds of prey; the screech-owls began to quarrel with the jackdaws, and the cormorants pretended a right to the nests of the mag-

pies. In the mean time, though they could not agree amongst themselves, yet all of them united against the nightingales and black-birds, who, by this means, were forced to retire to the solitary groves, where they chirped and warbled out their own misfortunes. The affairs of the winged empire being in this posture, a generous falcon, as he was called by some, or the true offspring of the eagle, as reckoned by others, being moved with compassion, towards the injured birds, attempted their relief; but the magpies and jackdaws, with their adherents, the cuckows, where so much incensed against the generous falcon, because of his favourable inclinations to the nightingales and black-birds, that they summoned together their friends, the rooks, and joining with the storks and kites, oppressed the poor falcon, with his small retinue; and having barbarously destroyed them, the eagle's brother looked upon his throne, as surer than ever; and the magpies, jackdaws, and cuckows, concluding that they had insured his favour, by this new merit, pressed on to destroy the black-birds, and nightingales. But all of a sudden, when they thought themselves secure, the night-owls and cormorants, with the storks and kites, their adherents, having been a long time dispossessed of their nests, by the magpies and jackdaws, and their followers, the rooks and cuckows, resolved to come to a trial of skill with them, upon which the magpies came to have some remorse for their barbarous treatment of the innocent black-birds; and, abating something of the usual harshness of their note, began to call, 'mag, mag, poor mag: a cup of sack for poor fainting mag;' and the jackdaws cawed to the black-birds, in a milder note than before, bewailed their former severity, and invited the nightingales and black-birds, to join with them, against the kites, cormorants, and screech-owls. The eagle's brother, being afraid of the consequences of such an union, came also to a parley with the black-birds and nightingales, and offered them fair quarter, provided they would concur towards the procuring of an authentick act, at the general dyet of the winged empire, to secure his followers in the possession of their nests, for all time coming; the amazed black-birds, being surprised with this mighty change, and having been wretchedly torn by the talons of both parties, knew not whom to trust; but the eagle's brother being possessed of the throne, decency obliged them to make civil replies; but some of the bats, which frequented the company of the black-birds, engaged too far with the cormorant interest, and by this time both parties owned the possessor of the throne, for a true eagle. Having gained his point so far, he resolved to push on his fortune, and being provoked with the behaviour of the magpies, he designed to put their pretensions of loyalty to the touch-stone, and commanded them to publish his imperial edict, giving liberty to all the subjects of the airy regions, to warble out the praises of their great creator, in such notes as nature had furnished them with; it being highly unreasonable to say, that the canary-bird was no bird, because she could not croak like the raven, or that the nightingale was no subject of the winged empire, because she could not chatter like the magpy.

The magpies and jackdaws were thunder-struck, at the hearing of this unlooked-for command, and most of them did sullenly refuse it; yet some of the magpies and the swallows, which nestled about the altars, thought fit to comply; but the metropolitan magpy, and six of the rest, did positively refuse to obey the eagle, who did thereupon commit them to his imperial prison. Then nothing was to be heard, but, 'alas poor mag, a cup of sack for mag;' and on the other hand, the cormorants and kites cried, 'a rope for mag, mag, mag, a halter for mag;' and the black-birds and nightingales, though they were something concerned at the misfortune of the magpies, yet could not but say, that mag was served according to her deserts; but the jackdaws and cuckows, with their allies, the rooks, did so much disturb the eagle's quiet, with their cawing and croaking, that he released the magpies, but pursued his design, of establishing a tyranny in the regions of the air; and, in order to accomplish his design, did enter into a confederacy with the vulture, resolved to disinherit the generous she eagle, of his own race, and to impose a counterfeit he eagle upon the nation of birds; which did so much provoke the feathered commonwealth, that they agreed, with the assistance of a genuine eagle, of the true imperial nest, who had the generous she eagle, abovementioned, to his mate, to curb the tyrannical eagle, and prevent his imposing an ostrich instead of an eagle upon the winged empire. Many of the magpies and jackdaws, with all the black-birds and nightingales, joined in the invitation to the young eagle, who taking his flight from beyond sea, did happily alight, in the imperial grove; and being joined with a promiscuous flock of black-birds, jackdaws, nightingales, and some rooks, put the kites, cormorants, and old eagle to flight; who, after he had roosted awhile in his imperial nest, abandoned the same, and fled beyond sea, with the ostrich his mate, and the counterfeit eagle, her supposed son, to the vulture's grove.

The eagle having thus taken his flight, the magpies began to relent, and to wish that things had not come to that extremity; for the jackdaws and they became now apprehensive, that they were in as much danger of losing their nests, by the black-birds and nightingales, as they had formerly been by the kites and cormorants, because the young eagle, who came from beyond sea, was judged to have a mighty kindness for the black-birds and nightingales, and his mate, the generous she eagle, had no aversion to them; and thus it came to pass, that the metropolitical magpy, who had been the ringleader of those who opposed the old eagle, and invited the young one to his nest, began to grow sullen, and his example infecting the rest of the mags, the faction was divided amongst themselves; so that some of the magpies and jackdaws, were for acknowledging the young eagle as sovereign of the birds, and others, chattering still upon the abdicated theme of passive obedience, alledged that the old eagle had injury done him, and did all that they could to obstruct the progress of the young eagle's affairs; and, having, by the interest of the magpies, who owned his title, got an influence on his councils, they advised him to disband the black-

birds and nightingales, who had flocked to him at his first coming over, and to govern his affairs, by the advice of the magpies and jackdaws; and, by this method, they got his court and his camp filled with rooks, who did still retain a very great kindness for the old eagle, and their ancient cronies, the cormorants and kites, and did them kindly offices, as opportunity offered.

In the mean time, the nightingales and black-birds of the eagle's ancient grove, had been so terribly infested by the magpies, jackdaws, and rooks, and so mischievously torn by the talons of the kites and cormorants, their allies, that they looked upon the magpies as harpies; and, in a general dyet of the birds, held for that grove, voted, that the magpies, and their underlings, the jackdaws, were the great and insupportable grievance of the winged empire, and, with one consent, dislodged them of their nests; so that the mags and jacks hopped away, in great numbers, to the neighbouring grove, chattered nothing, but passive obedience, and non-resistance, and the injury done to the old eagle, which strengthened the faction of the southern magpies, and made the young eagle very uneasy in his nest; whence it came to pass, that the magpy faction procured a rebellion in the northern grove, under the conduct of a mischievous rook, who, being joined by a rabble of the jackdaws, kites, cormorants, and solan geese, gave the young eagle's followers, in that grove, a considerable check; but, the mischievous rook being pecked to death in the scuffle, the rebellion was appeased there; but the northern jackdaws and solan geese, with the abdicated harpies, filled the southern grove with their querulous notes, that nothing was to be heard, but, alas! poor mag, mag, mag, is put out of her nest in the north, and must expect the same treatment in the south, except the old eagle be recalled. Whereupon that tyrannous bird, conceiving good hopes of his affairs, did, by the assistance of the vulture, who lent him some bands of storks, kites, and rooks, take his flight to St. Patrick's grove, where, being joined by some cormorants, and the native woodcocks, he quickly overspread the whole grove, excepting some small part of it, where a colony of their northern birds had fixed their nests, who made such a stout resistance against the tyrant eagle, and his birds of prey, that the fame thereof ecchoed through the regions of the air; but the southern magpies and jackdaws, being influenced by the northern harpies, and solan geese, obstructed the relief of the black-birds of St. Patrick's grove so long, that they were well nigh undone, and the first relief they had sent them, being under the conduct of a villainous rook, he was little less noisome to the black-birds, than the kites and cormorants; so that the young eagle was obliged to fly thither in person, and, not long after his arrival, he gave the tyrant eagle, and his followers, such a terrible overthrow, by a purling brook, that the old one fled from St. Patrick's grove, and betook himself again to the vulture's quarters, whilst the colonies of the northern black-birds and nightingales did, with inimitable courage, subdue the woodcocks, and the young eagle's followers

dislodged the vultures and cormorants from their nests, so that, in a little time, St. Patrick's grove was intirely recovered.

The vulture, by whose counsels the abdicated eagle had, all along, governed himself, perceiving that he was now quite driven from his nest, resolved to attack the Flemish coppice, which had formerly been the residence of the young eagle; which obliged the generous bird to repair beyond sea, for the defence of his ancient friends; but, though he acted wonders, yet his counsels were betrayed by the friends of the mags and the daws, and, his troops being chiefly commanded by rooks, the birds of his retinue met with several disasters, and, at the same time, the kites, and cormorants, and seditious mags, did all, that they could, to disturb the repose of the generous she eagle his mate, whom they would fain have destroyed in his absence; but the faithful magpies, and moderate jackdaws, with the black-birds and nightingales, did unite so cordially for her defence, that their designs were disappointed. Thus was the generous young eagle perplexed by vultures, storks, and cormorants abroad, and treacherous magpies, jackdaws, and rooks at home, and chiefly, because they were apprehensive of being outed by the black-birds; who, whatever privileges they had acquired in the north, they said, they must content themselves to build nests, in the eves of houses, in the south, where the churches were the proper habitation of the magpies and jackdaws. Nor would they suffer the nightingales and the falcons, to have any command in the winged army, that being the property of the kites and rooks, because they did annually swear allegiance to the magpies and jackdaws, at the altars, which the falcons and nightingales would never do.

In the mean time, the generous she eagle died, which did so much grieve her faithful mate, that the kingdom of birds had well nigh lost both their sovereigns at once. However, he generously plucked up his courage, and, considering that he was born for empire, did scorn to be conquered by passion: and, therefore, resolved, that as he had defeated the maws and the gulls, belonging to the vulture by sea, he would have a trial of valour with him by land, notwithstanding his alliance with the overgrown raven of the east; so that, taking another flight into the continent, he dislodged the vulture from one of his chief nests, who, thereupon, became so much afraid of the young eagle's talons, that he durst not adventure on a fair war with him any more, but resolved to suborn some night owls, buzzards, kites, cormorants, and cuckows, to assassinate the generous eagle in the dark; which he had attempted several times before, but laid the design so craftily now, that he was sure it could not miscarry. And, this taking effect, he designed to have destroyed the black-birds and nightingales, with the faithful magpies, and moderate jackdaws, and all the other loyal birds in St. George's, St. Andrew's, and St. Patrick's groves, and to have possessed them for ever, with vultures, kites, storks, wrens, rooks, cormorants, and magpies, and jackdaws of his own stamp. However, this conspiracy being happily discovered by

the parrots, many of the owls, buzzards, and cormorants, who were employed to assassinate the young eagle, were taken, and some of them suffered death, according to the laws of the feathered kingdom; three cormorants first, and, a little after, a cuckow, who being drawn in by the treacherous magpies and jackdaws, three of the latter attended them to the place of their exit; and, cawing to them in the old note of passive obedience, deluded the poor cuckows, and telling them, that, by vertue of the authority which they had acquired, by a long possession of the steeples, where no black-bird had any right to come, they were constituted lawful priests of the winged empire, and, therefore, absolved them from the false imputation of guilt, for endeavouring to cut the young eagle's throat, for he was none of the birds of Jupiter's nest; and, though the beetle had unluckily broke all the old eagle's eggs, which were procreated betwixt him and the Italian ostrich, yet there was a time coming, when they would find a safe repository, if not in Jove's, yet in St. Peter's lap, and oblige the pretended eagle, who was no other than a Geneva bird, hatched among the shells, which one of the Roman emperors gathered together, as a mark of triumph, on the Dutch coast, to retire to the banks of lake Leman; in the faith of which, the two silly cuckows did chearfully swallow their hempseed, and crying, Cuckow, Cuckow, the jackdaws answered, Caw, Caw, Caw, and then the cuckows were choaked; at which the loyal birds were so much incensed, that they have shut up two of the jackdaws in a cage, and are hunting after the other, which is fled; so that, in a little time, we may hap to see these jackdaws follow the fate of the cuckows, while all the winged empire, from the imperial eagle to the wren, are associated to defend the generous young eagle, as a true bird of the imperial nest, against the vulture of the west, the overgrown raven of the east, the traiterous magpies, jackdaws, storks, kites, rooks, ravens, and cormorants, and the larks, nightingales, and black-birds, do daily, with their harmonious notes, celebrate Jupiter's praises, for preserving his beloved eagle.

ENGLAND'S CALAMITIES * DISCOVERED:

WITH THE PROPER REMEDY TO RESTORE HER ANCIENT GRANDEUR AND POLICY.

Humbly presented by James Whiston.

What Captain and Mariners, when they find the Ship driven by a violent Hurricane amongst the Rocks, full of Leaks, and much disabled, will be so obstinately insensible of the Consequence of such fatal Circumstances, as not to use their own, and embrace the good Endeavours of others, for their Preservation? The only Means of Hope left, whereby themselves and Ship may at last be conducted into a safe Harbour. London, printed for the Author, and are to be sold by Joseph Fox in Westminster-Hall, R. Clavel at the Peacock in Fleet-Street, and T. Minton at the Anchor under the Royal-Exchange, 1696. Quarto, containing forty pages.

IT is not unknown to the world, what a difficult task is here undertaken; and we may, without pretence to the gift of prophecy, foretel how many, and what sort of enemies, an honest man is to grapple with, in defence of this one useful and unquestioned principle, viz.

That every happy government must be supported by just means; and that state which has been so far mistaken in its politicks, as to practise a contrary method, has always drawn upon itself its own ruin and destruction.

And, upon this observation, it has been granted in all ages, that a throne, that would flourish, must be established in righteousness; but we never heard of any that has been long supported by iniquity: for iniquity itself must be obliged to justice; or, at least, to those that fill the seats of justice, for its support and maintenance. And, where the execution of this fails, all combinations or societies of men, however formed, naturally fall into disorder and dissolution.

Now, since neither the apprehension of enemies, the power or malice of men, who have by any means wriggled themselves into the pretended service of the government, nor the difficulty of the undertaking, which is to beget in mankind a belief of such truths and qualities, as this corrupt age has hardly virtue enough to put in practice, ought to deter a true Englishman from laying open, as occasion serves, those mischiefs and miscarriages, which, if not timely prevented, will overwhelm us: I thought it an indispensable duty, to give these fresh testimonies of love to my country, and allegiance to king William, by rendering both inexcusable; when

* Vide the 361st article in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

the consequential miseries of the abuses, and corruptions here complained of, shall have reduced us to a too late repentance.

A chief means for the preservation of a state or government in good order is, that particular care be taken, not to stifle and discountenance, but admit and cherish the just impeachments, and reasonable accusations, which are the unquestionable right of the subject against those, who, being byassed by ambition, avarice, or pride, shall either contrary to law, or by elusion, and corrupt practice of the law, seek to invade and destroy their liberties, properties, and native rights.

The want of a due and impartial administration of justice, in this particular, has been the grand cause of all the cruelty, oppression, and extortion that have so often interrupted the publick peace, and now hang over the nation, as a severe judgment.

I would not be misunderstood, as if I intended to fill the kingdom with perpetual clamours and informations, and designed to open a wide door of access for every little whiffler to alarm the magistrate's quiet, with petty vexatious complaints, and malicious suggestions. I abhor that sort of cattle, and the indulging them, as much as any man alive. But it is unjust in itself, and of fatal consequence to a government, to reproach and stigmatise every honest man, with the scandal of a common informer, who, out of a true sense of his duty, and an unbyassed zeal for his king and country, shall endeavour to detect the wicked practices of such, who, by corruptly abusing the honourable employments they are intrusted with, directly strike at the life and happiness of both. I say such informations as these ought to be assisted with the encouragement of the magistrate; especially if the complaints are grounded upon reasonable evidence, or even upon probable suspicion: except they will tell us they have made such good provision before-hand, to supply the executive part of the government with honest and able officers, that it is morally impossible for a man in office, to act against his conscience, or betray his trust for money. This would be good news indeed, and at once discharge the people of their complaints and fears, and ease his majesty of the greatest part of his care and danger.

But alas! our present circumstances afford us apparent reasons to believe the contrary; and the evils and disasters, that have continually attended us, take away the very pretence, or umbrage of any excuse whatever. This is too visible to be denied, when the disposal of trust and power, in too many places in the government is set to sale to the highest bidder; or, what is as bad, bestowed upon favourites, or private minions, though never so unqualified; many offices being only to be obtained by money: which infamous practice intails these two fatal calamities upon the nation, the very source and spring of unavoidable mischief and disorder: for, by this means, many persons, utterly incapable of discharging the duty of the employments they hold, by vertue of a strong purse, though never so weak capacity, are admitted into such part of the publick administration, where this ignorance and inability render

them wholly unserviceable, and consequently trust notoriously mismanaged, to the government's irreparable prejudice.

And, though we will suppose some purchaser to be fitly qualified, and of honest principles, yet, by reason of this heavy fine for his admission, he lies under the daily temptation of stretching the duty of his office, in raising his fees to re-advance his purchase money. By which means, too many places, wherein the honour of the trust, with a moderate salary, would otherwise be an ample gratification, are now become a perfect mart of usury and interest; with this farther inconvenience, that all the sub-ministers and inferior officers lying under their master's circumstances, being wholly swayed by lucre and profit, are likewise exposed to the very same temptations in their lower class of trust. And what is still more calamitous, their misdemeanors and faults must be but very slenderly inspected, or, at best, but mildly punished, lest otherwise you strike at the offender's farm, I may see his fee-simple, his downright purchase and penny-worth.

This is deflouring the virgin purity of justice, checking and curbing her in the noblest exercises of her dominion, and administering a plausible colour for defending injustice, bribery, extortion, and oppression. But to double and treble the value, to manage them for the best advantage to the seller, and put him upon the rack of improvement too; what is it but to bespeak the unfittest men, either through want of honesty or experience, that can be met with to manage those affairs and places, in which justice and reason require the most upright and judicious persons?

But that the deformity, as well as iniquity of such an abominable practice, may become more odious, by being made more visible and conspicuous, though there are too many other grievances in the nation to be lamented, for brevity sake, we shall make some particular remarks, and commence our reflexions from the honourable city of London, the grand pattern, by whose measures smaller corporations are apt to make their precedents.

Inexpressible are the daily complaints and mischiefs, that arise through the excessive straining and advancing the exorbitant fees of counsellors, attornies, clerks, serjeants, gaolers, and other officers in this city, by reason of the too frequent, malicious, and impertinent actions, and general corruption among them: occasioned chiefly by their being forced to buy their places with money, without regard to merit: for never any man came into an office by the mediation of his gold, but he was compelled to exercise his authority wickedly. He that buys must sell, or he loses by the bargain; which makes the public offices to be like briars, to which sheep repairing for shelter, must unavoidably be forced to part with some of their fleece.

Now to consider the consequences, and those very pernicious ones, of such purchase, we will begin with the serjeant, who, at this time, pays the sheriff near five hundred pounds for his place. It is true, it has been at a far lower rate, as well as all other places,

but the prices rise, as the world degenerates, and consequently corruptions improve and increase.

Well, suppose, here is five hundred pounds given for a place for life, which at seven years purchase, the customary value of a life, buys seventy pounds per annum in a dead rent upon land, where the purchaser has no more to do, than receive his annual revenue, as the money becomes due. But, in a place or office purchased, where there is constant toil, attendance, and business to supply that office, it is modestly computed, that a man ought in all reason and equity to make double as much per annum of his money, as in a lazy annuity. So that, for his five hundred pounds, a serjeant seems to have a justifiable pretension to get about a hundred and fifty pounds a year, a very round income, for a man that, in his post, is sworn but a varlet; an income much larger than that of many an honest gentleman of good birth and quality, with a much fairer blazon in his coat of arms, than a blood sucking serjeant. This hundred and fifty pounds per annum is three pounds a week, about ten shillings a day; and how must the serjeant raise this money? If by taking only the now customary fees of his office, as allowed in court, viz. half a crown for every arrest, and no more, of which his yeoman, who gives above two hundred pounds for his place, goes one third snack with him; by consequence, he must arrest six men every day one with another, all the year round, to raise the profits of his purchase money, viz. ten shillings, per diem, for his own share.

But, supposing this serjeant instead of six arrests in one day, does not make above six, and half six more in the whole week, and a good week's work too; how must the money rise then? Instead of half-crowns from the poor prisoners, here must be half-pounds, and whole pounds too, extorted for civility money, as they call it, and several other unreasonable pretences and demands, to make up the sum.

And what, I pray, are the consequences of these pounds so extorted? Only this: the poor debtor is so much the less enabled to satisfy his creditor's just debt itself; and all by such unwarrantable extortions, from the serjeant first, and then from the gaoler afterwards, not only to the intire defrauding the creditor, but many times to the utter ruin of the poor prisoner, that perishes in gaol under no other load.

Who then (the case thus fairly stated) lays all this oppression upon a poor debtor? The serjeant and gaoler? No; but Mr. Sheriff, that sells them their places: for they, good men, do no more than raise the effects and perquisites answerable to their own fair purchase penny.

If the common right of Meum and Tuum thus manifestly suffers, by the creditor's want of his legal satisfaction, occasioned by these arrest or imprisonment extortions; do the serjeant and gaoler obstruct that right? Not in the least. Mr. Sheriff has borrowed a round sum of money of the serjeant and yeoman for their admission, and their great city lords and masters possibly six times

as much of the gaoler; and therefore their tallies and loans must be satisfied first.

If a poor prisoner, through such extorted sums, is reduced to starving in gaol, are his catch poles and turnkeys in fault? No, not they. For their head office jobbers, their great sales-masters have squeesed first, and it is their turn to squeese next. In fine, the face of the poor is ground, but the serjeants, gaolers, attornies, &c. only turn the grind-stone, the grind-stone itself is the magistrate.

The keeper's place of Newgate was lately sold for 3500l. Now upon such a prodigious sum paid only for the head tyrant's jurisdiction of those stone walls, and iron grates; considering likewise the numerous turnkeys, sutlers, and all his sub-janizaries, to be all fed and fattened also from the fees of their lower posts, what annual income must that one gaol raise, and how raise, to answer such a saucy purchase! Why truly thus:

First, for the criminal prisoners:

If a thief, or house breaker, would get unloaded of so many pounds of iron, or purchase a sleeping hole, a little free from vermin, or with wholesome air enough to keep his lungs from being choaked up, he must raise those extravagant sums to pay for it, as can no ways be furnished but from theft and vice, supplied by his jades or brother rogues abroad, who must rob or whore, to support him even with the common necessaries of life. Nay, instead of employing their time in amendment of life, and a religious preparation for their tryal, they are forced to drink, riot, and game, to curry favour with the gaoler, and support his luxury.

Thus a gaol, which should be a check to roguery and wickedness, in a high measure, by its extortion and oppression, encourages it.

And next, for the poor debtor committed thither (for it is the county gaol) he receives much the like severe treatment and hardships: for extortion and oppression, like the grave, make no distinction.

Now let us enquire by what right the magistrates sell that keeper's place, together with those of Ludgate and the Compters. It is well known that those places, as well as all others, were formerly given gratis. Now, if they had then any inherent power of selling them, it is presumed that the then magistrates were not so extravagantly generous to part with such a considerable feather in the city cap for nothing, provided they had a title to sell. Then, as they took nothing, so we may reasonably presume they could rightfully demand nothing for them.

By what pretension then does the chair demand it now? We know of no donation or concession granted by law to intitle them to such a sale. And, without such a donation, it is all but incroachment, iniquity, injustice, and usurpation, where there was no original or fundamental claim to warrant and introduce their pretensions: nay it is expressly against the commands of God, and the laws of the land, as is here made appear.

Now for the effects of this corruption, how often have the su-

fering prisoners remonstrated against all this cruelty, and petitioned the magistracy for a redress of their grievances, and a retrenchment of the exorbitant demands of a gaol? But all their prayers have either never been heard, or never minded. For the magistracy is deaf to such a work of reformation, by reason his own interest is concerned in the matter; and therefore the abuses and oppressions of the gaoler (who not only repays himself, but acquires often-times a great estate to boot) are still connived at.

Having been thus more particular in the gaoler's and serjeant's case, we shall leave the reader himself to judge, what no less hard measures we daily groan under, without relief, from counsellors, attornies, and clerks, &c. in their sphere of law, when about 1500l. is paid for a city council or attorney's place (and divers other officers) which, by the same fore-mentioned proportion of annual advantage, must raise near 500l. per annum to balance the excessive price they pay for them. And, though they live at very extravagant rates, yet, if they enjoy their places any considerable time, they leave great estates behind them.

It is by this means that purchased cruelty grows bold, and plumes itself in its extortion, being not only countenanced, but justified by the magistrate, who raises the value of an unlawful sale, because he finds a numerous sort of people thriving and doing well, by living and doing ill. It is example that corrupts us all: for how commonly do the under-officers, gaolers, &c. excuse their barbarity, and unreasonable exactions, in alledging that they have no other way to make up the interest of their purchase money? So that they are hereby forced to lay the whole design of their advantage upon the calamities of the miserable; which inhumanity is too frequently connived at by the magistrate, suffering justice to be over-ruled by the persuasion of many golden temptations. A degenerate and unworthy practice! quite contrary to the office of a good magistrate, whose duty and glory consist in curbing the growth of oppression, retrenching exorbitances, and in searing away the proud flesh of rapine and violence, and not in selling impunity to the evil-doer.

It is this alone that steels and case-hardens a gaoler's conscience against all pity and remorse, giving him the confidence to demand extortionary fees and racked chamber-rent from his prisoners, or else crowding them into holes, dungeons, and common-sides (designedly made more nasty, to terrify the prisoner, who for preservation of his life is thereby forced to part with his money; or) there to be devoured by famine and diseases.

This makes him let his tap-houses at such prodigious rates, that, where poor people ought to have the best and cheapest, they have the worst in quality, and smallest in quantity, at excessive prices. Also farming his beds to mere harpies, and his great key to such pieces of imperious cruelty, as are the worst of mankind, to the eternal reproach of the city's honour, and scandal of the Christian religion, while the bloated patron himself, all the while, maintains his family in pride, and an imperious wife, or perhaps impudent

mistress, in excess and luxury, with what he has unconscionably drained from the ruin of the unfortunate. But see I pray, whither will not these lewd and infamous precedents at last lead us, when even the common hangman, encouraged no doubt by these examples, will scarcely give a malefactor a cast of his office without a bribe, very formally, forsooth, demanding his fees, and higgling too, as nicely with him, as if he was going to do him some mighty favour?

I will appeal now to the tribunal of justice itself, by what law or what authority, not claiming under the bad title of illegal custom, any sheriff, who is the immediate gaoler himself, and ought (as we shall hereafter prove by reciting the law) to receive the prisoner gratis into custody, can so unjustly presume to sell the deputation of any man's liberty and life to the countroul of sordid and imperious avarice? I would fain know by what surmise of common sense (and it would be very hard, if common law and common sense should not agree) a keeper of a prison can demand a recompence or fee of a prisoner for detaining him in prison.

There is an admission fee, he cries; as if any person can deserve a reward for opening the door of misery and destruction to his neighbour and common friend: for being so civil as to admit him into the horrid grave and abyss of imprisonment.

There is a dismission fee too: as if it were reasonable to demand money for letting him go, whom the law has set free.

Abundance of such absurdities must of necessity follow; to which no law of God or man, nor no sense or reason, can afford the least shadow or pretext of countenance (nay they all forbid and condemn it) besides that unanswerable one before-mentioned, viz. that the officers buy their places, and therefore it is reasonable in them they should make the best of them.

But let that be once remedied, and the whole Babel superstructure, erected upon so abominable a foundation, will soon tumble down, to the unspeakable joy of all good men, the infinite honour of the city magistrates, the comfortable relief of the poor, and to the long desired triumph and restoration of banished justice and charity.

Now for a due redress of all those crying mischiefs, what could be more easily reformed?

For instance, if the council, attorney, clerk, serjeant, gaoler, &c. had their places gratis, the very retrenchments of their exorbitant fees would be a favour rather than grievance; for, whilst the one keeps his hundreds in his pockets, and the other his thousands, he is neither under the temptation, nor want of extortion. This established fee would not only be enough for his maintenance, but be infinitely more to his ease and satisfaction. For in this case he would lie under no care, or necessity, to fetch up the large sums given for his place, which, till recovered, are reckoned as so much bread taken out of his children's mouths.

Besides, a moderate perquisite in an office, that comes free from a kind patron's gift, is gratefully received, whilst, on the contrary,

there is no thanks owing to a purchase, tho' with never so large profits. But, above all, every man would be then naturally careful of a legal discharge of his trust, because he holds by the tenure of a *Quam diu se bene gesserit*, viz. As long as he does honestly demean himself: and lies liable to be turned out for misdemeanors, when neither the patron, or lord he holds from, would uphold him in injustice, nor indeed could he himself reasonably complain of being punished for it.

And lastly, What could the city speak more magnificent in history, than to bestow her places upon good men, some of her own members, unfortunately fallen to decay, who would naturally be content with the lawful and modest gains of their employment? on the contrary, what more dishonourable than to sell her poor citizens to be dilaniated and macerated by the hand of injustice; and for money to make slaughter houses and shambles of her houses of restraint, which were built at the city's charge? for a city, so fairly decked with the jewels of freedom and privilege, to sell the last remains of a prisoner's comfort? for in selling a gaoler's place, &c. it sells the liberty, the estate, the person, nay the very life of the prisoner under his jurisdiction: seeing that, through the cruelty of the prison-keepers, such great numbers of poor people have been stripped to their naked skin, and, when all was gone, have been suffocated in holes and dungeons, to the loss of many of their lives, dishonour of our nation, and scandal of the christian religion.

For is it not, think ye, a goodly sight, to behold the tears of the poor congealed by a frost of neglected charity and injustice, into a pearl glittering in the ears of such or such a lady? to see the scarlet of the receiver's magistracy dyed with the blood of helpless innocents, or the purchase of extortion? and, to see some, that ought to be the chief punishers of iniquity, drinking healths of forgetful plenty in hundred pound goblets, the price of their own infamy?

One considerable advantage that would follow the so much desired prevention of the sale of places is, that the civil government would not find her offices so overstocked with her mortal and implacable enemies, I mean such as, in the late reigns, employed their utmost power in introducing upon the nation an arbitrary and tyrannick sway; and, since this revolution, have endeavoured to obstruct the kingdom's true interest and welfare.

Is it not an indelible reproach to the government to see so many of her offices now filled and supplied with those very men, who, for several years together, were throwing dirt in her face, and ridiculing and deriding the constitution itself? neither have they yet, though employed by the government, given any evidence of their change of principles, but retain still the same sentiments and inclination to serve their old master, as they frequently call him, when a favourable opportunity presents itself on his behalf! Is it possible to believe that these vipers thus every where croud themselves into places of trust, for any other purpose, but only to carry on the same designs clandestinely, which they found they had not power enough to effect openly? It is, indeed, their master-piece of policy; and that

which has done their cursed cause more service than all the strength and courage of the faction could otherwise be ever able to accomplish: by this means, the king and parliament's endeavours have been so continually disappointed, our publick undertakings embarrassed, our councils discovered, and designs defeated. Thus does the government indiscernibly receive her mortal wound from the very hand she nourishes, who, under the hypocritical mask of serving her interest, strikes her to the very heart.

And, in fine, it is by this door only that men, of whatever denomination, are admitted into a government. And this consideration is of greater importance than most are aware of: for, as it is a certain inlet to unavoidable dangers, which every prudent state would endeavour to prevent, so it reflects on the wisdom of our government, to suffer the safety of their persons. and the peace and happiness of the subjects, to be exposed to the lust and malice of every rich and villanous purchaser.

Another inconvenience, that follows the allowance of what is here complained of, is: that not only many of the king's enemies are let into places of trust, but, what is more deplorable, many of his real friends are utterly locked out. There are several, even in this city, who have given such instances of their affection to his majesty, and firm adherence and fidelity to the constitution of the present government, as cannot possibly fall under any doubt or question; who partly by their expences in serving the publick, and partly by other occasional accidents, are reduced almost to insupportable necessities. Now, is it not inhuman, as well as unreasonable, to suffer so many honest, well affected persons to starve for want of employment (who would be glad to accept of any of the meanest offices for a mere livelihood and subsistence) only because their pockets are not large enough to purchase that, to which their virtues and abilities had before given them an unquestionable right and claim? Is not this sufficient to discourage any man from deserving well of a government, which makes no distinction between her friends and enemies, but indifferently sells her favours to the fairest chapman?

The prodigious multiplication of officers, also, is no inconsiderable grievance of the publick, and the natural result of the corrupt practice of selling of offices. For, when the superiors have once tasted the sweet of this sort of dealing, they are easily induced to believe, that business may better be dispatched by more hands, and so unnecessary officers are trumped up, as often as they have occasion to give a portion with a daughter, or match a son, or want to make up a sum, to purchase the remaining part, perhaps, of a poor client's estate, after the former has been spent in council's fees, and paying the extravagant and exacted fees and charges of their several courts and offices.

And, by this means, all the numerous officers belonging to, and depending on the law, who were at first, no doubt, designed for the service of the publick, in the administration of justice, and the defence of the rights and liberties of the people, are now, by this lewd toleration of the buying and selling of places, become so

desperately wicked, that they seemed to be joined in unanimous and direct conspiracy to rob and defraud the rest of mankind, and violate all the rules of justice and good policy.

But, though we have been so earnest and vehement in pleading the cause of the poor oppressed prisoners, &c. yet, let us not altogether pass by, without some just reflexions, the heinous injustice that is every day done to the poor, and helpless people at liberty.

There is one remark that we have made, that very well deserves the most serious and solemn consideration of the magistracy of the honourable city of London; it is this. Before this city was so miserably overspread with corruption and covetousness, it was a custom no less honourable in its institution, than extremely useful and christian in its end, for the two and fifty companies, to have their particular granaries, where they used to store up great quantities of sea-coal, and thousands of quarters of corn, which were bought with the charity of those who were brought upon the livery, the company at the same time giving them a receipt, with a promise, That, if ever they should be reduced to want, they should have the value of the money laid down in corn and coals, gratis; which fund was mightily advanced by many dying persons bequests, and legacies, and the fines of aldermen, sheriffs, livery-men, and others, which annually amounted to vast sums.

'This was of infinite advantage to the whole city, both rich and poor: for buying these commodities, when cheapest, and going to market with ready money, they were obliged, in times of scarcity, to sell them out to the poor at a very moderate price. Which commendable practice has been, for several years, discontinued to the unspeakable prejudice and disservice of the poor, many of whom, by neglect of so good a custom, are reduced even to starving in winter, and times of scarcity, yet the said money is still exacted, as due by law, and converted to other uses.

The inexpressible advantage of this laudable and never to be forgotten custom is further evidenced in the frequent scarcity of corn: for, since the city and suburbs have near doubly increased the number of inhabitants; and the corn now coming into the hands of a very few factors, and several notorious hucksters, most of them Joseph's brethren, there being, in all, rarely a month's, and sometimes a week's, store in London: so that, upon contrary winds, frosts, want of convoys, or any other true or pretended reasons, they unjustly raise the market upon the poor, on purpose to improve their own profit, although there be enough in the nation; an inconvenience the city seldom suffered under in those charitable times, when the abovementioned custom was duly observed and practised.

The same may be affirmed in the case of coals, &c. And this, as well as the other, was an advantage likewise to the sellers, who were under no apprehension of having their goods lie upon their hands, because they were sure to come to a certain, though not always an equal market, which kept the plough continually going,

and the collier's ships sailing, to the vast improvement of navigation, and the general satisfaction of the nation.

And this contagion, like the fretting leprosy, has spread itself over all the petty corporations and companies in this city, where they daily exact extravagant sums of money from the subject, taking sometime sixteen, twenty, thirty, and forty shillings; and oftentimes much more, for the admittance of every freeman, whereas, by the statute of 22 H. VIII. cap. 40, they are to receive but three shillings and four-pence for the entry of a freeman, and two shillings and sixpence for the entry of an apprentice.

But, which is much worse and grievous, are the arbitrary and prodigious fines, of fifteen, twenty, and thirty pounds, more or less, which they squeese out of their members, for coming on the livery, and for places of stewards, assistants, master-wardens, and divers other offices, to the intolerable oppression of poor citizens, and to their utter ruin: contrary to those most ancient and excellent laws of *de tallagio non concedendo*, the petition of right, &c. intended for the great bulwarks and barriers of the liberties and properties of the people of England.

This corruption has likewise crept into lesser societies, even into the parishes where the parsons, churchwardens, overseers, and the rest of those parochial officers, exercise the greatest injustice imaginable, in taking excessive and arbitrary sums of money, for burying in churches and churchyards; and for christenings and marriages; and also in taxing and exacting money on pretence of relieving the poor, with a true design, at the same time, to expend it in luxury, &c. and forget the miseries of their afflicted neighbours.

A kin to these iniquities is that of the city's farming out the markets at three thousand six hundred pounds a year, whilst the farmers have made the burden intolerable to the people by extortion and oppression; and most unconscionably swelled the income to above ten thousand pounds a year, as has lately been fully proved against them, at the instance and pains of divers well-affected citizens. Thus is the right and interest of the poor and needy farmed out to a parcel of unmerciful harpies, and vultures, the inhuman ministers of cruelty and violence.

The case of the orphans also ought not to be passed over in silence. We question whether there has yet been repentance enough testified, sufficient restoration made, to clear them from the guilt of such horrible injustice. We shall but just touch the point, because it is so well known already. Was it not scandalous, as well as abominably sinful, and injurious, for the city to assume a right to force the estates of deceased citizens into their own hands, as guardians to the poor orphans, and others: And, when they had got about seven hundred thousand pounds into their custody and clutches, unrighteously refused to pay the monies where they became due, to the utter ruin of great numbers of distressed children (great part of whom have been forced to take extravagant courses to maintain themselves, having been necessitated to sell their es-

tates to men of money at very small and inconsiderable rates) they afterwards pretending to make atonement, by procuring an act of parliament, as is well known, to levy a tax upon all the personal estates in London for ever? We pray God they may repent and find mercy.

It is not that we are ignorant of the abuses committed in several other offices throughout the kingdom, that we have principally confined ourselves to represent the mismanagement of some of those in the city of London, but only to avoid the being too voluminous: these few papers would have swelled into many folio's, if particular notice had been taken of all the corruptions and miscarriages under which the nation groans, and by which our publick affairs have so miserably suffered, and been so treacherously defeated.

Besides, our tenderness, in launching out further into these troubled waters, has been directed by this consideration, that the gentlemen in places and offices not here mentioned (who have, by their sinister practices, prejudiced the interest, or obstructed the happiness of the present settlement) may, by contemplating the deformity and evil attendances of the city exorbitant corruptions, be timely made sensible of their sin, and endeavour to make some reparation for the injuries they have done the kingdom, as an atonement and expiation of their crying guilt.

Thus, I think, we have made it undeniably apparent from what grounds our calamities and mischiefs have sprung, and by what means they have continued their daily progress to that fatal heighth we now so justly complain of, and which requires all the application of the wisdom and power of the government to restrain and remedy. It is by virtue of this golden key alone, or the favours of unjust partiality, that little or no regard has been had to industry and merit: That the halt and blind, and, what is worse, oftentimes the malicious, have been let into the knowledge and management of our publick affairs, whilst the able and honest, for want of that powerful charm, are shamefully excluded and contemned.

The sale of offices is a practice so infamous, that it has been condemned and detested by the best men, and best governments in all ages, as a cursed omen, foreboding the certain and inevitable destruction of that state, where it has been in the least tolerated and connived at. It is a shackling justice herself, a direct usurpation upon the native and incontestable rights of mankind, and giving a publick license for the exercise of extortion and bribery.

If we at all valued ourselves as Christians (but that great name is too much become a mere cant or term of art to flatter ourselves, and impose upon the credulous) our holy religion would sufficiently inform us of the sinfulness and danger of this abominable practice. What dreadful judgments has the God of impartial justice thundered out against the sale of publick justice, or its dependencies? What excessive and astonishing penalties has he threatened upon all manner of extortion? Nay, so severe are the terrible denunciations of his wrath, poured out upon all that shall dare to

suffer or encourage it, as are able to stagger and confound the confidence of the most hardened sinner, but his who lies under the curse of final and incorrigible unbelief.

The very heathens themselves abhorred the connivance and countenance of such base and unworthy proceedings: they thought it a degree below the dignity of human nature, to descend to the contemptible practice of taking bribes, and selling licenses to iniquity. We find these two maxims, like two golden pillars, supporting the most flourishing and victorious cities in the world, which Aristotle has not been a little industrious to maintain, viz. That the sale of offices is the greatest wrong and affront that can be offered to a commonwealth. And that money ought not to buy those places, which may, nay, ought to be the reward of virtue; and are the fittest means to supply the necessities of good men. The sale of offices in the meridian and glory of the Athenian government (where arts and arms equally flourished, to the delight and satisfaction of all the world) was strictly forbidden, and continually declaimed against. The Lacedemonians, a people the most obstinately virtuous of all the other cities of Greece, utterly exploded it, as a practice altogether inconsistent with their strict morals, and destructive of the fundamental rules of their policy: and I hardly believe there was ever a human government better founded than that of Sparta. The Roman empire, when it seemed to be in its greatest beauty, and most happy condition, severely fined and punished those who sought offices unjustly, by bribery, &c. And it is remarkable, that she then first fostered dissension, and laid foundations for her after ruin and calamities, when she brooked so patiently the sarcastic scoff of Jugurtha, That all things at Rome are to be had for money. It was then that Rome became so enfeebled by her daily corruptions, that she, whose virtue had made her mistress of the world, had not power enough left to conquer herself; nor could she hinder her own streets from being the stage, whereon so many dismal tragedies of intestine discord were acted. Their historians assign the reason, viz. They made justice a pimp to covetousness, and virtue a stalking-horse to extortion. Yet there was not any other city, in the world, more jealous of her honour in this point than Rome, or more careful to relieve the poverty of her citizens; of which, in the times of her innocency, she had many. And what other fate can London, &c. expect, if you dam up the current of her *meum* and *tuum*? If she thus continue selling of justice, her sun-shine and splendor will soon be eclipsed. In short, unavoidable ruin is an inseparable subsequent of antecedent unrighteousness.

It is very observable what is reported of the Persian Cambyses, how he flead one of his judges for bribery. Certainly it had been a very unjust punishment, if he had first sold him his place, much more if he had farmed it to him at a racked rent. Can we believe that this judge's son would have been willing to pay an exacted sum to sit upon his father's skin? which however he was forced to receive for his cushion (being preferred to his father's seat upon the

bench) in order to terrify him from the like offence; which the king very honestly told him would deserve the same punishment. This instance is enough to convince us of the necessity of an universal and equal administration of justice, since even the Persians themselves, one of the most delicate and effeminate nations in the world, found the due execution thereof so essentially requisite to the preservation of publick peace, that they thought no punishment too severe for the transgression of so inviolable a law, upon which the welfare of all government depends.

In fine, there neither are, nor have been any nations so barbarous, nor any conjunctions or united bodies of men so inhuman, who, though they have exercised all manner of violence and oppression towards their neighbours, or their enemies, have not at the same time established and required an exact observation of justice among themselves, as fundamentally necessary for the maintaining the true interests of their own community.

But our ancient English law-makers seem to have a deeper apprehension of the necessity of this truth, than any others; and, by those noble and never-to-be-forgotten laws, they have left us, one would think they had a prophetick respect to the degeneracy of the present times, particularly in relation to the grievances, against which this discourse is designed, as abundantly appears from the instances and citations immediately annexed.

This Act was made Anno 5, 6 Edw. VI. *Cap.* 16, *against the Sale of Offices.*

THE penalty for buying or selling of some sort of offices, for the avoiding of corruption, which may hereafter happen to be in the officers and ministers in those courts, places, or rooms, wherein there is requisite to be had true administration of justice, or services of trust: and, to the intent that persons worthy and meet to be advanced to the place where justice is to be ministered, or any service of trust executed, should hereafter be preferred to the same, and no other:

'Be it therefore enacted by the king our sovereign lord, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That if any person or persons, at any time hereafter, bargain or sell any office or offices, or deputation of any office or offices, or any part or parcel of any of them; or receive, have, or take any money, or fee, reward, or any other profit, directly or indirectly; or take any promise, agreement, covenant, bond, or any assurance to receive or have any money, fee, reward, or other profit, directly or indirectly, for any office or offices, or for the deputation of any office or offices, or any part of them, or to the intent that any person should have, exercise, or enjoy any office or offices, or the deputation of any office or offices, or any part of any of them; which office or offices, or any part or parcel of them, shall in any wise touch or concern the administration or execution of justice; or the receipt, comptrolment, or payment of any of the king's highness's treasure, money, rent,

revenue, account, aulneage, auditorship, or surveying of any of the king's majesty's honours, castles, mannors, lands, tenements, woods, or hereditaments; or any the king's majesty's customs, or any administration, or necessary attendance to be had, done, or executed in any of the king's majesty's custom-houses or houses; the keeping of any of the king's majesty's towns, castles, or fortresses, being used, occupied, or appointed for a place of strength or defence, or which shall concern or touch any clerkship to be occupied in any manner of court of record, wherein justice is to be ministered: That then all and every such person and persons, that shall so bargain or sell any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations; or that shall take any money, fee, reward, or profit, for any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations of any of the said offices, or any part of any of them; or that shall take any promise, covenant, bond, or assurance for any money, reward, or profit, to be given for any of the said offices, deputation or deputations of any the said office or offices, or any part of any of them, shall not only lose and forfeit all his and their right, interest, and estate, which such person or persons shall then have, of, in, or to any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations, or any part of any of them; or of, in, or to the gift or nomination of any of the said office or offices, deputation or deputations; for the which office or offices, or for the deputation or deputations of which office or offices, or for any part of any of them, any such person or persons shall so make any bargain or sale, or take or receive any sum of money, fee, reward, or profit: or any promise, or covenant, or assurance of to have or receive any fee, reward, money, or profit: But also that all and every such persons, that shall give or pay any sum of money, reward, or fee; or shall make any promise, agreement, bond, or assurance for any of the said offices, or for the deputation or deputations of any of the said office or offices, or any part of any of them, shall immediately, by and upon the same fee, money, or reward given or paid, or upon any such promise, covenant, bond, or agreement, had or made for any fee, sum of money, or reward to be paid, as is aforesaid, be adjudged a disabled person in the law, to all intents and purposes, to have, occupy, or enjoy the said office or offices, deputation or deputations, or any part of any of them*; for the which such person or persons shall so give or pay any sum of money, fee, or reward, or make any promise, covenant, bond, or other assurance, to give or pay any sum of money, fee, or reward.

'And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every such bargains, sales, promises, bonds, agreements, covenants, and assurances, as before specified, shall be void to and against him and them, by whom any such bargain, sale, bond, promise, covenant, and assurance shall be had or made.'

Cook, Rep. *Lib.* xii. 78. *Hil.* 8. *Jac.*

'IN this very term, in the case of Dr. Trevor, who was chancellor of a bishop in Wales, it was resolved, that the office of a

* Cook, Lib. xii. 78.

chancellor and register, &c. in the ecclesiastical courts, are within the statute 5 Edw. VI, cap. 16. The words of which statute are, "Any office, &c. which shall in any wise touch or concern the administration or execution of justice." And the words are strongly penned against corruption of officers; for they are, "Which shall in any wise touch or concern the administration," &c. And the preamble: "And for avoiding of corruption, which may hereafter happen to be in the officers and ministers of those courts, places, and rooms, wherein there is requisite to be had the true administration of justice, in service of trust: and to the intent that persons, worthy and meet to be advanced to the places where justice is to be ministered, in any service of trust to be executed, shall be preferred to the same, and none other." Which act, being made for avoiding of corruption in officers, &c. and for the advancement of persons more worthy and sufficient for to execute the said offices, by which justice and right shall be also advanced, shall be expounded most beneficially to suppress corruption. And, inasmuch as the law allows ecclesiastical courts to proceed in case of blasphemy, heresy, schism, incontinence, &c. and the loyalties of matrimonies, of divorce, of the right of tithes, probate of wills, granting of administrations, &c. And that from these proceedings depend not only the salvation of souls, but also the legitimation of issues, &c.

'And that no debt or duty can be recovered by executors, or administrators, without probate of testaments, or letters of administrations, and other things of great consequence: It is most reason that officers which concern the administration and execution of justice in these points, which concern the salvation of souls, and the other matters aforesaid, shall be within this statute, than officers which concern the administration or execution of justice in temporal matters; for this, that corruption of offices, in the said spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, is more dangerous than the officers in temporal causes; for the temporal judge commits the party convict to the gaoler, but the spiritual judge commits the person excommunicate to the devil. Also those officers do not only touch and concern the administration of justice, &c. but also are services of great trust for this, that the principal end of their proceedings is, *Pro Salute Animarum*, &c. and there is no exceptor or proviso in the statute for them.'

It was resolved that such offices were within the purview of the said statute.

Here follows the Duty of a Gaoler to his Prisoners, with his and other Officers' Fees due by Law.

BY the common law we find, as Bracton, lib. iii. fol. 105. 'Gaolers are ordained to hold prisoners, not to punish them.' For imprisonment by the law is (neither ought to be) no more than a bare restraint of liberty, without those illegal and unjust distinctions of close and open prison (as is usual.) See Stamf. Plac. Cor. fol. 70.

Therefore Cook, in his 3 Inst. 91, saith, 'That if a gaoler keep the prisoners more straightly than he ought of right, whereof the prisoner dieth, this is felony in the gaoler by the common law*. And this is the cause, that, if the prisoner die in prison, the coroner ought to sit upon him†'. See also the said Cook, fol. 34. cap. Petty-treason; how prisoners are to be used, wherein is also an account of an indictment of a gaoler for evil usage of his prisoner, fol. 35. in Trin. 7 Ed. III. *cor. Rege Rot.* 44.—That whereas one R. B. of T. was taken and detained in the prison of Lincoln castle, for a certain debt of statute-merchant‡, in the custody of T. B. constable of the castle L. aforesaid; that the said T. B. put the said R. into the common gaol amongst thieves in a filthy prison, contrary to the form of the statute, &c. and there detained him till he had paid him a fine of forty shillings. Whereupon Cook makes this observation, 'So as hereby it appeareth, where the law requireth that a prisoner should be kept in safe and sure custody, yet that must be without any pain or torment to the prisoner.'

So Cook 3 Inst. 52. saith, 'If a prisoner by duress, that is, hard usage of the gaoler, cometh to untimely death, this is murder in the gaoler,; and in the law implieth malice in respect of the cruelty.'

Horn, in the Mirror of Justice, p. 288, saith, 'That it is an abusing of the law, that prisoners are put into irons, or other pain, before they are attainted.' See also Cook 3 Inst. 34, 35. And Horn also, p. 34, 36, reckons the starving of prisoners by famine, to be among the crimes of homicide in a gaoler. *Vox Plebis*, part I. f. 55, 56.

Which also Cook, in his 3 Inst. cap. 29. tit. Felony in gaolers by duress of imprisonment, &c. by statute and by the common law, fol. 91.

And, next, let us see what the law saith for the fees due to gaolers: The Mirror of Justice, pag. 288, tells us, That it is an abusing of the law, that prisoners, or others for them, pay any thing for their entries into the gaol, or for their going out. This is the common law, there is no fee due to them by the common law. See what the statutes say: The statute of Westm. 1. cap. 26. saith, 'That no sheriff, or other minister of the king, shall take reward for doing their offices, but what they take of the king; if they do, they shall suffer double to the party aggrieved, and be punished at the will of the king.' Under this word, minister of the king, are included all escheaters, coronors, gaolers, &c. as Cook, 2 Inst. fol. 209. affirms; and agreeable is Stampf. Placit. Coron. 49. Nay, by the statute of 4 Ed. III. cap. 10, gaolers are to receive thieves and felons, taking nothing by way of fees for the receipt of them. So odious is this extortion of gaolers, that very thieves and felons are exempt from payment of fees.

And we find in our law-books, That no fees are due to any officer, gaoler, or minister of justice, but only those which are given by act of parliament; for, if a gaoler will prescribe for any fees, the prescription is void, because against this act of parliament.

* Britton, fol. 18. † Flet. Lib. 1. cap. 26. ‡ 1. Ed. III. cap. 7.

made 3 Ed. I, being an act made within time of memory, and takes away all manner of pretended fees before, and we are sure, none can be raised by colour of prescription since; and therefore we find, by the books of 8 Ed. IV, fol. 18, 'That a marshal or a gaoler cannot detain any prisoner after his discharge from the court, but only for the fees of the court, (the court being not barr'd by this statute of Westm. 1. aforementioned) and, if he do, he may be indicted for extortion.' And agreeable to this is the book of 21 E. VII, fol. 16, where, amongst other things, it is held for law, 'That, if a gaoler, or guardian of a prison, takes his prisoner's proper garment, cloke, or money from him, it is a trespass, and the gaoler shall be answerable for it.' So that we may undeniably conclude, That there is no fee at all to any gaoler, or guardian of a prison, from the prisoner, but what is due unto him by special act of parliament. And, if a gaoler, or guardian of a prison, shall take any thing as a fee of his prisoner, he may and ought to be indicted of extortion, and, upon conviction, to be removed from his office; and, if his prisoner, by constraint, menace, or duress, be forced to give him money, he may recover that money against the gaoler again, in an action of the case at common law.

Item, The king, considering the great perjury, extortion, and oppression, which be, and have been in this realm, by his sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and their clerks, bailiffs, and keepers of prisons, &c. hath ordained by authority aforesaid, in eschewing all such extortion, perjury, and oppression, That no sheriff* shall let to farm, in any manner, his county, nor any of his bailiwicks. Nor that any of the said officers and ministers, by occasion, or under colour of their office, shall take any other thing by them, nor by any other person to their use, profit, or avail, of any other person by them, or any of them, to be arrested or attached, for the omitting of any arrest or attachment to be made by their body, or of any person by them, or any of them (by force or colour of their office arrested or attached) for fine, fee, suit of prison, main-prize, letting to bail, or shewing any ease or favour (to any such person arrested or to be attached) for their reward or profit, but such as follow; that is to say, for the sheriff 20d. The officer which maketh the † arrest or attachment 4d. And the gaoler of the prison, if he be committed to ward, 4d.——And that all sheriffs, bailiffs, gaolers, or any other officers or ministers, which do contrary to this odinance, in any point of the same, shall lose to the party, in this behalf, indamaged or grieved, his treble damages, and shall forfeit the sum of 40l. ‡ for every such offence; the one moiety to the king, the other to the prosecutor, to be recovered at common law, in either of the courts of king's-bench, or common-pleas, at Westminster.

This is a perfect account of the gaoler's fees in all cases, where persons are laid in prison upon civil matters and causes, which fee of 4d. is more than any other statute or law allows them to take

* Stat. 23, H. vi. cap. 10. Stat. 4. H. iv. 5. Rast. Prædict. fol. 318. Cook Prædict. 365. 21. H. vii. 7. fol. 16. † Rast. Prædict. fol. 371. ‡ Stat. 3d. Ed. iii.

from their prisoners: but, in such cases where the king is party, it is established, 'That the prisoners in all the king's prisons should be maintained at the king's charge, and out of the king's revenues, according to the old law of the land:' much less to have money extorted from him by the gaoler. But look into the prisons in and about the city of London, what horrible oppressions, extortions, and cruelties, are exercised upon the free-born people of England, yea in most prisons throughout this kingdom?

So that by the law of the land it appears, that those who sell, or take any manner of reward for any publick office or place, or those who do receive any greater fee than therein is expressed, have no more property, right or interest to do it, than the pirate has to the peaceable merchant's ship, a robber to the innocent traveller's purse, or the wolf to the blood of the harmless lamb.

Thus we have traced our distempers to their very spring and original. We have shewn you the danger of our present condition, the true cause from whence it arose, and prescribed an effectual remedy against it for the future. It is the magistrate's duty now to accomplish and perfect the cure. I confess a great deal of resolution is requisite to make a thorough reformation, and stop all those bleeding wounds through which the government is insensibly breathing out its very life. Yet we are willing to assume more than an ordinary confidence of the good success of this undertaking, considering that our great senate, to their immortal glory, in their last address to his majesty, have so eminently signalised their vigorous zeal, and unshaken resolution, of reducing not only our own, but the grand enemy of Europe, to reason. I am persuaded that no one thing can contribute more to the accomplishment of so glorious a design, than a timely and general redress of the grievances here exposed and complained of. How chearfully would the people of England receive the news of the parliament's going about a work of this nature, in relieving them from an oppression, under the weight of which every individual, at one time or other, has more or less suffered? This would not only enlarge their hearts, but make their purses, too, more free and open, in furnishing the necessary supplies which his majesty's affairs at this time so earnestly require.

It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that (through the negligence or remissness of the magistrates) an evil custom may sometimes obtain and fix itself so firm in the interest or opinion of the people that there shall be less danger in conniving at it, than in endeavouring to suppress it. But then it must not be such as directly and designedly aims at the very being of government itself, as this does, which we now so justly regret. In short, the redress of this fatal calamity can offend none but such contemptible creatures, whom it is more honourable and safe to distaste than oblige; and sure it can reflect no blemish upon a government to say, they have taken away from villains the very means and temptation of being unjust and dishonest.

But, as the easing of oppression, and unloading the shoulders of

the poor, is the main argument of this treatise, so, to push on the great cause before us yet a little further, the author hereof declares he is ready to demonstrate those reasonable methods for employing all the necessitous poor, and likewise for encouraging many thousands of idle persons to set themselves to work, though they are not reduced to the necessity of the former; which will be of such publick service and general advantage, that even the profits of their labours and industry shall more than advance the whole taxes now raised; with several other useful proposals, abundantly conducing to the benefit of trade, improvement of navigation, increase of seamen, &c. which, too long to be here set down, would require a treatise of itself.

Now, to conclude, I cannot but a little take notice of the great neglect of the pulpit, when those spiritual pilots at the helm of religion, who preach, or at least ought to preach universal charity, and denounce the comminations and judgments against all oppressions and injustice, have not publickly bore their testimony against this crying sin, in the particular national grievances before mentioned. Nor does the duty of this publick remonstrance lie less upon the great statesmen of the nation, the steerers at the temporal helm, but rather more, by so much as the immediate care and welfare of the national interest is their nearer and more particular charge and province.

But, if all we have here urged in so just a cause, shall be utterly neglected, we have one farther unhappy circumstance to add to these deplorable calamities now threatening us, which is, that oppression and extortion will receive an encouragement even from these very papers, when the cry of justice, unheard and unredressed, will but harden their iniquity; whilst their impunity, like an ignoramus to a capital indictment, will be looked upon as their justification.

And then what assurance can we possibly have of enjoying our rights, liberties, and estates safe from the invasion of ravenous and mercenary extortioners, who make no scruple of turning butchers to the people's privileges, and conspirators against their rights and properties? Or, what prospect can we flatter ourselves with, of bringing our national endeavours to a successful conclusion, while judgment is turned back, justice stands afar off, our ancient and fundamental laws of mercy, as well as the express commands of God are turned into a shadow; and those who would reclaim these evils (in order to avert the just judgment and indignation of God, ready to break out against us) only draw on themselves the frowns and displeasure of inraged violence, as a recompence of their pains and labour?

A VIEW OF THE COURT OF ST. GERMAIN,

FROM THE YEAR 1690 TO 95.

With an Account of the Entertainment Protestants meet with there. Directed to the Malecontent Protestants of England.

London: printed for R. Baldwin, near Oxford-Arms-Inn, in Warwick-Lane, 1696. Quarto, containing thirty Pages.

THE PREFACE.

THE ages to come will hardly believe, that, in England, there should be found one single Protestant Jacobite, at this time of day: and the reformed nations abroad are at a loss what to make of that unaccountable species of men.

When most of the Roman Catholick princes have heartily embraced the late revolution in Britain, as the last effort for the common liberty of Europe, and have entered into the strictest alliance, with those of an opposite religion, to support it: it looks like a dream, to meet with any English Protestant in an interest contradictory to, not only the publick liberty of their country, but to the religion they profess.

It was indeed no great wonder, that the late king made all the steps possible towards the change of the religion, in his opinion, heretical; at a time, when he was upon the throne, and backed with all the promising supports of regal power, yet even then he thought himself obliged to keep some measures with his Protestant subjects, and, instead of a total rupture with them, endeavoured to lull them a sleep, under the specious pretence of liberty of conscience, till all his engines were ready to give the fatal blow.

But now, that he has fallen under circumstances, which one would think should much more than ever oblige him to assume a new, at least keep on the old mask: upon the quite contrary, since he went to France, he has taken all pains imaginable to let the world know his inveterate aversion to all those of the reformed religion, though never so much his friends; and, at the same time, has given us the most authentick demonstration of his firm design, never to allow any there of his favour, nor owe his restoration to any but Roman Catholicks. All which will appear by the following account of his carriage towards those few Protestants, that have followed his sinking fortunes, the length of St. Germains.

THERE being already so many volumes to shew the lawfulness of the late revolution, it is superfluous, it seems, to make any further attempt on the same subject; for, if you shut your eyes against

the strong arguments and convincing proofs made use of in those books, who can flatter himself to cure you of that wilful blindness? However, I hope, this plain account, I make bold to direct to you, will not prove altogether useless; for, when I consider your party, I think I may reasonably believe that it is made up of some good and honest men, though misguided by a tender conscience, and of some self-interested persons, who, being not able to obtain the preferments they expected, have turned Jacobites, in hopes to advance their fortune by a second revolution. But, give me leave to tell you further, that, after an impartial enquiry into the life and conversation of your party, I have all the reason in the world to conclude, that the number of the conscientious Jacobites, I have spoken of, must be very little, and that the greatest number amongst you are hurried away by the imaginary hopes I have hinted at; therefore, if I can convince you, that you have no reason to flatter yourselves, to obtain any reward or preferments under king James, no, not when he should be restored by your means, I hope some of you will open your eyes to your own interest, and forsake a prince, from whom you cannot expect any grateful return.

I will not recall to your minds his behaviour, while he was on the throne of England; I suppose no body has forgot, that no Protestants were welcome to him, but such as would promise to betray the liberties of their country to popery, and arbitrary power; neither shall I mention how severely he used the Protestants of Ireland in 1689; you would be apt to say, that, being in Popish hands, he could not avoid it; but I intend only to give you a short view of his court at St. Germain, and an account of the entertainment the Protestants of your party have met there: for, if a prince in his circumstances, whose interest it ought to be to court Protestants, cannot conceal, for a time, the hatred he has for them, what treatment can you expect from him, when he is re-inthroned, and supported by the power of France?

King James, retiring into France after his defeat at the Boyne, left the administration of his affairs in Ireland to my lord Tyrconnel; and in Scotland, to the colonels Buchan and Cannon; and, the French king having appointed St. Germain in Laye, for his reception, he there began to form a court in the year 1690, and his houshold was constituted as follows:

The duke of Powis, lord chamberlain.
Col. Porter, vice chamberlain.
Col. Skelton, comptroller.
The earls of Dumbarton and Abercome, lords of the bed-chamber.
Captains Macdonald, Beadle, Stafford, and Trevanian, grooms of the bed-chamber.
The two Sheldons, Esquires.
Fergus Graham, privy purse.

Sir John Sparrow, board of green cloth; and Mr. Strickland, vice chamberlain to the queen.

The Officers of State were as follow:

Mr. Brown (brother to my lord Montague Brown, and sometime commissioner of the customs) secretary of state for England.

Father Innes, president of the Scots college at Paris, Secretary of State for Scotland.

Sir Richard Neagle, secretary of state for Ireland.

To these were added, as a juncto, Mr. Carril, the queen's secretary; and Mr. Stafford, formerly envoy at the court of Spain, whom the king called together as a privy-council, to advise with upon all emergencies: the earl of Melford, prime minister of state, being sent to Rome sometime before, partly to negotiate king James's affairs at the Pope's court, and partly to remove him from the jealousies of the Irish, who, at that time, wholly monopolised this prince's ear and favour.

Thus things continued for a while, but, Ireland being reduced some time after, and the Scottish Highlanders submitting, the court of St. Germain was every day thronged with gentlemen from those kingdoms, as well as from England; and then a Protestant party began to distinguish themselves, and endeavour to make an appearance at that court.

The first considerable step they made, was to desire a chapel from king James, for the exercise of their worship according to the church of England, and proposed Dr. Granvile, brother to the earl of Bath, formerly dean of Durham, as a fit person to be their chaplain; they urged the great encouragement such a toleration would give to his adherents in England, and what satisfaction it would be to such Protestants as followed him; but though common policy, and his circumstances, made every body believe that this request would be easily granted, yet it was positively denied, and Dr. Granvile obliged not only to retire from court, but also from the town of St. Germain, to avoid the daily insults of the priests, and the dreaded consequences of the jealousies with which they possessed king James's court against him. Dr. Gordon, a bishop of Scotland, the only Protestant divine that then was there, met with a worse treatment still than Dr. Granvile, and was reduced to the necessity of abjuring his religion for want of bread, with which he could not be supplied, but upon those hard terms. However, king James, being sensible that such an usage would prejudice his interest in Britain, resolved to prevent the coming of any Protestant divine there, and therefore sent Mr. Macqueen in company of Major Scot into England, who brought letters from him to his friends, in which he required them to trouble him no more with divines, as messengers.

This bad success did not altogether discourage the Protestant party; they made a second effort upon the constitution of the

before-mentioned council of five, to have one of the number, at least, a Protestant: they insisted upon the advantages which might thence redound to his majesty's affairs in Britain, and for that end did earnestly recommend my lord chief justice Herbert, as a person both well qualified to give advice in English affairs, and of an unspotted reputation in his country. Those reasons were so convincing, that, the Irish fearing they would obtain their demand, an information was trumped up against the chief justice by Mr. comptroller Skelton, and sir William Sharp, of having said, that king James's violent temper would ruin himself and all that followed him. My lord owned the words, but made so ingenuous an explanation of his meaning, which was in relation to the act of settlement in Ireland, that king James was satisfied. The Irish, having missed their aim, formed a short time after another plot against him, and charged him with corresponding with the English, and mis-representing the transactions of that court; whereupon he and a worthy lady, with whom he boarded, were confined, and Broomfield, the quaker, committed to the Bastile. And thus was this lord chief justice, for no other reason but his adhering to a Protestant interest, excluded from all share of management of affairs in king James's court, though his capacity and sufferings were sufficient, in the eyes of all reasonable men, to have intitled him to a share in that prince's favour and secret. If my lord chief justice Herbert was so used, I would fain know upon what ground any of our Jacobites should flatter himself with a better treatment.

Mr. Cockburn of Lanton, in the kingdom of Scotland, was the next Protestant that had merit and favour enough to pretend to a share in the management of king James's affairs. This gentleman, having followed him in Ireland, was taken at sea, after the battle of the Boyne, and brought prisoner to London; but, a proposal being made of exchanging him for captain St. Lo, then prisoner in France, he was enlarged; and, during his abode here, did so ingratiate himself with the most considerable of the disaffected Protestants, that he was recommended by them to king James, as a person fit to serve him in the affairs of greatest trust. He was no sooner arrived at St. Germain, than he told that prince, his friends in England thought that my lord Melford, who was then returned from Rome, was a great grievance, and ought to be laid aside; and that the only way for the king to procure the good opinion of his subjects in Britain, and reconcile them to him, was to put the management of his affairs in Protestant hands. This prudent advice of the disaffected Protestants of England, or of Mr. Cockburn, had an effect quite contrary to what they expected; king James took it so ill, that, in a few days after, an order was procured from the French court, commanding him to depart France under severe penalties, being too much a friend to the English interest: Mr. Cockburn was forced to obey, and has lived as an exile in Holland and Hamburgh ever since.

But the submission of the Scotch Highlanders affords us still

more convincing proofs of king James's hatred for the Protestant religion, and of his ingratitude towards such who had made a sacrifice of all that can be dear to men, to support his sinking fortune in Scotland. The lords Dumferling, Dundee, Dunkel, colonels Cannon, Graham, and several other Protestants, having forfeited their estates and families, retired into France, as also did the colonels Buchan, Maxwell, Wauchop, and some other Popish gentlemen; but, when they came to St. Germain, the Papists were immediately preferred to considerable posts, both in the French and Irish armies, while the Protestants, though their merit was greater, were exposed to all imaginable hardship, and contempts: my lord Dumferling and col. Cannon are too illustrious examples of king James's ingratitude, to be here passed by. The earl, through a mistaken notion of loyalty and honour, had sacrificed his honourable family, and a plentiful estate, to follow that prince in his misfortune; and, it must be granted, that such a proof of loyalty deserved some kind returns; yet, happening to quarrel at St. Germain with one capt. Brown, a Papist, about a trifle, the captain was encouraged and countenanced in his quarrel by the court, and made commander of a company of Scots, reformed officers in Catalonia, whilst this noble lord was despised, for his adhering to his religion: this ill treatment broke his heart, and he sunk under the weight of his hard fate, at St. Germain. His misfortune lasted longer than his life, for, notwithstanding his merits, sufferings, and the interest made by his friends, he could not obtain a Christian burial; and his corpse was hid in a chamber, till an opportunity was found of digging a hole in the fields, in the night, where they thrust him in.

Nor was col. Cannon better used than my lord Dumferling: this gentleman commanded as general over king James's army in Scotland, and served him with so much faithfulness, that every body thought he would be preferred to a great command, upon his arrival at St. Germain; but he, positively refusing to abandon the little religion he had, which was Protestant, was reduced to the scandalous allowance of half-a-crown a day, whilst Papists, who had served under him, were advanced to good posts. This unhappy gentleman, finding himself thus neglected, fell sick through grief, and want, and died; having taken the sacrament from the hands of Dr. Granvile, three days before his death; but the priest, who was always buzzing about him, took the opportunity of his being speechless, to thrust a wafer down his throat, and gave out, that he was dead a Papist, and, by this means, got him the favour of burial, which his corpse had else been excluded from, as well as my lord Dumferling's. If the sufferings, and great merits of these two gentlemen, have not been able to mollify king James's heart, and to obtain from him any generous returns, I would fain know upon what foundation are grounded the great hopes of our grumblers, seeing the most part of them have not had courage enough to follow that prince, and have, for aught we see, no other qualifications to recommend them, but their bare Jacobitism.

However, if the examples, I have already exposed to your view, are not sufficient to convince you, that as long as you are Protestants, and Englishmen, you are to expect no share in king James's favour: I will produce some others, which I am sure will open your eyes, unless you are bound by an oath to continue always blind, and I will begin with sir James Mountgomery.

This gentleman left no stone unturned to re-establish king James in Scotland, by the same parliament, that declared him to have forfeited his right. He was afterwards, for several years, his most active minister in England, penned and published declarations for him, at the time of his designed descent from La Hogue, and, after the miscarriage of that, wrote his Britain's just Complaints; was his weekly news-sender, and project-drawer: yet, this very sir James Mountgomery, who had done such great things, and run such great hazards for him, being obliged to fly to France, after making his escape from the messenger's house, could not obtain, by reason of his being a Protestant, any share in that prince's favour; was brow-beaten from the court by priests, daily upbraided with having been once in the prince of Orange's interest, and at last obliged to retire to Paris, where he died with the melancholy reflexions of the miserable state he brought himself into.

The earl of Lauderdale, though a Papist, met with no better fate than sir James. His lady being a Protestant, and he an enemy to the violent measures of the court, was judged to be a sufficient reason to exclude him from any share in the government; so natural it is for all bigots to hate every body that will not go to their heighth of violence. This gentleman heartily advised king James to put his affairs into Protestant hands, and recommended the earl of Cl———n, and the nonjuring bishops in England, and the lord Home, Southerk, and Sinclair in Scotland, as the fittest persons to serve him; but his advice was so ill taken, that he had his lady sent to England, not to return any more; was himself forbid the court, and reduced to a pension of one hundred pistoles per annum: he retired to Paris, and, seeing no probability of his master's changing his measures, died of grief. One would have thought that his brother, Mr. Alexander Maitland, who, on several occasions, had behaved himself very bravely in that prince's service, should have been preferred by him, yet he met with such an entertainment, that, wanting bread there, he was very glad to come to England, and make his peace with the government, whose service he had deserted, having once had a command in the Scots guards, under king William.

Sir Andrew Forrester is another great instance of king James's aversion to Protestants. This gentleman served, with all imaginable zeal, that prince's interests, when a subject, and was the devoted creature of his most arbitrary commands, when a king; he suffered imprisonment in the Tower for him, at the time of his designed descent; and yet, notwithstanding all this, and the great experience he had in Scottish affairs, he could never obtain any share in that prince's confidence. When he came to St. Germain,

all his merits, sufferings, and the good character he had in both kingdoms, were not enough to counter-balance the objection of being a Protestant, and therefore by no means to be intrusted; so that, after some time's attendance, as a cypher, he was rewarded with a pass to return to England, for they had there no occasion for him.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, who, by his capacity as well as services, was encouraged to go over, and offer his assistance, met with sir Andrew Forrester's fate, upon account of his religion; and was so unkindly used, that he was very glad to get home to old England again, where, it is expected, he will plot no more.

Mr. Fergus Graham was the only Protestant gentleman in king James's family, but, as soon as they saw that my lord Preston, and col. Graham, his brothers, who ventured so much for that prince, could do them no more service in England, he was discharged for no other reason, but that they thought a Protestant a blemish in their houshold.

Nor was sir William Sharp better used, although he pretended to come over upon the act of parliament in Scotland, to save his estate, for the entertainment he had at St. Germain, before he came away, is very well known. The pension he had, whilst king James's army in Scotland kept up, was taken from him, and he fell under distrusts, with Melford and Innes, and contempt at court; which will appear, to all reasonable men, a sufficient motive for his coming away.

But the usage of Dr. Cockburn, a Scottish divine, is beyond any thing that can be imagined. This gentleman was banished Scotland for his practices against the government, and afterwards being obliged to leave England, for writing of pamphlets, thought himself secure of a sanctuary at St. Germain, if not, of a reward for his services; but, instead of that, he met with the daily importunities of priests, to make him abandon his religion; and, their endeavours proving vain, they then represented him as a dangerous person, and got him sent from France. He lives now an exile in Holland, both from Britain and France.

Mrs. Ashton, widow to Mr. Ashton, who was executed for his being concerned, in my lord Preston's affairs, went to the court of St. Germain, after her husband's death, as thinking, that she had some merit to plead for a kind reception; but she was as much deceived as any of those, I have already mentioned. Few days after her arrival, priests were sent to tell her, that nothing, but being a Roman Catholick, could recommend a woman to the queen's service, which the poor gentlewoman declining to comply with, was neglected; and, dying soon after, was refused burial, till her father, Mr. Rigby of Covent Garden, as a mighty favour, and at great charges, obtained leave from the court of St. Germain, to have her body brought over into England; and buried her in Covent Garden church.

If these examples are not sufficient to convince our Jacobites, or, if they question the truth of them, for really I must own, that they

are almost incredible; I desire them, to consult the young lord Henmore, Mr. Louthian, captains Murray, Dalyel, Macgil, Maclean, Fielding, Mr. Charles Kinnaird, and several hundreds more, now in and about London, who are lately come from St. Germain; and they will tell you, that the only reason, why they left that court, was, because they could not have bread, except they would change their religion; and therefore did chuse rather to run the hazard of imprisonment, by returning to England, than stay and starve in France.

Many instances more might be given, to shew king James's hatred to every thing, that bears the name of Protestant; but, if what has already been said, is not sufficient, sure I am, that the rest should be to no purpose. What Protestant has he ever so much as seemed to trust, since he lived in France? I know that my lord Middleton must be excepted, for, indeed, king James has a seeming trust in him. There is no man, that has been at St. Germain, but must needs perceive, that he is not chief minister, as Melford was, nor manages affairs betwixt Versailles and St. Germain, that being done by Innes and Porter: he is but seldom called to the council, and the French court has never depended upon his correspondence, since the disappointment they received, by our fleet's going into the Streights.

I hope, these instances will convince all good men, that have any sense of liberty, religion, and honour, how unreasonable it is to be a Jacobite, and to think that the present misfortunes of king James, will frighten him from invading our laws and liberties in time to come; seeing that neither the abandoning of wives, children, and estates, nor the hazarding, nay, loss of life in his service, can render him just and favourable to such Protestants, who have made a sacrifice of all those things, to follow him: and, if it be so as certainly it is, what must those Protestant nations expect, if ever he re-obtains the government, who have renounced him, and set another prince upon his throne?

If these, who have followed him into France, are denied the exercise of their religion, when his circumstances make it his interest to grant it; what must we expect, if ever he be again in possession of the crown?

My lord chief justice Herbert, and the other gentlemen beforenamed, who firmly adhered to his interests, even in his greatest misfortunes, were contemned, despised, and suffered to starve, because they were Protestants; how can we, or any Protestant Jacobites, who have none of those merits, pretend to be better used? If the loss of honours and estates has not been sufficient to obtain from him Christian burial; upon what ground can our Jacobites, who have done nothing for him, flatter themselves with the hopes of great preferments, if he is re-inthroned? In short, if the example he had of his father's misfortunes, and his brother's exile, wherein he himself was a sharer, together with the sense of his own misfortunes, have not been able to work a reformation

upon him, as appears by the above-written account; can we expect, that he ever will be made more pliable?

The education of his Prince of Wales, whom, no body doubts, he designs his successor, is another instance of his irreconcileable antipathy to the Protestant religion, and English liberties. One would have thought that interest, as well as policy, would have made him educate his child a Protestant; or, at least, oblige him to put Protestants about him, of unquestioned reputation, to instruct him, in the ways of pleasing the people; but, instead of that, Dr, Beeson, a famous and violent Papist, was made his preceptor; and none but Popish servants are allowed to be about him, so that he can imbibe nothing, but what is for the interest of Rome, and destruction of England.

Can people be so mad, as to expect good terms from a prince, who not only thus treats his Protestant subjects, who have followed him in his misfortunes, but also whose religion lays him under a necessity of doing it? Could greater obligations be laid upon any prince, than were upon him, by the church of England, when a subject? Her interest saved him from being prosecuted for the Popish plot, excluded from the succession to the English throne, and afterwards dethroned by the duke of Monmouth; yet all those obligations were no more than his coronation oath, could not hinder him from invading the Protestant religion in general, but more particularly the liberties of the church of England.

But, perhaps, some will object against what I have said, that, from the entertainment Protestants meet with, at St. Germain, it is not reasonable to conclude, that king James bears still such an aversion to our religion and liberties: for, being himself but a refugee in France, and having nothing to live upon, but the pension, the French king allows him, it is not in his power to reward those Protestants who have followed him, even not to caress them; and therefore, we ought rather to peruse the declarations, he has put out, since his being in France, for therein we shall find undeniable proofs, that his misfortunes have much altered his mind. Read (will our Jacobites say) the declaration he published upon his intended descent from La Hogue, and observe what promises he makes, both in relation to our religion, and our liberties, the sincerity whereof you have no manner of pretence to question; for then, thinking himself sure of his game, nothing could oblige him to disguise the true sentiments of his heart.

This is somewhat indeed, gentlemen, and, were the thing as you say, I would agree with you; but give me leave to tell you, that it is a great question, whether the declaration you speak of, which was printed here, did really contain king James's sentiments; but, whether it was his own declaration, or sir James Mountgomery's, it does not matter a pin; for his late majesty did publickly disown it, in a memorial to the Pope, upon his return to Paris; and it has been acknowledged in a Jacobite pamphlet, called, 'An Answer to Dr. Wellwood's answer to King James's Declaration:'

that the same was formed without his knowledge, and against his inclination.

I have told you, in the beginning of this discourse, that I believe, that there are among you some conscientious men, and to those I shall say nothing at this time, but to such that are angry with the government (as I know many amongst you are) merely because they cannot have any employment under it, and who think, without any further examination, to better their condition by a second revolution: I will say, that they ought to consider, that king James's popish friends must be all provided for first of all; and, pray, what will remain then for you? For, as to pensions, I think you are not so mad as to flatter yourself with such imaginary hopes; for the French army, that brings king James over, must be paid, and their vast charges for the Irish war, and the maintenance of king James re-imbursed, before your beloved prince be in a condition to express his favour to you. Perhaps, you will say, that the French king is too much a gentleman to demand any such thing; but I do not know what has given you that noble idea of his generosity: but, supposing his temper to be such, this war will so much drain his Exchequer, that necessity will force him to demand what is justly owing to him, and who shall be able to dispute his bill of charges? Nay, will king James be able to satisfy him? I do not know; but this I am sure of, that, as long as you profess the Protestant religion, you cannot expect to be more favourably treated, than his present followers.

Some others amongst you are disaffected, because, as they say, without the restoration of king James, a Protestant war will be entailed on the nation, and because our treasure is exhausted by taxes, and our blood expended beyond sea, which the nation cannot long bear.

To these gentlemen I must answer, that they are much mistaken; for the bringing in of king James, which they think will put an end to these troubles, would infallibly bring the seat of war from Flanders into England: for it is unreasonable to suppose, that so many noblemen and gentlemen, as are engaged in king William's cause, would tamely submit, or that his majesty, whose interest in Europe is so very great, would either ingloriously abandon his throne, or want foreign assistance to support him in it.

2. King James and the French king are both old, and, upon a change of a governor in France, we may reasonably expect a change of measures; for, as to the Prince of Wales, his interest stands, or falls, with that of his supposed father: but, after all, is it reasonable to believe, that the French, or any other nation, will live in perpetual war with us, merely for the sake of a prince, who pretends to be deprived of his rights? There are very few knights-errants in this age, or, at least, sure I am, that no nation in general is acted by their principles; and we see the French offer already to forsake him.

3. I grant, that our taxes are greater than ever our nation paid; but yet they are not so heavy, but that we can hold it out many

years at this rate. In short, whatever they be, I believe there is no good man, but will rather hazard his person to keep the enemy abroad, than see a French and Irish army in the bowels of our own country, destroying our substance, burning our habitations, and committing the barbarities, which they committed in the Palatinate: for, certainly, by one month's ravage of this nature, we should lose more blood and treasure, than can, probably, be spent to bring the war to an honourable and happy conclusion.

That happy moment is not, perhaps, so far, as some people imagine; for whosoever will cast his eyes on the present posture of affairs in Europe, must needs conclude, that the French cannot hold it out much longer.

THE WARS AND CAUSES OF THEM,

BETWEEN

ENGLAND AND FRANCE,

FROM

WILLIAM THE FIRST TO WILLIAM THE THIRD,

WITH A

TREATISE OF THE SALIQUE LAW.

By D. J. and revised by R. C. Esq: MDCXCVII.

GREAT and various have the actions been between England and France, since the invasion of the Normans, anno dom. 1066, which makes September next *just 629 years; but, that the French nation should make a conquest of England hereby, nothing is more manifestly untrue, that people being a distinct nation from the French, who conquering that province by main force, from Neustria, called it Normandia, in the reign of Charles le Simple; whence, by the way, it is worth remarking, what kind of kings France hath often had, and what sort of epithets their own chronicles give them, which stand upon publick record to all posterity, as Charles le Simple, Charles le Chauve, Charles le Gros, Charles le Gras, Charles le Phrenetique, Phillip le long, Lovis le Begue, &c. Now, though there have been many and mighty quarrels, warlike encounters, and feuds betwixt England and France, yet, in the reign of the Saxon kings, the historians make little mention of any; but since England was joined,

* 1697.

as it were, to the continent, by the addition of Normandy, there have been as frequent traverses of war as have happened between any two nations; for, of those twenty-eight kings and queens, which have reigned here, from William the first to William the third, there have been but a very few of them free from actual wars with France; yet, in so long a tract of time, when the French were at their highest pitch of power, they never did nor had any adequate power to invade England; it is true that they took footing once or twice in the Isle of Wight, but it quickly grew too hot for them. And touching Lewis the French king's son, who did stay, and sway the sceptre here about two years, whereof they so much vaunt: That was no invasion but an invitation, being brought in by the discontented barons in England; so that, in a manner, France was the theatre of the war between the two nations, down from William the first to the present time.

As for the great battles which were fought from time to time, it is confessed by the French historians themselves, that the English were at most but half in number to them in almost all engagements; insomuch that, by pure prowess and point of sword, the English possessed two parts of three in that populous kingdom, and, how all came to be lost again, will appear by the sequel of the story: but here I cannot omit one remarkable accident, that was concomitant with the English arms in France, and that is, that, when the English were at the height of their conquests in that kingdom, the Pope came to reside at Avignon in France, and there was a common saying which continues still in memory among the vulgar, 'Ores! le pape est devenu Francois, & Christ est devenu Anglois,' i. e. Lo! the Pope is become a Frenchman, and Christ an Englishman; which related to the marvellous exploits and successes the English had in that kingdom, which were such that Sir Walter Raleigh, speaking of the famous Punick wars, puts this query: 'If one should ask, which was the valiantest, the Roman or the Carthaginian? one might answer, the Englishman, who performed greater feats of arms than either of them;' insomuch that some foreign authors give this character of France, that it was the stage whereon the English acted their valour so often.

It is true that in canvassing of treaties, in subtleties or shuffling the cards, and mental reservations, they were mostly too hard for the English, who naturally use downright dealing, and real integrity; but, in point of performance of what was stipulated, especially if the article related to money, whereof we drew from them vast sums, they seldom exactly performed the capitulation of any treaty, as foreign writers observe; so that part of king John's ransom is yet behind, besides the money which was to be paid for Tournay, in Henry the eighth's time; the five hundred-thousand crowns, which Edward the sixth was to have for Bologne; and those great expences which queen Elisabeth was to have for sending her armies to aid Henry the fourth, and the French reformists, two parts of three are not paid to this day; but of these and other things more hereafter in their proper place.

ENGLAND, exclusive of Scotland, which had but very little share in the wars we are to treat of, is the greatest, most southern, and best part of the island of Great Britain, heretofore called Albion and Britannia; it lies, together with Wales, in the form of a great triangle, whereof the southern shore is the base, and Berwick the opposite angle; it was divided by the Romans into five parts, by the Saxons into seven kingdoms, and now, Wales included, into fifty two shires or counties. It is a fruitful country, full of valiant and industrious inhabitants; but, in regard to its boundaries, bears no proportion to France, even considered in its narrowest limits, over which, notwithstanding, it has so often and so gloriously triumphed, as will manifestly appear in the series of the ensuing history.

But because, the wars with France, in the time of the Saxons, are very obscurely recorded as to their time, cause, and effects, we will, therefore, begin with,

WILLIAM I.

WHO was invidiously termed the conqueror, by the monks of those times, as the learned Sir William Temple has well observed; though it is as true, he could not claim in right of succession, himself being illegitimate, and Edgar Atheline, of the Saxon blood royal, to take place before him, but must, therefore, reign by virtue either of a compact or previous choice of the people of England, the sword which he had then in his hand, no doubt, powerfully disposing of them also to such an election; he proved to be a warlike king of England, as he had been a successful duke of Normandy. But, though he had wonderful success in the battle of Hastings, which was fought, October the fourteenth, an. 1066, and got the day with the slaughter of above sixty-thousand of his English enemies, yet things did not succeed so well with him in his Kentish expedition; for, directing his march towards Dover, with a design to reduce Kent first under his obedience, as considering this country to be the key of England, and that what he had already done, would be of little account, if this were not accomplished: The Kentish men, upon report hereof, assembled to archbishop Stigand, at Canterbury, and, after serious consultation, resolved to arm, and to force the conqueror either to confirm their ancient liberties, or to die valiantly in the field in defence of them; and so, under the command of the archbishop and the abbot Eglesine, rendezvoused at Swanescomb, where, it was agreed, all the passages should be stopped, and that they should make use of the adjacent woods for a covert from the discovery of the enemy, till he were fast within their net. The duke, next day, expecting no such ambuscade, in his march, finds himself with part of his army surrounded all of a sudden, with numerous squadrons of horse, and battalions of foot; which seemed the more surprising to him, because that, every man for a signal, as it was agreed upon, carrying a green bough in his hand, they appeared unto him like a moving wood, wherein he was in danger of quickly losing himself. Stigand approaches to the duke, tells him

the occasion of such an assembly, what their demands were, and what their resolves, if refused. The duke, wisely considering the danger, grants all their requests, and, upon that, was admitted into Rochester, and had the earldom of Kent and Dover castle yielded to him.

The former part of this king's reign, as may be well imagined, was taken up in making provision for his adventurers, and in subduing, settling, and modelling of his new English subjects, amongst whom were frequent tumults and insurrections, occasioned mostly thro' the insults of the Normans, that but too readily provoked them upon every occasion, presuming, no doubt, very much upon the favour of the king their countryman, who, on times, shewed too much partiality in that regard. It is true, he had not been a year inthroned, before he was obliged, upon commotions there, to pass over into Normandy; but we do not find, till about ten years after, that he had any foreign wars, when, passing over into Bretagne, he laid siege to the castle of Dolence, belonging to Earl Ralph; which engaged Philip, king of France, into the quarrel, and so with a mighty army marches against king William, who, finding himself hereby much streightened for provision, broke up his siege, not without loss, both of men and horses, and of some of his baggage, and hereupon ensued an accommodation; but, not a year after, Robert, the king's eldest son, to whom, upon his assuming of the English crown, he had assigned the dukedom of Normandy, in the presence of king Philip of France, because now his father, as he pretended, would not suffer him to enjoy the said dukedom in quiet, went into France, and, being by the said king Philip assisted with forces, committed great ravages in Normandy, burning many towns, and, at length, engaged with the king his father in battle, near the castle of Garbery, in France; the king, according to his usual manner, charged with great resolution, and spared not to expose his person to all dangers, insomuch that he had in this action, first, the misfortune to be unhorsed himself, his son William wounded, and many of his family slain, and, as an addition hereunto, through intemperate anger to curse his son Robert, who, it was observed, never prospered after. Things, after this, continued in a tolerable state of amity between Philip and this king, till the last year of his reign, when residing in Normandy, and being grown very corpulent, the French king was pleased to speak reproachfully of him, saying, 'The king of England lieth at Roan, and keeps his chamber as lying-in women do, and there nourisheth his fat belly,' did so offend king William, that he said, 'Well, when after my delivery I go to church, I shall offer a thousand candles to him, and sware to the same by God's resurrection and his brightness;' and this he made good the latter end of August, the same year, when he entered France, with fire and sword, and burnt down the city of Meaux, together with the church of St. Mary, and two friars inclosed therein, who superstitiously persuaded themselvss they ought not forsake their cell in such extremity, though to the apparant hazard of their lives. This king died at Roan, *Anno Dom.* 1087, when he had reigned twenty

years, eight months, and sixteen days, and lived three score and four years, and was buried at Caen in Normandy.

The causes of his wars were, first, an irruption made by the French into Normandy, contrary to the articles of peace; and, secondly, the contumelious language used by king Philip, concerning his person.

WILLIAM II.

SIRNAMED Rufus, or the red, during his twelve years and about eight months reign, had no wars with France, neither do we read of any just cause given to engage him thereto; but he unjustly invaded Normandy, then subject to his brother Robert, and dispossessed him of the county of Owe, many castles, and some monasteries; bnt was, in the mean time, by divine justice, assaulted by his younger brother, Henry, in his own dominions, and it had like to have cost him his life, for he was bore down in fight, from his horse, by a valiant knight, who, taking his sword to kill him, was stopped by the king's crying out, 'Hold thy hand, knave, I am the king of England;' which words so struck the knight with reverence, that he mounted him upon another horse; and the king, to recompense his valour and submission, swore, by St. Luke's face, he should be his knight, and be written in his white book. He was accidently killed by Sir Walter Tyrrell, as he was hunting in the New Forest, anno 1100; buried at Winchester, and died unlamented.

HENRY I.

WHO for his learning was called Beauclerk, was youngest son to William the conqueror; he, passing over into Normandy, made war against the earl of Anjou, who kept Maine against his will, and this engaged Lewis, the French king, to take part with the latter; whereupon ensued many sore battles, both in France and Normandy, between them with various success; at length, taking Anjou's daughter for wife to his son William, peace was concluded. But it will not be amiss to give the reader a taste of the high spirit and resolution of this king, in a personal quarrel he had in France. In his father's life-time, he accompanying his eldest brother, Robert, into that kingdom, while the latter associated himself with the then French king; Henry, according to the suitableness of their years, took up with the company and divertisements of the Dauphin, and being one evening at Chess together, the Dauphin happened to lose a considerable sum of money to the prince at that game; whereat the former grew so enraged, that, after some reproachful language, he struck the prince, who, not brooking the high affront, with the chess-board knocks the Dauphin fairly to the ground, and being intent to pursue his revenge, his brother, Robert, fortunately came in, and, minding him of the danger, away they both fled, and with great haste and difficulty recovered the next part of Normandy, before their pursuers could reach them. This king made his exit,

as his father before him, in Normandy in the year 1135, after he had reigned thirty-five years and four months.

The cause of this war we have before assigned, to wit, the king of France's taking part with Anjou against Henry.

STEPHEN,

KING of England, was son to Adella a daughter of William the Conqueror, and nephew to the two last kings; he laid claim to the kingdom of England in the year 1135, notwithstanding his oath to Mawd, the empress and daughter to Henry the first, to the contrary; wherefore, without looking abroad into France for any wars, his whole reign, which was eighteen years and about ten months, was, in a manner, taken up in intestine broils and contests about his right to the English crown, wherein he was stiffly opposed by several nobles, and by the said empress Mawd, and her son Henry, afterwards Henry the second, whom she bare to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, and duke of Normandy; from whence sprang the noble family of the Plantagenets that so long governed England. He was once made prisoner at Bristol, and at last, notwithstanding he had children of his own, was forced to adopt Henry for his son and heir, and the nobles sware fealty to him accordingly.

HENRY II.

SON of Mawd and Geoffrey Plantagenet, as aforesaid, at the age of three and twenty years, and even in the life-time of his mother, under whom he claimed, began his reign over England, in the year 1154. This prince, notwithstanding his domestic troubles; and famous atchievements against the Welsh, and his conquest of a great part of the kingdom of Ireland, so as he was the first of our English kings, that was stiled the Lord of that country, yet found opportunity to make war in France, upon several occasions; the alliance he had made with the French court by the marriage of his son Henry to king Lewis's daughter, Margaret, proving rather an incitative to contention and discord, than a bond of peace and amity. The famous city of Tholouse was chiefly the seat of this war, which was once and again bravely assaulted by king Henry, and as vigorously defended by Lewis. In his first expedition against this place, he was accompanied with Malcolm king of Scots, a Welsh king, and with others of highest rank and dignity in England, Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, and Gascoigne. During his second expedition in France, the earls of Bulloign and Flanders, with six hundred sail of ships, attempted to make a descent into England; but their undertaking proved frustrate and abortive, through the vigilance, courage, and prudence of Richard Lacy, who then governed England. This king is famous, or rather infamous in history, for the many base children he had, being no less than nineteen in number; for his fair concubine Rosamond, for whom he built that celebrated labyrinth at Woodstock, the recesses whereof could not be penetrated into, but by insuperable jealousy,

the queen, as it was said, by the help of a clew of thread, finding of her out at last, and so used her that she lived not long after: And no less to be mentioned for the troubles he met with, from that proud prelate Thomas a Becket; to whose shrine, after his murder, much blind devotion has been paid even by the greatest potentates. Though his son Henry, who was crowned king in his life-time, and died before him, gave him much disturbance, yet when he found, after his death, that others, and particularly his son John conspired against him, he was so stricken with grief that, cursing his son and the day of his own birth, he died July 6, 1189, aged 61, having reigned thirty-four years, and almost seven months.

The Causes of the war were, that king Lewis did incite the prince his son against the laws of nature to oppose Henry his father. In the war time Lewis had promised, upon the word of a king, to meet him in order to a treaty, but he failed for his own advantage, whereupon Henry, being sensible of the fraud, sought him out with his army, and made him give ground; thereupon another interview being appointed, betwixt Terwin and Arras, histories relate that, as the two kings were busy in conference, there fell a clap of thunder between them, and meeting the next day, the like accident happened; which struck a consternation in both armies, as inclined the kings the more to an accomodation.

RICHARD I.

WHO for his valour was sirnamed *Cœur de Lion*, was the third son of Henry the second, but the eldest when his father died, aged 35 years when he began his reign, the former part whereof was spent by him in the wars, in the Holy Land, William Longshamp, bishop of Ely, and chancellor of England, governing the kingdom during his absence. In this war, he signalised his valour to a wonder, having first taken Cyprus in his way thither; and, at Acon in Syria, so behaved himself, that he became an object of envy to other Christian princes, especially to king Philip of France, as you shall see hereafter; wherever he went, terror was his forerunner, insomuch that it grew common, amongst those Eastern people, to terrify their children with the apprehension of king Richard's coming. In his return, being driven upon the coast of Dalmatia, and thinking to pass home by land, incognito, he was made prisoner by the duke of Austria, who brought him to the emperor Henry, and was detained by him in custody for a year and five months, till he paid a great ransom. His unparalleled valour and bravery was the occasion of this misfortune. These and other princes bearing him envy, especially the French king, who invades Normandy during his absence, which obliged Richard to make a peace with Saladine for three years, much to the disadvantage of the cause they fought for. Philip attacked Gisors and had it surrendered to him and many other places, and then hasted

to lay siege to Roan, but found such a vigorous defence made by the valiant and noble earl of Leicester, that he was forced to quit his enterprise, and so returned into France. On the 12th of March, 1194, king Richard landed at Sandwich, was recrowned again, reduced the kingdom entirely to his obedience, which was much divided because of his brother John's pretensions in his absence, and, hearing the king of France had besieged Verneuil, he passed over into Normandy, and arrived at Harfleur with a hundred ships full of horsemen, armour, &c. the noise whereof so frighted the Monsieur, that he left the siege and went his ways. Whereupon Richard enters the French dominions, and takes in several strong places, but the noble Leicester had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, who afterward paid a great sum of money for his ransom, and soon after ensued a truce for a short time; which was no sooner ended, but Richard takes the field, possesses himself of the castle of Brisen, Novencourt, &c. the French king, in the mean time, besieging Albemarle, whither Richard hastening to succour the place, a sharp battle was fought between both armies, wherein the French prevailed, chiefly upon the account of the English being wearied with their hard march. But Richard had no sooner recruited and refreshed his soldiers, but he laid siege to Miligio, took it, and burnt it down to the ground, whereupon ensued some overtures of peace; Albemarle, in the mean time, fell into the French hands, and ran the same fate with Miligio. Some three years after, Richard turned his arms against the barons of Poictiers that rebelled against him, with prosperous success, till at last besieging the castle of Chaluz, and having brought it to that extremity, that he would grant no other conditions but a surrender at discretion, he was shot in the left arm out of a cross-bow, with an invenomed dart by one Bertram de Gordon, of which wound he died the 6th of April 1199, after he had reigned nine years and nine months, and was buried at Fonteverault, at his father's feet.

The causes were, that, while Richard went on so prosperously in the Holy Land, the French king out of envy, and contrary to his sacramental oath, invaded Normandy, which forced king Richard to make peace with Saladine, so much disadvantageous to all Chrtstendom.

JOHN.

THE brother of Richard, who died without issue, and youngest son of Henry the II, succeeded his brother to the prejudice of Arthur, Geoffrey his elder brother's son, who was the real heir of course. This Arthur in right of his mother was earl of Bretagne in France, so that, by this exclusion, England lost one of the best provinces in that kingdom; and, by advancing John to the throne, we not only lost almost all our possessions in France, but England itself became vassal to the Pope, the clergy of those times growing strangely bigotted to Rome, and perverse to the king. King John was in Normandy, when his brother died, and though he wafted over into England, with all possible speed, to take possession

of the crown, and that his presence was so necessary here for to keep his new subjects in their obedience to him, yet he could make no long stay; for, before a year came about, he was forced to return into Normandy again, upon information, that Philip, king of France, had, with a powerful army, made an irruption into Normandy, who took the country of Maine, and several places from the English; the Britons at the same time possessing themselves of the city of Angiers, the towns of Gorney, Butenant, and Gensoline; Arthur doing also homage to king Philip for Anjou, Poictiers, Touraine, Maine, Bretagne, and Normandy. But soon after a peace was concluded between the kings, and thereby many places confirmed to the French king that he had taken, and others yielded up by John, upon the account of his Niece Blanch's marriage with Lewis, heir of France, besides 30,000 marks in silver paid to Philip; and all this to the great dishonour, as well as detriment, of the English nation. About two years after this, to wit, the third of the king's reign, one Hugo Brune, a nobleman of Aquitain, raised a rebellion against king John, in that province; but he and his adherents, being not able to withstand John's forces, made complaint of him to Philip of France, whereupon he was summoned by the nobles of France, as duke or earl of Aquitain and Anjou, to appear before the French king, and to stand to the judgment of his peers, which he refused; upon which the court adjudged him to be deprived of all his lands, which he or his predecessors held of the king of France.

King Philip forthwith raises a great army, invades Normandy, takes in many castles, and a great part of the country without resistance; but Arthur, duke of Bretagne, besieging the castle of Mirable, with queen Eleanor then in it, king John fell upon him there, with such force and fury, that he routed his army, and took Arthur, and many others of note, prisoners. Arthur sometime after was sent prisoner to the tower of Roan, and was there barbarously murdered, some said, by king John's own hands; but in all this time Philip prospered; insomuch that, in a very short space, king John was in a manner despoiled of all the lands he held in fee of the crown of France. King John once and again made great preparations to recover his lost dominions, and had the good success to destroy the French fleet, and recover the province of Poictou, but his domestick troubles, both from his barons and clergy, prevented his further designs. Yet, about the fifteenth year of his reign, having entered into a strong confederacy with other foreign princes, he set sail for Bretagne, and laid siege to Nantz, where a bloody battle was fought, the French king being once in great danger of his life; but at length proved victorious, and took many prisoners; whereof of note were the earls of Brabant, Holland, Flanders, and Bulloign; the emperor, who was also at the battle, being driven out of the field: and 6000 marks, on the king of England's part, was the purchase of a truce for five years. Commotions in England soon followed upon the neck of this, and for male-administration, insomuch that, at length, Lewis, the Dauphin, was invited over by the barons, to take upon him

the crown of England, who came accordingly, with little opposition; but, being soon after displeased with their new king, they resolved to cast him off, and so he was fain at last to depart from whence he came. This was an unhappy reign, but memorable for *Magna Charta*, and for building of London bridge of stone. This king died at Lyn, as he was marching with his army to fight the Dauphin, when he had reigned seventeen years and about five months, and was aged 51 years, anno 1216.

The first ground of this war was, that Philip of France did infringe the truce made with England for five years, and invaded Normandy. Then, another truce being made, he violated that also, and still fomented the barons wars.

HENRY III.

COMMONLY called Henry of Winchester, from his birth-place, succeeded his father king John, at the age of nine years, as next heir, maugre all the attempts of Lewis, the dauphin of France, whose forces were defeated at Lincoln, by the king's guardian and brother in law, the famous earl of Pembroke; and so from that time forward things went worse and worse with him, most places yielding by land, and his fleet utterly destroyed by sea, by Hubert de Burg, Eustace a monk that commanded it being slain by Richard, a bastard son of king John. He yielded up his claim to the crown, and so returned with a glimmering of it into France. Henry, about the fourteenth year of his reign, determined to make war upon France; and, to that purpose, he assembled at Portsmouth all his nobility, knights, and such a vast number, both of horse and foot, as never was done by any of his predecessors, designing to have recovered all those territories his father had lost; but, when they came to be shipped, they had not carriages enough for half the army, which he imputed to the treachery of Hubert de Burg, his chief justice; and in a rage, drawing his sword, would have killed him, had it not been for the earl of Chester that interposed. The earl of Bretagne, who was present, and bound by an oath to conduct the king to his country, and others, persuaded him to defer his expedition for that season, and so his mighty preparations for the present vanished. But, the year following, king Henry, with a mighty army, sailed into Bretagne, and after he had ravaged and committed great spoil in the country, laid siege to the city of Nantz; but, after the consumption of a vast treasure, and the loss of many men by sickness, and otherwise, returned into England the same year, but set all things first in order for the conservation of the country of Bretagne. The French, making use of the opportunity of the king's absence, took the city of Rochelle, and so, pushing on their conquests, reduced the whole province of Poictiers to their obedience, which king John, his father, had conquered; whereat Henry being nettled, prepared for another mighty expedition, but with the same fatal success as before: for, after several bickerings, wherein were lost many of his men, he

made a peace, and returned *re infecta*, but recovered at last the province of Aquitain. The latter part of his reign was so taken up with intestine broils in the barons wars, wherein sometimes he was worsted and imprisoned, sometimes prevailed against his enemies, that he had no leisure to look after his territories abroad, and call the French to an account for them, till at last, after he had lived 65 years, and of them reigned 56, and odd days, and lavished away an immense treasure, he resigned his breath to him that gave it, at Edmundsbury in Suffolk, was buried at Westminster, anno 1272, and was happy in nothing so much as in the hopes of his eldest son Edward.

1. One cause of his wars with France was, that the French assisted the Scots against him.
2. Another was, the recovery of those towns and provinces, the French unjustly took from him, and his ancestors.

EDWARD I.

SIRNAMED Long-shanks, the son of Henry, was in the Holy land with Eleanor his wife, when the crown fell to him, being then about 33 years old. He began his reign the 16th of November, and arrived with his queen in England, the 15th of August following, being in the year 1273. He proved a warlike, wise, and victorious prince, and may justly be stiled, The best Law-giver. He made several expeditions against Wales and Scotland; the latter became tributary to him, and the former he reduced intirely, under the obedience of the crown of England, and has so continued to this day; but the stratagem he used to satisfy those unruly spirits, and keep them in subjection, may be worthy of observation.

Having about the twelfth year of his reign reduced all Wales, and, by a statute made at Ruthyn, incorporated and annexed it to the crown of England; but, finding he could not win the good will of the people, unless he would engage to reside amongst them, or allow them a prince of their own nation to govern them, and that, after several conferences, no English deputies would do, but that they were content to submit to any man he should name, provided he were a Welchman; at length he privily sends for his queen, then big with child, and caused her to remain at Carnarvan castle, where she was brought to bed of a son, at which time he sends for the barons and chief men of Wales, to come to him to Ruthyn, to deliberate about the affairs of the country; and when they came, he told them, he had now occasion to go out of that country, but, before he went, he was determined to name them a prince, if they promised to obey him; they replied, they would, provided he were one of their own nation; wherefore the king rejoined, he would name one born in Wales, and that could speak never a word of English, and who was of unspotted life and conversation, and, when all was agreed to, he named his son Edward, born as aforesaid.

But, notwithstanding this king had so much to do with Wales and Scotland, yet he was no ways negligent of his affairs and interest in France; but, as soon as he had any leisure, which was about the twenty-second year of his reign, first, like a wise prince, takes care to have sufficient treasure for such an undertaking; and therefore, in a parliamentary way, raised a vast sum of money, and so provides an army, and fleet of ships, suitable to such an expedition. The army rendezvoused at Portsmouth, the command whereof he gave to his nephew John de Brytain, earl of Richmond, with whom he joined in commission John St. John and Robert Tripot, two prudent knights, from whence they set sail, and landed at St. Matthews in Bretagne (and in the mean time set out three fleets for the guard of the seas, and to prevent the depredations of the enemy) they entered the mouth of the Garonne towards Bourdeaux, and took two good walled towns, Burgo and Bleya, from whence they marched to Lyons, and had the town delivered to them. About four years after he generously goes over, in person, into Flanders, for the relief of Guy, earl of that country, who was grievously assaulted by the French king; and, after many noble atchievements performed, a peace was concluded; Edward taking to Wife Margaret, sister to Philip the fair, then king of France. This king died in 1307, when he had reigned thirty-four years, seven months, and odd days, aged 68, and was buried at Westminster.

1. One cause of this breach with France was the depredations that were committed at sea.
2. The relief of Guy, earl of Flanders, who was in danger of losing his country.

EDWARD II.

COMMONLY called Edward of Caernarvan (the first prince of England, that bore, in his father's life-time, the title of Prince of Wales) proved an unworthy successor to so brave a father; for he was a dissolute prince, and wholly guided by his favourites; the first whereof was Pierce Gaveston, who was bred up with him, and on whom he conferred thirty-two towns, and as many castles, in Gascoigne, besides great sums of money out of the earldom of Cornwall, during his life; which, together with his arrogance, the barons, being not able to brook, combined to force the king to banish him; and so little did this prince understand his true interest herein, that, instead of parting with such a pernicious man, and thereby securing his interest at home, and taking measures for the same in France, and elsewhere, he intended to give up Gascoigne to the French king, Scotland to Robert Bruce, and Ireland and Wales to others, as hoping thereby to obtain such aid as might secure him his favourite, against all the just attempts of his barons to the contrary. But no sooner was this man removed, but he had two others, the Spencers, father and son, that were as pernicious as he, and proved more fatal to Edward every way; for, though they received at length condign punishment, yet it was through their

advice chiefly, that Edward refused to go to the French king, to do homage for Aquitain, and other lands, he held of him, and thereby lost Anjou, and the country of Poictiers; and it was his adherence to them that raised his barons and queen against him, which ended in a sad catastrophe, first in his being deposed, next in making a formal resignation of the crown, and lastly, in being soon after barbarously murdered, at Berkley castle, by the procurement of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, the queen's favourite. He reigned nineteen years, six months, and odd days, and died in 1327.

EDWARD III.

COMMONLY called Edward of Windsor, the eldest son of Edward the second, succeeded his father, upon his resignation of the crown, being about the age of fourteen, his reign commencing from the 25th of January, in the year of our Lord 1326. He proved a blessing to England, and was a prince of great wisdom, and very successful in his enterprises. The younger part of his reign was much eclipsed by Roger Mortimer, earl of March, the queen his mother's paramour, but he got quickly rid of him, for he was seized at Nottingham, by the king's order and concurrence, just as he was going to bed with the queen, and for all the queen's crying out to him, *Bel fils, bel fils, ayes pitie de gentil* Mortimer, *i. e.* good son, good son, take pity upon gentle Mortimer; he was forthwith carried away to London, committed to the Tower, condemned by his peers in Parliament at Westminster, hanged at Elmes, and left hanging upon the gallows two days and nights; and all this unheard, because he had done so by others before. This king made several successful expeditions into Scotland, and made the king thereof do him homage; but the seat of his wars was in France, for, Charles, king of France, dying, the masculine line of Hugh Capet failed, and the crown descended to Edward the third (as he alledged) in right of his mother Isabella, who was sister to the said Charles; but Philip de Valois, uncle to Charles, intruded himself by force of arms, and took possession; and was not only aggressor in this respect, but grew so confident of his power, that nothing would serve him, but he must have all our king had left in France, and therefore bends his force against all the king's castles and towns in Aquitain and Poictiers, and exercises abominable cruelties upon the English inhabitants, and all this under pretence of taking revenge for his friends the Scots. The king in the mean time holds a parliament, obtains considerable supplies, and writes letters to the French king, exhorting him to continue his old amity; but neither this, nor the Pope's mediation for a peace, would do; so king Edward makes mighty preparations, both by sea and land; and the first action happened to be by sea, and as memorable a one as any in the records of time; for he took and sunk 200 sail of French ships, which Philip de Valois had prepared in the haven of Sluce for the invasion of England, which fleet, like that of 88, was held invincible; but king Edward had equipped another as formidable

a fleet, in opposition, whereof he was generalissimo, and admiral himself. It was one of the most glorious victories that ever was got at sea; for the chronicles mention, that the whole of the French navy perished, and 30000 men were wounded, slain, and taken. This great naval battle was fought upon Midsummer eve, and heaven appeared much for the English, for they had wind and sun favourable to them in the fight; and, to make it more glorious, king Edward himself was wounded in the thigh with an arrow, whereof he was quickly cured. He then goes in person to France, with 8000 common soldiers, and 15000 archers, but he raised most of his horse in France; he took over with him his son the prince of Wales, then but fifteen years old, called afterwards the Black Prince. He enters Normandy like a whirl-wind, and carries all the country before him as far as Poissy, about ten miles from Paris; and, after divers hot skirmishes, a main battle is appointed. The English army encamped near a village called Cressy, where it was divided into three battalions; the first was led by the prince of Wales, the second by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, and in the third was the king himself. The field being thus ordered, the king mounted upon a white hobby, and rode from rank to rank, encouraging every one to the performance of his duty.

The French army was at least twice more in number, consisting of above sixty-thousand combatants, with the flower of all the French cavalry, whereof the chief was the duke of Alenzon the king's brother. There were besides the dukes of Lorrain and Luxemburg, the earls of Flanders, and Artois, with other foreign princes. The French king was so fierce in confidence of victory, that he would scarce admit of any previous time for counsel. The old king of Bohemia advised, that the army should receive some refreshment, before the fight, and that the brigade of Genoa, whereof there were about fifteen-thousand balestiers, or cross-bows, should make the first front, and the cavalry to follow next; which being agreed upon, the duke of Alenzon did stomach, that the Genoese should have the honour of the first rank. This bred such a discontent that they seemed to be more incensed against their leaders, than against the enemy; but, in the interim, there fell such a huge shower of rain, that wetted their bow-strings, which they had not the wit to cover all the while, as the English did, insomuch that, for the limberness thereof, when they came to engage, they grew useless. At the ceasing of the shower, heaven appeared in the action, for the English; for the sun did shine full in the faces of the French, thereby dazzling their eyes, but on the back of the English. King Edward being got into a wind-mill, all the while, whence as from a watch-tower he might explore, and behold the face of the enemy, and discerning the disturbance that happened, because the Genoese were put to change their post, instantly gave order to charge that part, which made the Genoese recoil. Alenzon, perceiving this, rides about in a rage, crying out, '*Sa sa*, let us make way, over the bellies of these Italians, for they do but hinder us. So, riding through them, he came up to the English wing, where

the prince of Wales was; the fight grew furious, and doubtful, insomuch that the commanders about the prince sent up to the king, for a recruit of power; the king asking the messenger, whether his son was wounded or slain, and being answered No, he replied, 'Then tell them who sent you, that, as long as my son is alive, they send no more to me, for my will is, that he win his spurs, and have the honour of this day. So the combatants, on both sides, being wonderfully eager, the French king had his horse killed under him, and so withdrew; which being known by the English, it added much to their courage, so that soon after, they became masters of the field, and being in heat of blood, they made no prisoners, but put all to the sword; so that the number of the French slain surmounted the whole army of the English, for there fell about thirty-thousand of the enemy, the chief whereof was the duke of Alenzon, the dukes of Bourbon and Lorrain, the earl of Flanders, the dauphin de Viennois son to Imbert, who afterwards gave the province of Dauphiny to the French king, provided his first son should be called Dauphin *in perpetuum;* and, as a corollary to this mighty victory, the next day sending scouts abroad, there was another French army discovered, under the conduct of the archbishop of Roan, whom the English encountered also, and utterly defeated. There was one passage very remarkable in this battle, whereof sir Walter Rawleigh makes mention: 'That, a day before the engagement, the king sent one captain David Gam, a Welchman, to explore and view the French army; which he did, with no less danger than fidelity, and brought word, that there were, in the enemy's army, men enough to kill, enough to take prisoners, and enough to run away; which proved true, and so the Welch captain was knighted in the field.'

This mighty victory was seconded, a few years after, by another more memorable; for the Black prince, having now won his spurs, and being tapered up to his full growth, was sent to Gascoigne, where, the truce being expired, he over-runs all the country, as far as Touraine. Thereupon John, the then French king, raised a potent army, more numerous than that at Cressy, and going to find out the Prince of Wales, he heard of him about Poictiers, having not above ten-thousand effective men, in his whole army, and they also having been tired with long marches, whereas the French were fresh, and were six times as many. Whereupon the prince, being advised to turn, falls about towards Bourdeaux, when he was suddenly surrounded by the French army; upon which, a battle being intended, there came two cardinals, to mediate an accommodation. But the French king would hearken to none, unless the prince, as a vanquished man, would render up himself, and his whole army, to discretion. This was of hard digestion, to a prince of such a courage, therefore he answered: 'That, at the mediation of the holy father, he was willing to restore such places, which he had taken *en bonne guerre,* provided this might be done without prejudice to his honour, whereof he was accountable to the king his father, &c. The French king, not hearkening to this, resolved to fight; thereupon

the prince also resolved, for his part, to part with his life, at as high a rate as he could in such a straight. Wherefore, making a virtue of necessity, by a happy providence, he makes a choice of an advantageous ground; for, finding that the French army consisted most in cavalry, he intrenched among the adjacent vineyards, where, when the French horse furiously entered, being wrapped and entangled amongst the vines, the English archers did so ply, pelt, and gall them, that being thereby disorded, unranked, and routed, the whole army, in a short time, was totally defeated. But it seems, that this battle was not so fierce as that of Cressy, where no quarter was given; for in this a great number of prisoners were made, among whom was king John himself, and Philip his youngest son, whom the prince brought to England; and, as the French historians themselves confess, he was so civil unto him all the while, that, he knew not whether he was in quality of a free king, or of a captive.

And here a fair occasion is given to discover, and vindicate a great truth, touching the individual person, who first took king John; and he was a Welch gentleman, one Howel, of the life-guard to the prince, which guard used to carry a kind of battle-axes, or partisans. This Howel, it seems, being one of them, in the confused medley, and fury of the fight, did fortunately meet with the king, and seized upon him; but, suddenly in the hurly-burley, some Frenchmen of the prince's army rush'd in, and the king, knowing one of them, called to him, whose name was Myrobrecht de Artois, who going on, with others, to present the prisoner to the prince, there was a contest who took him first, and the king was desired to point at him; so he pointed at Howel, and said, 'This is the man who took me.' There are authentick records in some Welch manuscripts that confirm this; moreover, they have a general tradition, and some songs, which continue fresh to this day, how Howel did put a bridle in the French king's mouth, with many other expressions, touching this great act. Now, for that signal exploit, the prince knighted him in the field, and he was ever after called, sir Howel y Fuyall, sir Howel with the ax; he had the constableship of Crykyth castle given him, with the farms of Chester mills, and other considerable things conferred upon him; which surely would not have been, but for the merit of some high signal service. The British records (besides tradition and common report) that mentioned this, were to be found in John Wynn's library, an honourable knowing knight, who was a curious collector of antiquities.

These and many other glorious exploits were done by this king in France, who ceased not his pursuits till he had got the key of it hanging at his girdle, to wit, the town of Calais, that, in those days, was looked upon to be impregnable, which he carried, after a long siege. This king's reign is also memorable upon many other accounts; as for the institution of the noble Order of the Garter; for removing the staple of wool, from Flanders into England; for that great champion against Rome, the famous Wickliff; and for

his own numerous issue, by his heroick queen Philippa, being no less than seven sons, and five daughters. His sons were these, Edward the Black Prince, the hopes of England, and who died before his father; William of Hatfield, Lionel duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langley, duke of York, William of Windsor, and Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Glocester. He died at Richmond in 1377, when he had reigned fifty years and odd months.

The cause of the war, betwixt the English and French, in Edward the Third's time, was a claim to the crown and kingdom of France, in right of his mother Isabel, which they would make invalid by their Salick (or distaff law) to which the greatest civilians do allow no essence at all; and Du Haillan, the great French historian, hath no better opinion of it, but to be a meer chimera, or imaginary thing, but of this more presently.

Of the Salick Law.

'HERE I judge it no way impertinent to be a little more particular yet, touching the claim of this king Edward to the crown of France, and what grounds the French had, by virtue of this Salick Law, for the exclusion of him, claiming from a female. And, first, we will briefly state his claim, as it then stood, and then come to the law itself, and it was thus: Philip the Fourth, sirnamed the Fair, had three sons, Lewis the Contentious, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair (all these successively reigned after him, and died without issue inheritable); he had likewise a daughter named Isabel (I purposely omit the other, being foreign to the present affair) married to Edward the Second, king of England, and so was mother to Edward the Third. The issue male of Philip the Fair thus failing, Philip son and heir of Charles, earl of Valois, Beaumont, &c. (who was brother to Philip the Fair), laid claim to the crown as next heir male, against king Edward, who made answer to the objection of the Salick Law, that (admitting it was as they asserted) yet he was heir male, though descended of a daughter; and this, in a publick assembly of the states of France, first about the protectorship of the womb (for queen Joan, dowager of Charles the Fair, was left with child, and delivered of a daughter named Blanch, afterwards dutchess of Orleans) was had in solemn dispute by lawyers on both sides, and applied, at length, also to the direct point of inheriting the crown, and so adjudged against king Edward. What followed hereupon we have, in some measure, traced in the preceding history of his wars, and are more at large recorded in Walsingham, Froissart, Æmilius, and a multitude of more modern writers; whereby it appears, and will in the wars of this king's successors in France, how the denial of this sovereignty to him, by the French, cost the lives of many thousands of their men, and involved that country into long and miserable calamities.

'But as for the law itself, whereby they pretended such an ex-

'clusion of him, it may well be said with Drayton in his Poly-'Albion, that every mouth speaks of it, but few understand the 'thing itself, or so much as the etymology of its name; and there-'fore, to clear this point, as well as we can, we are necessitated to 'ascend a little higher than these times, wherein it was made use 'of, in prejudice to the English claim, and to begin with the ori-'ginal of the Francks, with whom they affirm it was brought into 'France. The Francks therefore (according to many modern his-'torians) came originally from Asia, into Germany, though others, 'and perhaps upon better grounds, make their original to be in 'Germany itself; but this is certain, that, upon the decline of the 'Roman empire, they inhabited Franconia, a province of Ger-'many, and about the year four hundred and thirteen, or, accord-'ing to Davila, one hundred and nineteen, invaded France, under 'Pharamond, whom they chose to be their king and leader (which 'Pharamond they make to be son to Marcovir, a prince that go-'verned them in Franconia). But, first, before they began their ex-'pedition, they held a general assembly, near unto a river named 'Sala, and there, by the advice of the Salii, their priests, or as 'others of the Salians, whom they make to be the same with 'Francks, enacted laws for government, and amongst the rest, one 'for the exclusion of females, from inheriting the crown, which 'from the aforesaid appellations (whether one or all, it matters 'not) came to be denominated the Salick Law. But Goropius, that 'fetches all out of Dutch, and this perhaps more tolerably than 'many of his other etymologies (deriving the Salians name from 'Sal, which, in contraction, he makes to be from Sadel, inventors 'whereof, says he, the Salians were) interprets them to be as much 'as horsemen, a name fitly applied to the warlike and most noble 'persons of any nation, as Equites in Latin, Chevaliers in French, 'and Marchog in Welch, do very well agree to. So that, upon the 'whole, the Salick Law is made by him to be as much as a Chival-'rous Law; and Salick Land, *Quæ ad equestris ordinis dignitatem '& in capite summo & in cæteris membris conservandam pertinebat;* 'which very well agrees with a sentence, given in the parliament 'at Bourdeaux, upon an ancient will, devising all the testator's 'Salick lands, which was in point of judgment interpreted to be a 'fief; and who knows not, but that fiefs were originally military 'gifts. But, if things be so, how then comes Salick to extend to 'the crown, which is held to be meerly without tenure? Therefore '(saith a later lawyer) *Ego scio legem Salicam agere de privato pa-'trimonio tantum*, I know the Salick law, intends only private pos-'sessions. Again, there are some who pretend to give us the names 'of the compilers of this law (and not this alone, but of many 'others, as they say) viz. Wisogast, Bodogast, Salogast, and Win-'dogast, wise counsellors, about that Pharamond's reign. The text 'of it in this part is offered us by Claude de Seissel, bishop of Mar-'seilles, Bodin, and other French writers, as if it were as ancient as 'the original of the name, in these words: *De terra Salica nulla 'portio hæreditatis mulieri veniat, sed ad virilem sexum tota terræ*

'*hereditas perveniat*. No part of the Salick land can descend to the 'daughter, but all to the male, and in substance, as if referred to 'the person of the king's heir female. So much is remembered by 'that great Civilian Baldus, and divers others, but rather as a 'custom, than any particular law, as an author of that kingdom 'hath expresly written: *Ce n' est point une loye ecritte, mais nee avec 'nous, que nous n' avons point inventer, mais l' avons puisse de la nature 'meme, qui le nous y ainsi apris & donne cet instinct;* that is, this is 'no law written, but learned of nature. But why the same author 'dares affirm, that king Edward yielded upon this point to the French 'Philip de Valois, I wonder, seeing all stories and carriages of 'state, in those times, are so manifestly opposite. Becanus under-'takes a conjecture of the first cause, which excluded Gynæcocracy 'among them, guessing it to be upon their observation of the mis-'fortune in war, which their neighbours, the Bructerans (a people 'about the now Over-Issel, in the Netherlands, from near whom 'he, as many others first, derives the Francks) endured in the time 'of Vespasian, under the conduct and empire of one Velleda, a lady 'even of divine esteem amongst them. The learned Drayton, who 'has particularly treated of this subject, leaves it at last in sus-'pence, and concludes thus:'

But, howsoever the law be in truth, or interpretable (for it might ill beseem me to offer determination, in a matter of this kind) it is certain, that, to this day, they have an usage of ancient time, which commits to the care of some of the greatest peers, that they, when the queen is in child-birth, be present, and warily observe, lest the ladies privily should counterfeit the inheritable sex, by supposing some other made, when the true birth is female, or, by any such means, wrong their ancient custom royal. 'But, by his favour, 'this is a custom in England as well as in France, where the fe-'males do notwithstanding inherit the crown, and never any law 'pretended to the contrary. I shall therefore conclude upon the 'whole with this one remark, that notwithstanding the many vo-'lumes that have been writ to justify king Edward and his succes-'sors title to France (though it is true the English in that age were 'better skilled in the sword than in the pen) and the great dust 'that has been raised by the French under pretence of this Salick 'law, to impede his way to their crown: yet after all it appears 'clearly to me, that the aforesaid duchess of Orleans had a better 'title than either king Edward or Philip de Valois, for she was 'daughter to Charles the Fair, the last king of the Caputian line; 'whereas Edward was descended only from Isabella, sister to this 'same king. And as for Philip de Valois, his pretensions had little 'of reality in them, when it is plain Hugh Capet descended from a 'female of the Carolovinian line, yet succeeded to the crown of 'France; and where was their Salick law then, whereof they after-'wards so much boasted that it was born with them, and never 'writ, but taught by nature!'

RICHARD II.

SON to Edward the Black Prince, by Joan his wife, daughter to Edmund, earl of Kent, the youngest son of king Edward the First, succeeded his grandfather king Edward the Third, being but eleven years old, but had neither his wisdom nor good fortune. From Bourdeaux, his birth-place, where his father kept his residence as duke of Aquitain, he was called Richard of Bourdeaux. In his minority he was governed by his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester; his reign was at first much disturbed with the Scots, and there were also diverse traverses of war, especially by sea, with France; for the French began to improve in navigation, and did us much mischief, for they burnt a good part of Rye, Hastings, and Portsmouth, advancing into the river as far as Gravesend, where they likewise took booties, and burnt almost all the place. They also took footing in the Isle of Wight, but were soon repelled: sir John Arundel, being sent with a considerable fleet to Bretagne, was disasterously cast away, with above 1000 persons more, whereof some were of rank and gallantry. But, a little after, sir Hugh Caverly and sir Thomas Piercy being made admirals, they so scowered and secured the seas, and they took such a world of prizes, that French wines were sold in London for a mark a ton; and it is a passage of some remark, how one John Philpot, a citizen of London, manned out a fleet, at his own charge, took prizes, and did many exploits against the French, yet at his return he was questioned for setting forth men of war without a warrant from king and council.

This reign is also remarkable for the famous rebellion of Wat. Tyler and Jack Straw, for the expeditions of the duke of Lancaster to Spain, but especially for that famous interview between the kings of England and France, between Calais and St. Omers, managed with all the ceremony, pomp and grandeur, that could be imagined, and where a knot of friendship was tied, by king Richard's taking the lady Isabella to wife, the king of France's daughter, he being then a widower, as having buried queen Anne, the king of Bohemia's daughter, about two years before. This king, after much male-administration, was, at length, deposed, when he had reigned twenty-two years and about three months, and was soon after murdered in Pomfret Castle in Yorkshire.

HENRY IV.

COMMONLY called Henry of Bollingbroke, the first king of this line, was son to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward the Third. He came to the crown by the power of the sword, but with the consent of the people, the issue of Lionel duke of Clarence, third son to the said king Edward, being laid aside, that had a precedent right. He was a prince of singular prowess, but most part of his time was taken up in suppressing of rebellions at home, and in the old trade of warring with Scotland;

whereat the French grew insolent, fitted out divers fleets, and attempted the coasts of England, first under the Count of St. Paul, who landed at the Isle of Wight, with 7000 men, where he burnt some villages, but the island grew quickly too hot for him. Plymouth also was plundered, and divers houses burnt, whereupon the Western men were permitted to set out ships of war, whereby they sufficiently revenged themselves of the French, and at one time took forty sail. The French take footing again in the Isle of Wight, with 1000 men, but they were repelled, with the slaughter of many hundreds. Afterwards the admiral of Britany, with the lord of Castile, and thirty sail, attempt Dartmouth, where, at a fierce assault, Du Castile was slain, with his two brothers.

The English, during this reign, had occasion also to signalise themselves by land in France, upon two several occasions; for a great feud happening between the duke of Burgundy (whom the French king and his eldest son favoured) and the duke of Orleans, whose father had been put to death by the procurement of the former, it came at last to open wars between them. But Burgundy, finding his adversary had powerful assistance from the kings of Navarre and Arragon, the dukes of Bituria, Bretagne, and others, makes his application to king Henry for aid, who at first gave him good counsel, and afterwards sent him good force under the command of Thomas earl of Arundel, the famous sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, and others, with which reinforcement he prevailed powerfully against his enemy, insomuch that, about a year after, Orleans also becomes a suiter to the same king Henry, for assistance against Burgundy; which the king also granted, and dispatched away, under the command of Thomas duke of Clarence, Edward duke of York, &c. many valiant men who landed in Normandy where Orleans was to meet them, but did not at the time appointed. However, they prosecuted their design, and took many strong places, and at length Orleans and Clarence met, and having settled their affairs, the English departed to their winter quarters in Aquitain. Henry, like a wise prince, designed to make use of these dissensions in France, and expressed as much to the archbishop of Canterbury, saying, 'Behold now is the acceptable time, let us go into France, and win, with small ado, that which is our right;' but, being then labouring under a great sickness, he was by his lords, with great difficulty, persuaded to the contrary; and thus ended his wars in France, he himself dying soon after this last expedition under Clarence, to wit, on the 20th of March, anno 1412, aged 46, when he had reigned thirteen years, and about six months, and was buried at Canterbury by his first wife the lady Mary, daughter to Bohun earl of Essex. He had issue four sons, Henry, that succeeded him, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, of whom it was said they could not be distinguished for their excellency, save that Henry was the eldest. He had also two daughters, Blanch duchess of Bavaria, and Philippa queen of Denmark.

The causes of this war were first self-preservation, and that the French assisted the Scots against England, and had also sent 12000 men to Owen Glendower, a British prince, who was up in arms against the king, but, a few days after they landed at Milford-Haven, they ran again back to their ships.

HENRY V.

COMMONLY called Henry of Monmouth, the eldest son of Henry IV. proved a great prince, was a mirror of magnanimity, and stands to this day one of the greatest ornaments of our English chronicles. He no sooner mounted the throne, but he had his eye presently upon France, for recovering his royal right to that crown; in order whereunto he altered in his arms the bearing of semy deluces, and quartered the three full flower-de-luces as France did bear them. Thereupon he sent the duke of Exeter in a magnificent ambassy, attended with 500 horse to Paris, to demand the crown, and receiving no satisfactory answer, but rather a jeer, the Dauphin sending king Henry a sackful of racket court-balls, to employ his time; he replied, That, for every one of those balls, he had so many fiery bullets to bandy at the proudest towers of France, as he should quickly find; and so he presently got over, and encountered the French army at Agencourt, the French king himself being at the head of it, which he utterly overthrew, and took more prisoners than he had common soldiers. The battle was fought upon a Sunday morning about the time of high mass: for having sent notice to England before, that extraordinary prayers should be made in all churches about ten o'clock in the morning, he stood upon the defensive part all the while till then; but then, making a moving oration to his whole army, and, among other strains, telling them how all England was praying for them at that very hour, he obtained a most glorious and compleat victory. Besides that great act of piety, another of policy was used; for the king, to prevent the fury of the French cavalry, appointed divers stakes, studded with iron at both ends, of about six feet long, to be pitched behind the archers, and ordered that pioneers should attend to remove them, as they should be directed, which invention conduced much to the good success of the action. The king himself charged the duke of Alenzon, who, being beaten off his horse, was slain. There was also a great slaughter of all kind of French prisoners, because the number was so great, that nothing could give assurance of safety, but by making them away.

At length, after many wonderful feats and successes performed, especially by himself and noble brothers the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, he was, upon articles agreed between him and Charles VI. then king of France, made regent of that kingdom, and proclaimed both there and in England heir apparent to the French crown, and did, thereupon, take Katherine, the said king's daughter to wife; but the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VII.) who judged himself much aggrieved hereby, made a strong party in the kingdom, and with a great army laid siege to the town of Cosney,

which king Henry was so concerned at, that he resolved to go in person to the raising of it. But he was so eager and over-hasty in his march, that he could reach no further than Senlis (trusting to his brother the duke of Bedford's care in the prosecuting of that design, who relieved the town, and obliged the Dauphin to retreat), and there his fever so increased upon him, that he made his last will, and appointed his jewels to be sold for the payment of his debts, and ordained his brother, the duke of Bedford, to be regent of France and Normandy, and so died at Vincennes, leaving no issue but a young son, whose education he left to the cardinal of Winchester, and the government of England, during his minority, to Humphry, duke of Gloucester, being the year of our Lord, 1422, aged thirty-eight, and having reigned nine years and odd months. He had the mortification to have his brother Clarence slain with many fine soldiers, at the siege of Bauge in Anjou, before he died, but was otherwise in all attempts successful, and is renowned upon all accounts, but in nothing so much as in his piety to God, to whom he gave all the glory of his victories.

The ground of this war was the former claim to the crown and kingdom of France.

HENRY VI.

COMMONLY called Henry of Windsor, proved a religious prince, but weak and unfortunate; he began his reign when he was eight years old, and was crowned king of France at Paris, anno 1431, to whom the nobles, provost, and chief burgesses sware fealty; but lost it, five years after, to Charles the Seventh, and the loss of that drew on the loss of the whole, but it was not without much struggling. The beginning of his reign, which all persons feared would have been the worst, proved quite contrary, and was the most prosperous; which is to be attributed to the wisdom, care, and resolution of those brave men that his father appointed to guard him and his dominions. Things prospered in France, whilst the heroick Bedford lived, who won many towns and forts, and proved victor in several encounters and battles, especially that great battle of Verneuil, where (as a French author confesseth) Bedford, Salisbury, and Suffolk did mighty exploits, and defeated the whole French power; about which time, Bedford, as regent, was obeyed in all places through Vimen, Poictiers, and Picardy; and from Paris to Rheims, Chalons, and Troyes, up to the river of Loyre; but when this brave prince died, which was about the fourteenth year of Henry's reign, and that the duke of York was made regent, things went very much to wrack in France. Guienne was the last province in France that held out for the English, where we lost that brave captain, John, lord Talbot, the first earl of Shrewsbury of that family, and ancestor to the now illustrious duke of Shrewsbury, and called by the French historians, the glory of the English nation, as we had done some years before, at the siege of Orleans, the valiant earl of Salisbury; a siege which first raised

the fame of the French Amazon, Joan, the sheperdess, commonly called the Maid of Orleans, whose wonderful courage and success proved very fatal to the English (though she was afterwards burnt at Roan for a witch), and which did not a little contribute to hasten our expulsion out of that kingdom; all places at length being reduced, except Calais, and the Norman isles of Guernsey, Jersey, &c. And thus was the old prophecy made good, 'That Henry of Monmouth should win all, and Henry of Windsor should lose all;' which was verified to some purpose in this king, for, to the former losses, was added that of the crown of England, he being deposed, after he had reigned thirty-nine years; but lived eleven years after, and was murdered by Crookback Richard, in the Tower of London. He was a king pious in an intense degree, which made Henry the Seventh send to the Pope, to have Henry the Sixth canonised for a saint; but answer was given, that he would canonise him for an innocent, but not for a saint.

The cause of this war, in this king's time, was the revolt of the French from their obedience to their true king.

EDWARD IV.

ELDEST son of Richard, duke of York, and first of this line, came to the crown by right of descent, from king Edward the Third; for Anne, his grandmother, was daughter of Roger Mortimer, son of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and Philip his wife, sole daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward the Third, and elder brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; so that it is plain, in course of succession, he had a precedent right to the house of Lancaster. He was fain to maintain his right, as he had got it, by the sword; for, to get it, no less than six battles had been fought by his father and himself, and six more, to secure it, were fought in his reign; but, when his affairs began to receive any settlement, he revolves upon his old right to the kingdom of France; wherefore, upon the request of the duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, who was already actually in war with the French king, he enters into an alliance with him, for to carry it on with united forces; and was the more easily induced hereunto, because of the assistance France had lately given the earl of Warwick, queen Margaret, her son, prince Edward, and their accomplices, against him. King Edward makes very great preparations for this expedition, and having got all things in readiness, rendezvouses at Dover, and so, from thence, sails in a fleet, consisting of five hundred sail, of all burthens (whereof, the duke of Burgundy furnished many) and lands at Calais, with a greater force than ever, at any one time, came into France; for he had with him one thousand five hundred gen d' arms, being all nobles and gentlemen; fifteen thousand archers on horseback, eight thousand common soldiers, with three thousand pioneers (three thousand English being at the same time appointed to land in Bretagne, for to make a diversion on that side.)

But, before king Edward embarked, he sent an herald from Dover, to the king of France, with a letter of defiance, written in such language, that, my author is persuaded, could never be of an Englishman's penning (so little esteem had the English nation, at that time, for their learning, in the world); the contents of the letter were, that the king should yield unto him the kingdom of France, that so he might restore the clergy and nobility to their antient liberty, and ease them of those great oppressions they laboured under, &c. which, if he refused to do, he concluded full of menaces, according to the usual form in that kind. The French king read the letter softly to himself, and then withdrawing to another room, sent for the herald to come before him, and told him, he was not ignorant of the confederacy between the king, his master, and the duke of Burgundy; and how that the constable of France had intelligence also with the king of England, the king having married his niece; but, adds he, he will deceive the king, your master, as he has done me; and as for Burgundy, it is manifest, he foully prevaricates, for he is already retired from before Nunz; and at last concludes with a present of three hundred crowns to the herald, and a promise of one thousand more, if a peace were concluded, and got him to engage to further it with all his might. King Edward had no sooner landed at Calais, but the duke of Burgundy retires from before Nunz, and, with a small retinue, rides to the king at Calais, leaving his army, in the mean time, to plunder the country of Lorrain and Barr. From Calais they both departed, and passing through Bolloign, marched to Peronne, where the English were but coldly entertained by the duke, for he would suffer but very few of them to come within the gates, so that they were obliged to take up their quarters in the fields. There it was the duke received a message from the constable of France, whereby he excused himself for not delivering of St. Quintin; alledging, that if he had done it, he could have done him no further service in the kingdom of France; but added, that, seeing the king of England was come over in person, he would, for the future, do whatever the duke should command him; and gave him his faith in writing, he would serve him, and his confederates, to the utmost of his power, against all opponents whatsoever. The duke delive s the constable's letter to the king, adding some things thereto of his own head; as that the constable would certainly deliver up St. Quintin, and all other places in his power, as soon as ever he came before them; which the king, willing to believe, marches, together with the duke, forthwith, from Peronne, towards St. Quintin; the English, expecting to be received with ringing of bells, approached the town in a careless manner; but had a quite contrary entertainment, for they, from the town, fired their cannon upon them, and, withal, made a sally both with horse and foot, wherein some English were slain, and others taken prisoners.

This double dealing, both of the constable and duke, made the king the more readily hearken to the overtures of peace that the French king offered him. Wherefore, in a village near Amiens, confir-

missioners for both kings met; whereof, for France, were the bastard of Bourbon, admiral, the lord St. Peter, and bishop of Eureux; and for England, the lord Howard, one Chalenger, and doctor Morton; where it was agreed, the French king should pay the king of England, presently, before his departure out of France, seventy-two thousand crowns, towards the expence of the English army, and fifty thousand crowns a year for ever; and that the Dauphin should marry king Edward's eldest daughter, and have the duchy of Guienne for her maintenance*. But, at the king's return, the English barons held it to be an inglorious peace, though it was said to be made by the Holy Ghost, for a dove was seen to be often on king Edward's tent, during the treaty. But the last article was never performed, for the Dauphin was afterwards married to Margaret, daughter to Maximilian, archduke of Austria, so much to the disappointment and sorrow of king Edward, that he fell sick upon it (as Comines says) and departed this life at Westminster, the ninth of April, at the age of forty-one, when he had reigned twenty-two years, and about one month, anno 1483, and was buried at Windsor, where before he had provided him a resting place. This king had three concubines, whereof Jane Shoar was one, of whom, he would say, one was the merriest, another the wittiest, and the third the holiest harlot in his realm.

The cause of this war was a defection of the French from their loyalty to England, in conjunction with the assistances they gave queen Margaret, and the earl of Warwick, against king Edward.

EDWARD V.

ELDEST son of king Edward the Fourth, was not above twelve years of age when his father died. During this king's short reign (if it may be called so) there was neither, nor well could be, any war, or act of hostility, that we read, between England and France; for it was but three months that he reigned: for Richard, duke of Gloucester, his uncle, knowing how easy a step it was from the place of protector, and first prince of the blood, to the crown, turned every stone to get the protectorship from the lord Rivers, the king's uncle, by the mother's side; and having compassed it, his next business was to get prince Richard, the king's brother, into his clutches, also; whom the queen-mother was fain to part with, in great affliction and struggling of nature, for she delivered him up, as it were, for execution; and the protector, who was resolved to make both him and the king a victim to his ambition, looks upon the two young princes, from that very time, as two birds in a cage, that should not be long-lived; but, to blind the people, he gave orders for the king's coronation, whilst he secretly contrived with the duke of Buckingham (his great coadjutor in his cursed designs) to fix the crown upon his own head. Buckingham, with his artifices, forced, in a manner, the city to a compliance, which,

* See the tract, intitled, the old French way of managing treaties. in Vol. VI.

nolens volens, was at last forced to proclaim Richard, king of England, the duke pretending, that all the late king's issue were bastards, and the protector only, true heir to the crown; who, when it was offered unto him, by the duke, in the name of the city, refused it, with a counterfeit angry countenance; but when his privado, making himself the mouth of the assembly, said, that, if his grace would not accept of the crown, they would find one that should; then he was pleased to take it upon him as his right.

RICHARD III.

WAS youngest brother to Edward the Fourth, of whom it was said he was born with teeth in his head, and hair on his shoulders. At his first coming to the crown, he took his seat in the court of King's Bench, where, like a gracious prince, he pronounced pardon of all offences committed against him, to insinuate thereby to the people what a blessed reign this was like to be; but he spared not the two young princes then in the Tower, but they were, by his order, stifled in their beds. This reign was so troublesome at home, that Richard, though a warlike prince in himself, had not leisure to mind his affairs abroad; for the duke of Buckingham, the great instrument of all his villainies, whether through the horror of the said murder, or some other resentment, did, most certainly, from that time, project his ruin, who had been the chief instrument of his elevation. There was then at the court of the duke of Bretagne, in France, Henry, earl of Richmond, the next heir to the house of Lancaster, whose advancement to the crown, Buckingham and others resolved upon, with proviso that Henry should consent to marry the lady Elisabeth, eldest daughter to Edward the Fourth, whereby the houses of York and Lancaster should be united into one; but, before the plot took effect, the duke was taken, and lost his head without any form of tryal, or any regard had to his former service. Richmond lands at Milford-Haven, in Wales, but with two hundred men, from whence advancing forwards, by daily reinforcements, he made up a body of five thousand men, with whom he encountered king Richard at Bosworth, in Leicestershire, being August 12, 1485. The fight was very sharp, but successful to Henry, who carried the day, and with it the crown of England, for there Richard was slain, after he had acted the part of a great captain and most valiant soldier, and so ended his bloody and short reign, which was but two years, two months, and odd days; but, however, to his praise it must be said, that, during his reign, he procured many good laws for the ease of his people, and omitted nothing that might tend to the honour of the English nation.

HENRY VII.

BORN in Pembroke Castle in Wales, succeeded next to Richard, upon Bosworth battle, and assumed the crown as heir of the house of Lancaster, by his mother's side, Margaret, countess of Richmond, then alive, and lived many years after, daughter and heir

of John de Beaufort, duke of Somerset, son of John, earl of Somerset, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by Jane Swinford, but born before wedlock, though afterwards legitimated by act of parliament, yet with a proviso, of not being capable to inherit the crown. His father was Edmund Tewdor, son of Owen Tewdor, descended, as it was said, from Cadwallader, the last British king; so that here was but a very slender title, insomuch that Henry, according to a former compact, was necessitated, for the strengthening of it, to take Elisabeth, eldest daughter to Edward the Fourth to wife, and heir to the house of York, to whom he proved no very indulgent husband, though she wanted no attractive accomplishments. But his aversion to the house of York was so predominant, that it found place, not only in his wars and council, but in his chamber and bed. But his assuming of the crown first in his own name, and afterwards never making use of hers, either in his coins, proclamations, or any administrations, spun him out a thread of many seditions and troubles at home, and might, perhaps, divert him from great undertakings abroad, for he was a prince that wanted neither wisdom nor courage; however, it was in his time that the dutchy of Bretagne was annexed to the crown of France, which it was in his power to have prevented. And, indeed, herein he seemed to be outwitted by Charles, the French king, who, by his artifices, engaged king Henry to be a mediator between him and the duke of Bretagne, while he, with his forces, besieges Nantz, and routs the duke's whole army. It is true, the lord Woodville, the queen's uncle, secretly stole over into Bretagne, with a small band of men, from the Isle of Wight; which action exposed the English ambassadors, who then mediated a peace, to no small danger; but the reinforcement was so inconsiderable, as to do the Britons no great service. But the battle of St. Alban, aforementioned, wherein the Britons were overthrown with the loss of six thousand of their men, and the duke of Orleans, who sided with them, with the prince of Orange, taken prisoners, alarmed king Henry in such sort, that he forthwith dispatched succours into Bretagne, under the command of Robert, lord Brooke, to the number of eight thousand choice men, who quickly joined the remainder of the Britons forces, and marched towards the enemy; who, though flushed with their late victory, well knowing the English courage, kept themselves within their trenches, and declined battle, but, in the mean time, took all advantages upon our men with their light horse, though they commonly came off with loss, especially by means of the English archers. But, while these things were thus transacting, Francis, duke of Bretagne, dies, whereupon the principal persons of that dutchy, partly bought, and partly through faction, put all things into such confusion, that the English, finding no head nor body to join forces with, and being jealous of their friends, as well as in danger of their enemies, upon the approach of winter, returned home five months after their landing.

At this time, archduke Maximilian, son to the emperor Frederick,

was governor of Flanders, and in treaty of marriage with Anne, heiress of Bretagne, when there happened a rebellion at Bruges, which was carried on by the lord Ravenstein, who seized upon Ypres and Sluice, and sent to the lord Corde, French governor of Picardy, infamous in history for that saying 'He could be content to lie in hell seven years, so he might win Calais from the English,' for aid, who, being before provided, immediately besieges Dixmude. Whereat the king of England, being displeased, sends forthwith the lord Morley with a thousand men to the governor of Calais, and with an addition of a thousand more from thence had order, but under pretence of securing the English pale about that city, to put themselves into Dixmude; which, in conjunction with some Germans, they effected undiscovered, and so, with the garison, attacked the enemy's camp with that resolution and bravery, that, after a bloody and obstinate fight, they beat them out of it with the loss of about eight thousand men; but, on the English part, not above an hundred men, and among them the lord Morley. The cannon and baggage fell also into their hands, with which they marched to Newport, from whence the lord Daubigny returned to his government of Calais, leaving the wounded, and some other volunteers, there. Cordes, having intelligence hereof, departs immediately from Ypres, with a great force, and attacks Newport, and had carried the principal fort of the town, when fortunately there arrived in the haven a reinforcement of English archers, who beat him out of it again, whereat he became so discouraged, that he raised the siege, which accidents tended to an open rupture between the two crowns.

Hereupon king Henry advises Maximilian to press on his marriage with Anne of Bretagne, which he did accordingly, insomuch that the marriage was consumated by proxy, the lady put to bed, and Maximilian's ambassador, with letters of procuration in the presence of many noble personages, putting his naked leg between the espousal sheets. Maximilian, thinking all things now sure, neglected, for a time, his further proceedings and intended his wars; in the mean while, the French king consulting his divines, got them to declare this consummation invalid, so as they made sport of it in France, saying, that it was an argument, Maximilian was a widower and a cold woer, that could content himself to be a bridegroom by a deputy, and would not make a little journey to put all out of question; and easily, by emissaries, whereof he had store about her, prevailed upon the young lady to consent to become his wife, who was a young king and a batchelor. Which procedure and artifice of France so distasted king Henry, that he caused his chancellor to tell the French ambassadors, who were sent to sooth him upon this occasion, that he was resolved to recover his right to Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and to the kingdom of France itself, unless the French king were content to have king Henry's title to France (at least tribute for the same) handled in a treaty. Maximilian, and with good reason, storms more than any body, at this perfidious dealing of France; sends forthwith ambas-

sadors both to England and Spain, to incite them to enter into an offensive league against France, promising to concur with considerable forces of his own. Hereupon, Henry calls a parliament, gets plentiful supplies, and raises a puissant army, in which were many noble personages, and over whom he makes Jasper, duke of Bedford, and John, earl of Oxford, generals under his own person; and on the ninth of September, in the eighth year of his reign, departs towards the sea-coast. October the sixth he embarked at Sandwich, and the same day landed at Calais; some overtures of an accommodation were made him from France, before he took shipping, but he was no sooner arrived at Calais, but the calm winds of peace began to blow, for he found Maximilian was unprovided of the assistance promised for lack of money, which soon spread through the army; and upon the neck of this he received news also, that Ferdinand and Isabel had made peace with Charles, king of France, upon his restoring unto them the counties of Rousillon and Perpignan, formerly mortgaged unto France, by John, king of Arragon. However, October the fifteenth, he left Calais, and directed his march towards Bologne, where he arrived in four days, and so sat down before it. The siege continued for near a month, but without any memorable action or accident of war, only sir John Savage, a valiant commander, was slain, as he was riding about to view the walls. The town was well fortified, and had a good garison, yet it was much distressed and ready for an assault (which, if it had been given, it was believed it would have been carried) when the commissioners, appointed for that purpose, concluded a peace, which was to continue for both the kings lives; wherein there was no article of importance, being, in effect, rather a bargain than a treaty (as my lord Bacon observes) for all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the king seven hundred forty-five thousand ducates at present, for his charges in that expedition, and twenty-five thousand crowns yearly, for his expences sustained in the aids of the Britons; and besides, this was left indefinitely when it should determine or expire, which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms; and the truth is, it was paid both to this king, and to his son, king Henry the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. But this peace gave no great contentment to the nobility and principal officers of the army, who had, many of them, sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war; and they stuck not to say, that the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself, and others made themselves merry with what the king had said in parliament: that, after the war was once begun, he doubted not to make it pay itself, saying, he had kept his promise. However, Charles was by this peace assured of the possession of Bretagne, and free to prosecute his designs upon Naples, which kingdom he won, though he lost it afterwards in a kind of felicity of a dream, after he had passed the whole length of Italy, without resistance. So that it was true what Pope Alexander was wont to say, 'That the

Frenchmen came into Italy; with chalk in their hands, to mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight.' However, Henry, in the eleventh year of his reign, upon this occasion, entered into a league with the Italian potentates, for the defence of Italy. He had many intestine broils and insurrections, and his reign is noted for Lambert Simnel's and Perkin Warbeck's impostures, and no less remarkable for the immense treasure he left behind him; a testimony of his avaricious nature; and, after above twenty-three years reign, and having lived fifty-two, he died, April the twenty-second, at his palace of Richmond, which himself had built, anno 1508.

The causes of his wars were partly for the Relief of Bretagne, partly on behalf of the archduke Maximilian, and partly for the recovery of his own right in France.

HENRY VIII.

HEIR to both houses of York and Lancaster, and the only surviving son of Henry VII, succeeded his father at the age of eighteen, and proved a prince of great virtues as well as vices. Towards the fourth year of his reign, the French king making war upon pope Julius, king Henry wrote him monitory letters to desist, as being his friend and confederate; which letters being little regarded, Henry sent to demand his duchies of Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Maine, and the crown of France itself; but this had the same effect as the former, the French king continuing his war in Italy; which provoked king Henry so, that, entering into a confederacy with the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand king of Spain, and other potentates, he determined, by the advice of his council, to make war upon France, and made preparations both by sea and land accordingly; and, in concert with Ferdinando, sends over into Biscay, an army of ten thousand men, all foot, under the command of the marquis of Dorset, with a design to invade France on that side, first for the recovery of the duchy of Aquitain; but Ferdinand failing in the promises he had made of horse, ordnance, carriages, &c. the English, after they had waited from May till December, for performance, returned into England without any memorable action performed, their number being considerably diminished through sickness. Henry, nothing discouraged hereat, calls a parliament, who gave him a plentiful supply for carrying on the war; wherefore, with a puissant army, wherein were many noble persons, and over which as captain-general was constituted the earl of Shrewsbury, under the king's person, he lands at Calais on the last day of June, being the fifth year of his reign; and, the the day following, lands the Admiral of England at Whitsand-bay, who entered the town and burnt it, and then returned. From Calais, about the twenty-first of July, the king marches in great state and good order of battle toward Terwin, where he arrives on the fourth of August, and lays close siege to it, the French attempting to impede his march, but without

success; seven days after came the emperor Maximilian, whom the king received with great triumph, between Aire and the camp, where he entered into the king's pay, and, as a testimony thereof, wore St. George's cross with a rose. The town made no extraordinary defence, for, notwithstanding the garison consisted of four-thousand, whereof were six-hundred good horse, yet they capitulated the twenty-third, and marched away the day following. But the king did not think fit to keep the place, and therefore rased all the works and burnt the town, removing first the ordnance that was in it to Aire; from hence he directs his march towards the city of Tournay, and, about the twenty-first of September, sits down before it; it was but weakly garisoned, tho' full of inhabitants, and so, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, was, by capitulation, surrendered; the citizens, which were to the number of sixty-thousand, swearing allegiance to him. Here sir Edward Poinings was made governor, and of this city, Wolsey, then the king's almoner, was made bishop; and so, by the way of Calais, Henry returns for England, and on the twenty-fourth of October lands at Dover, the earl of Surrey, during his absence, having fought the Scots, slain their king, James the Fourth, and defeated their whole army. The king's army thus prevailing by land, in France itself, and against the Scots, its confederates proved no less successful by sea; for sir John Wallop had landed on the coast of Normandy, and burnt to the number of twenty-one towns and villages, together with many ships in the haven of Trapart, Staples, and other places. The French king, by the means of Leo, with whom he was now accorded, sues for a peace; which was at length concluded, the lady Mary, the king's sister, for the tying of the knot, being given to the French king in marriage, whom, however, she did not long enjoy, Lewis the twelfth dying eighty-two days after. The remainder of this king's reign was, in a manner, spent in domestick affairs, which is not our province to treat of, till about the thirty-fifth year, when, in conjunction with the emperor, he again makes war upon France. The emperor took the field in person, and the English joining him, under the command of sir John Wallop, laid siege to Landarsey. The French king hasted with a great army to succour the town, which was brought to great extremity, upon whose approach, the emperor, expecting to give battle, raised the siege, the town, being by this means relieved, which was all the French cared for, declining to hazard a battle, and so, upon the approach of winter, both camps broke up.

The year following, the king raised a mighty army, the front led by the duke of Norfolk, the main battle by the duke of Suffolk, where the king intended to be present himself also, and the rear by the lord Russel, attended with many other nobles, as the earls of Surrey, Oxford, &c. which about Whitsuntide landed at Calais, and from thence, leaving Bolloign to the right, directed their march towards Muterell, and were as they passed joined by the emperor's forces under the count of Buren; but, finding the foresaid place extraordinarily well fortified and provided for its defence, the duke of

Suffolk, with the king's army, wheels off towards Bolloign, where he arrives July 19, and pitched his camp to the east of the town upon the hill; but, thence removing into a valley after many sharp skirmishes, entered the lower town deserted by the inhabitants, who, under the covert of the smoke, got into the high town undiscovered; Soon after, the tower, called the Old Man, was yielded up by sixteen soldiers that kept it, which notwithstanding discouraged not the garison, who continued to make a vigorous defence; on the 26th of July, the king arrives in person, orders a mount to be raised upon the east-side planted with divers pieces of cannon and mortars, which incommoded the town very much, so that few houses were left whole within it. In this distress, two-hundred French and Italians, under the conduct of Joncurtio, attempted to get into the town in the night, and succeeded so well by the means of a priest that spoke English, that most of them were got over the trenches before discovered, and a matter of a hundred and twenty got in, the rest being either slain or taken; at length, a-piece of the castle being blown up, the king stormed the place, but did not carry it; however, the cannon continuing playing, and the garison having lost the best of their commanders and men, in this action, and fearing as well as concluding that such another assault must carry the town, thought it time to capitulate, before things came to the last extremity; and so articles were agreed upon, and the garison marched out with bag and baggage to the number of sixty-seven horse, one thousand five-hundred and sixty-three foot, eighty-seven wounded, and one-thousand nine-hundred and twenty-seven women and children. On the 25th of September, the king with the sword borne before him, by the marquis of Dorset, enters Bolloign in triumph, the trumpets, all the while, sounding on the walls; and, two days after viewing the place, caused St. Mary's church to be pulled down, and a mount to be made in the room of it, for the strengthening the town, and at his departure made sir John Dudley governor, and, on the first of October, lands in England. Next year, September the ninth, sir John Dudley, then admiral, lands with six-thousand men, at Trey-port in Normandy, burns the town and abby, and thirty ships in the haven, with the loss of fourteen men only. The French attempted the recovery of Bolloign, again and again, but to little purpose, so that at length a peace was concluded, wherein it was agreed, the French king should pay king Henry eight-hundred thousand crowns within the term of eight years, and then, to have Bolloign restored to him; but, whilst the oath for confirmation hereof was taken by both kings, monsieur Chatillon began to make a new bastilion at the very mouth of the haven of Bulloign, calling it Chatillon's garden; the lord Grey of Wilton, then governor of Bulloign, advertised the king hereof, by sir Thomas Palmer, requiring to know his pleasure therein. The king advises with his council, who all agree the conditions of peace ought by no means to be infringed, and therefore, to let the bastilion stand; whereupon the king ordered his secretary to write to the lord Grey to that purpose, but then called to sir Thomas privily, and told him,

that, notwithstanding the contents of that letter, he should from him command the lord Grey to rase the fortification to the ground with all speed. Sir Thomas replied, 'that a message by word of mouth, contrary to a letter, would never be believed;' 'Well (says the king) tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to him.' Sir Thomas, upon his arrival at Bolloign, delivered the governor the letter, and withal the message, who hereupon calls a council what to do, wherein they all agreed the letter should be obeyed; to which the lord Grey himself said nothing, but caused the message to be written down *verbatim* from sir Thomas's mouth, and those of the council to set their hands to it; and when this was done, the very next night, he issues out and rases the fort to the ground, and then sent sir Thomas back to the king with letters to acquaint him with what he had done, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, 'What will he do it or no?' Sir Thomas, delivering the letter, said, 'Your majesty shall know by these;' but the king, half angry, said, 'Nay, tell me has he done it or no?' And, being told it was done, he turned about to his lords, and said, 'What say you, my lords, to this? Chatillon's garden is rased down to the ground?' Whereunto one presently answered, 'that he that had done it deserved to lose his head;' to which the king immediately replies, 'That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was, than one such servant that had done it;' and therewith commanded presently the lord Grey's pardon to be drawn, which he sent to him with letters full of thanks and promises of reward. The cause why the king took this course was this, lest, if he had given order in writing for rasing of the fort, it might have come to the knowledge of the French, before it was done, and so have been prevented. This may be taken as an instance of king Henry's great capacity; and was the concluding act of his life as to foreign affairs, for he died not long after, to wit, in the year 1547, fifty-sixth of his life, and of his reign the eight and thirtieth.

The causes of this war with France were partly reasons of state, and partly the league which king Henry had made with the emperor.

EDWARD VI.

BORN at Hampton-court, succeeded his father king Henry the eighth, at the age of nine years; a most excellent prince, and the wonder of the age, both for learning and piety; but England did not long enjoy the fruit of the blessings, couched in his person, his reign being shortened by an immature death, as it had been in a great measure rendered uneasy, through the feuds of the nobles, during his life. This, together with the reformation, carried on at home, made the enemy insult abroad, insomuch that the French assumed the boldness, in conjunction with the Scots, to attack us in our own borders; for in the second year of this king's reign on St. Peter's eve, monsieur Dassey, the French general with ten thousand French and Germans, besides Scots, laid siege to Haddington, a town in Scotland,

but then in the hands of the English. The town made a most vigorous defence, and at length came one-thousand three-hundred horse from Berwick, with intent to relieve it, but failed in the attempt, for most of the horse being surrounded by the enemy, were either slain or made prisoners, together with sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer, their commanders. But for all this great discouragement and misfortune, the garison would not flinch, but continued making frequent and successful sallies upon the enemy till August 20, when the earl of Shrewsbury, with sixteen-thousand men, four-thousand whereof were Germans, came to succour the place. The enemy had no sooner intelligence thereof, but they marched away with all speed, but first highly applauded the bravery of the garison; the earl revictualled the place for that time, and then returned, though it was thought, afterwards, convenient to demolish it; which was accordingly performed the twentieth of September following, by the earl of Rutland.

The year following, i. e. the third of the king's reign, it came to an open rupture between England and France; the French thinking to surprise Jersey and Guernsey, came suddenly with many gallies upon our fleet there, but were received with that resolution and bravery, that they were forced to flee, with great loss, both of men and shipping. News came to the king and protector, August 28, that the French had taken Blackness, Hamilton, and Newhaven near Bolloign, by the means of one Sturton (as it was said) a natural son of the lord Sturton, who betrayed this last place into the hands of the enemy, and took service himself in the French army. Hereupon the captain of Bolloign bark, fearing the consequence, after he had conveighed the stores and ordnance to the high town, blew up the fort; the French made all possible preparations to attack the place, and for the more vigorous carrying on of the siege, and encouragment of the soldiers, the French king comes before Bolloign in person, where were many famous exploits done both by the assailants and defendants; but the brave sir Nicholas Arnold, who was governor, began and continued to make so prudent as well as brave resistance, that the French were constrained at last to quit the enterprise, and hereupon were made some overtures of peace, which at last was concluded, and wherein it was agreed, that Bolloign should be delivered up to the French, upon condition, there should be a reservation of king Edward's title to the crown of France, and due payment made unto him of five-hundred thousand crowns. This king, being about sixteen years old, died at Greenwich, July 6, having reigned six years, and about five months.

The causes of this war were the king's minority and feuds at home, whereof the French thought to take advantage.

MARY.

ELDEST daughter to king Henry the eighth, by queen Katherine of Spain, succeeded her brother Edward, anno 1553, pursuant to their father's will, though contrary to her brother's, who

left the lady Jane Grey his successor; and after some small opposition by the aforesaid lady's party, more especially the duke of Northumberland, her husband's father, got peaceable possession of the throne, and was crowned at Westminster, the last of April, in great state and magnificence. The former part of her reign, which in all was but short, was much taken up in restoring popery, and the papal power, in her dominions: which she effected in a great measure, through the shedding of much innocent blood, which has left a bitter stain upon her memory, in the records of time, as well for her cruelty as superstition; though authors generally represent her to be a princess, of herself, compassionate and good-natured. She was married to Philip king of Spain, on St. James's day, in the second year of her reign, and this marriage engaged her, about the fifth year of her reign, in a war with France; for king Philip, passing over to Calais, and so to Flanders, made great preparations against the French king, and was assisted therein, with a thousand English horse, four-thousand foot, and two thousand pioneers, whereof the earl of Pembroke was general. With this reinforcement king Philip directs his march to St. Quintin, and after a sharp siege, takes the place, the English (of whom the lord Henry Dudley, who first advanced the standard upon the wall, was here slain) doing him mighty service herein, which the king generously rewarded, with the spoils of the town. But this action may be truly said to have been fatal to England, in regard it was the principal cause of the loss of Calais; for while the greatest part of that garison was employed in the aforesaid siege, and before Calais was reinforced, having then but five-hundred men in it, the duke of Guise, with a powerful army, advancing towards it, intrenches himself at Sand-gate, and sent one detachment along the Downs, towards Rise-bank, and another to Newnem-bridge. He soon possesses himself of both, for the few soldiers that guarded them, had fled secretly into the town; the next day, they raised a battery from the hills, of Rise-bank, against the walls of Calais, between the water-gate and the prison, and continuing the same for three days, made a small breach, by which they could not well enter, neither was it so designed; for while the English were busy in the defence of this place, the French making their way through the ditch (which was full of water) entered the castle, designing thence to pass into the town. But here the bravery of sir Anthony Agar withstood them, and stopped their further progress, though to the loss of his own life; for there was not a man besides killed, during the siege; till the governor, the lord Wentworth, that same evening, which was the fifth of January, considering succours far, the enemy's nigh approach, and the weakness of the garison, thought fit to capitulate; and so it was agreed, the town, with the ammunition and artillery, should be delivered to the French, the lives of the inhabitants saved, and all to depart where they pleased, excepting the governor and fifty more, such as the duke of Guise should appoint to remain prisoners, and be put to ransom. Thus the good town of Calais, after it had been in the hands of the English, for

the space of two-hundred and ten years (for it was taken by Edward the third, after a siege of eleven months, in 1347) was lost in less than a fortnight, till which time, we had the keys of France, at our girdles; and so it was believed queen Mary resented the loss accordingly, for she died soon after, having said not long before, 'That if she were opened, they should find Calais at her heart.' Some feints were made for the repairing of this loss, for the queen equipped out a fleet, with a design to surprise Brest; they landed in Conquet road, and in a short time became masters of the town, with the great abbey, which they sacked and burnt, together with divers adjacent villages, where they found good plunder. From hence (having now alarmed the country) the admiral judged it not convenient to pursue their enterprise, and so returned; king Philip, in the mean time, went on with his wars, and could not conclude a peace (though both sides seemed to desire it) because he insisted stifly upon the rendition of Calais to the English, which the French would by no means yield to; which, together with the king's absence, hastened the queen's death, for she departed this life at St. James's, November 17, 1558, when she had reigned five years, four months, and odd days.

The chief ground of this war with France was the conjugal tie, whereby the queen was bound to adhere to king Philip her husband.

ELIZABETH.

SECOND daughter to Henry the eighth, by queen Anne Bullen, succeeded her sister Mary to the imperial crown of England; a princess whose virtues it is impossible for me to celebrate (if it were my design) having advanced the glory of the English nation, both at home and abroad, beyond any of her predecessors; and how far short her successors have been from improving, or so much as maintaining of it, is evident in history, but no where so well as in that celebrated piece, the Detection of the four last reigns, &c. In war she was involved almost all her reign, and had not only to do with, but triumphed over the proudest monarchy then in Europe (I might say in the world) I mean that of Spain, which, however, being foreign from the present design, I shall not meddle with. The first occasion of quarrel she had with France was, in the second year of her reign, when the French, having upon the suit of the queen dowager of Scotland, sent great numbers of soldiers, to aid and assist her against the reforming lords, queen Elisabeth, disliking such neighbours, and knowing the q een of Scots was married and governed in France, and began to assume the English arms, upon the humble suit of the said lords, sent them a strong reinforcement by land, under the command of the lord Grey of Wilton, and at the same time dispatched sir William Winter, vce-admiral, with a fleet of ships, for to block up Leith. The army, after some stay at Berwick, pursued their march, and, after some usual pickering by the way, and overtures of a cessation, arrived

before Leith, which was chiefly garisoned by French soldiers; the place was bravely attacked several times, and wonders done by the English both by sea and land against it; and the French omitted nothing that could be done for its defence; and this continued from about the beginning of April till the latter end of June, at which time, the place being very much streightened, and must have yielded, the commissioners appointed for that purpose made a peace at Edinburgh, which, July 7, was proclaimed in the town of Leith; by virtue of which treaty the French were to depart out of Scotland, except one hundred and twenty, and the Scottish queen to put out of her title the arms of England and Ireland, &c. About two years after, that horrid massacre was perpetrated, in France, upon the poor protestants, that is so infamous in history, the popish party having leagued themselves against them; which barbarity powerfully induced the queen to assist the reformists, in order to prevent their final destruction; and, to that purpose, sent over a good band of soldiers to New-haven in France, which the townsmen joyfully received, over whom, and other forces that did arrive, was constituted general the earl of Warwick, who landed here, the twenty-ninth of October, anno 1562. This place is remarkable in history for the long siege it sustained, through the valour of the English; first came the Rhinegrave before it, then the constable of France, and last of all, the prince of Conde, whose united forces had in all probability been baffled, had it not been for a violent pestilence that raged within, and swept away its defendants in great numbers; but notwithstanding this, and that the enemy's cannon were within twenty-six paces of the town, and many breaches made, yet the noble Warwick, with his respective officers and soldiers, stood at the breaches to receive the enemy, if they offered to make an assault; which the constable perceiving, he caused a trumpeter to sound a parley; which being accepted of, the town was surrendered upon honourable articles, after the earl had held it eleven months, the perfidy of the reformists giving also an helping hand to these misfortunes; to which may be added, another disadvantage, in that the French had a pretence, by this our aiding the protestants, to withhold the surrendering of Calais, after the term of eight years, whereof some were already expired.

About the thirty-second year of the queen's reign, Henry the third king of France, was murdered; whereupon the leaguers armed under the duke of Maine, to keep Henry, king of Navarre, then a protestant, from the crown; whom they pressed so hard upon, that he was forced to fly into Dieppe, designing from thence to get over to England; but first sends to the queen an account of his circumstances, who, commiserating his condition, forthwith sends sixty thousand brave soldiers, under the command of the lord Willoughby; the report of whose arrival coming to Maine's ears, suddenly raises the siege; which so animated the king, that he ched out, encountered and defeated his enemy, and so, by ces, prevailed, through the queen's good assistance, from time

to time, both of men and money. The Spaniards having also, about this time, by means of the leaguers, got footing in Bretagne, the queen dispatches thither three-thousand men, under the command of that thrice famous general, sir John Norris, who beat them quite out of that country. About a year after my lord Willoughby's succours, arrives in France the renowned earl of Essex, with four-thousand foot more, some horse and pioneers, as a further reinforcement to the king, and did honourable service, challenging monsieur Villerse, governor of Roan, to a single combate, which he refuses, and then returned; but had the mortification to have his brother, Walter Devereux, a brave young gentleman, slain with a musquet-bullet, before Roan. The last succours were to the number of two-thousand, and put under the command of that excellent soldier, sir Roger Williams, who was always forward for the greatest attempts, and did here excellent service. He beat the leaguers that blocked up the passes about Dieppe, upon such unequal terms, that Henry the fourth could not but take notice, and highly extol his valour, in his letter to the queen. This queen, after a glorious reign of forty-four years, five months, and odd days, at the age of seventy-years, anno 1602, having lived longer than any of the kings of England, since the conquest, died at Richmond, and lies buried at Westminster.

The causes of the war in this queen's time were not direct, but collateral, in behalf of the king and reformists of France.

JAMES I.

THEN the sixth king of Scotland of that name, was immediately, upon the death of queen Elisabeth, proclaimed queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. as being descended from the united roses of Lancaster and York, king Henry the seventh, and queen Elisabeth, his wife, whose issue, by the male, failing in the late deceased queen Elisabeth, the offspring of Margaret, their eldest daughter, was next heir, which lady was married to James the fourth, king of Scotland, and by him had issue James the fifth, whose only daughter, queen Mary, was mother to this our monarch. This king was of a timorous nature, and peaceable disposition, so that *beati pacifici* was his motto; and was so far from making any pretensions to the crown of France, or any part of its dominions, notwithstanding his great power, and the flourishing state of the nation, that he suffered his son-in-law, the Palsgrave, and his own daughter, Elisabeth, his wife, with their numerous issue, not only to be beaten out of Bohemia, but even from their just patrimony, the Palatinate, and to live many years in great want and penury, to the king's great dishonour, who was nothing but a bluster of words, and ever and anon sending ambassadors, till all was quite lost and unretrievable. This king died at Theobalds, March 27, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned twenty-two years compleat.

CHARLES I

THE only surviving son of king James (for that noble prince, Henry, died before his father) succeeded to the imperial crown of England. The reformed in France, in the beginning of this king's reign, lay under great oppressions from their king, Lewis the thirteenth, and his prime minister of state, cardinal Richelieu; insomuch that they were forced, for their safety, to have recourse to arms, under the command of that ever famous captain, the duke of Roan, by land, and monsieur Sobiez, his brother, who rid admiral at sea; and by that means, Rochelle, besieged by the French king's arms, was relieved upon all occasions. Hereupon, through the contrivance of the duke of Buckingham, an English fleet was sent to join that of the French, under the duke of Montmorency, the Dutch then basely concurring with some ships of theirs also; with which united force, Montmorency fights, and utterly defeats the fleet of the Rochellers, under monsieur Sobiez, and then reduced the isles of Rhee and Oleron under the French power. But Buckingham soon after changing his sentiments (the grounds whereof we will assign in the causes of this war) there is a declaration of war published against France, and, for the prosecution of the same with vigour, the duke is commissioned admiral and general of a navy of one-hundred sail, and six or seven-thousand land soldiers, with which he came before Rochelle, still besieged by the French, where Sobiez came on board of him; and, for several reasons, it was agreed to land the army on the island of Oleron, and not on the isle of Rhee: But Sobiez going to persuade the Rochellers to join with the English, the duke, before his return, lands on the isle of Rhee, in spight of the opposition made by the French; but, instead of pursuing the blow, not only neglects to take the fort La Prie, to secure his retreat, and prevent the French from landing supplies, but stays five days, whereby Toiras, the French governor, encouraged his men, and also got more force and provisions into the cittadel of St. Martin's. The French were so alarmed at this invasion, that the king offered the duke of Roan, and the Rochellers, any terms to join against the English, which both refusing, it caused both their ruins.

The enemy's retreat, upon the landing of the English, was so hasty, that they quitted a well, about twenty paces from the counterscarp, which supplied the cittadel with water; which not being possessed by the English, upon their first approach, the French drew a work about it, which our men could not force, and without which well, the besieged could not have subsisted. However, the duke resolves to take the fort by famine; but, instead of pressing it with a straight siege, he entertains a treaty of surrender with Toiras, and several compliments passed between them, subscribed your humble servant, Buckingham, and your humble servant, Toiras, till the latter got relief of men, victuals, and ammunition, and then broke off the treaty with the duke. Soon after this, the French landed forces on the island, by the neglect of the English to oppose them, and orders were given to draw the English out of

their trenches, which the French possess; whereupon the English were forced to retreat. At last the duke makes a vain storm upon the castle, but was beaten off, and two days after retreats, the French being now equal to him in foot, and superior in horse; when the English were entangled in their retreat, the duke having neglected to take La Prie, or build a fort upon a narrow lane or causey, to secure the retreat, the French charged the English horse in the rear and routed them, who rout the foot in the narrow passages, between the salt-pits and ditch; but, in this confusion and adversity, the bravery of the English appeared, for a few having passed the bridge, the French following, the English rallied, and faced about gallantly to charge the French, who cowardly retreated over the bridge. And of this a foreign author speaking, saith, 'The English were *magis audaces quam fortunati*, and, withal, taxeth them for want of secrecy in their counsels and conduct of so great an affair. The duke of Buckingham, upon his retreat from the isle of Rhee, promised the Rochellers to send them speedy relief, now close besieged by the French king; and, upon his return, sent away the earl of Denbigh, his brother-in-law, with a fleet to that purpose, who, on the first of May, 1628, arrives before Rochelle, where he found the French fleet, consisting of twenty sail, had blocked it up by sea. Upon the earl's approach, the French retired towards their fortification, and anchored within two cannon-shot of our fleet, and so continued till the eighth of May. The earl promised the Rochellers to sink the French fleet when the waters increased, and the winds became westerly, it being then neap-tide; but two days after, the waters increasing, and the wind becoming westerly, the earl was intreated to fight the French fleet, but did not, and weighed anchor, and sailed away. The duke, to redeem this miscarriage of his brother-in-law, in August following, goes to Portsmouth, to command the fleet there, for the relief of Rochelle; but, on the twenty-third of the said month, was stabbed by Felton, on whom, by the way, hanging in chains at Portsmouth, was made this ingenious copy of verses:

There uninterr'd suspends (though not to save
Surviving friends the expences of a grave;)
Felton's dead earth, which to itself must be
His own sad monument, his elegy;
As large as fame, but whether bad or good,
I say not, by himself 'twas wrought in blood.
For which his body is intomb'd in air,
Arch'd o'er with heaven, and ten-thousand fair
And glorious diamond stars, a sepulchre;
Which time can never ruinate, and where
Th' impartial worms (not being brib'd to spare
Princes wrapp'd up in marble) do not share
His dust, which oft the charitable skies
Embalm with tears, doing these obsequies,
Belonging unto men, while pitying fowl
Contend to reach his body to his soul.

Yet the design was pursued under the command of the earl of Lindsey, who attempted several times to force the barricadoes of the river before Rochelle, but all in vain; or, if he had, it had been to no purpose, for the victuals wherewith the Rochellers should have been relieved, were all tainted, and it was well the French had no fleet there, for the English tackle and other materials were all defective, and so Rochelle fell, and with it, in a manner, all the glory and interest of the reformed in France. But it is remarkable what counsel concurred to the reducing of this important place, and what accidents followed after. The French army had been before it a long time, and had made no considerable progress in the siege, when the marquess Spinola, returning from Flanders into Spain, directed his course through France, and hearing the king and cardinal were at the siege of Rochelle, waited upon both; and going to view the works one day, asked the cardinal what they meant to do there, and continuing his discourse, said, 'That as they managed matters, there was no possibility of taking the place.' 'What must we do then,' says the cardinal? 'Push!' replies the marquess, 'do as we have done at Antwerp, make a dike at the mouth of the harbour, and you will by that means starve them out.' The cardinal immediately takes up the project, sets all hands on work, and with immense labour and celerity, finishes the dike, which, in a short time, reduced the place to that starving condition, that they were at length forced to surrender at discretion; and it is note-worthy, that as Leyden, about fifty-four years before, was miraculously preserved from the hands of the Spaniards, for being reduced to the last extremity, they let loose the waters upon them, which the dams restrained before, and upon that the army marched away; whereas, had they staid but two or three days longer in the neighbourhood, they might have had an open passage to the town, for the walls of it fell down to the ground, and a strong northerly wind had cleared the country of the water. So Rochelle, by a quite contrary fate, had been surrendered but a very few days, when the dike so far broke, as that they might have been relieved by sea, had there been a fleet ready for that purpose. But when Spinola came to the council in Spain, he was so brow-beaten and snubbed for his advice to the cardinal, by the duke of Medina, then prime minister of state, and other grandees, that he never could get his money paid, that was owing him, and died a beggar, in the utmost disgrace. So well did the Spaniards then understand their true interest, that as long as the reformed could make head in France, the arms of that kingdom would be confined within its own limits, and they and other princes be less molested, by those aspiring and restless neighbours. And this was the unhappy end of this war, between England and France; and the dreadful presages of the duke of Roan, hereupon (to give his words the mildest terms I can) had but too fatal effects, upon the person of that prince, to whose perfidy he attributed the loss of this fortress, and the protestant interest in France; for after this, dissension grew daily more and more in

England, which drew on an unnatural civil war, that ended with a sad catastrophe, in the king's dying by the ax, for he was beheaded, January 30, 1648, after he had reigned twenty-three years, ten months, and odd days, and in the forty-ninth year of his age.

1. The causes pretended for this war were, that the French king had employed the eight men of war, which the king of England had lent him, to be made use of against Genoa, against the Rochellers.
2. That the king's mediation, in behalf of the reformists, was slighted.
3. That the English merchant ships, and their effects, were seized, before there was any breach between both kingdoms, though it is certain, that the duke of Buckingham, as lord high admiral of England, by an extraordinary commission, first seized the St. Peter of Newhaven, the whole cargo being computed to amount to forty-thousand pounds; and though the king ordered the releasement of the ship, December 7, 1625, yet the duke, upon the sixth of February following, caused the said ship to be again arrested, and detained, as you may see in Rushworth, fol. 313.
4. A fourth cause of this war we have assigned in the noble *Baptista Nani*, that the duke of Bucks, having, while in France, contracted love in that court, and desiring leave to go thither, under pretence of composing the feuds, that broke forth in the queen's family in England, was by Richelieu's advice denied entrance into that kingdom, and grew thereupon so enraged, that he swore, since he was forbidden entrance in a peaceable manner into France, he would make his passage with an army.

CHARLES II.

AFTER about twelve years exile, during which interval, we had no wars with France, was restored to the throne of his ancestors, anno 1660. This prince had not been above five years settled in his dominions, when a war broke out with the Dutch by sea, the French joining with them in it at that time against us, so that there was a declaration of war set forth against France. But the Dutch found no great assistance from them in this confederacy; for while the Dutch in all the engagements, we had with them, but one (and that was when the fleet was foolishly divided) were beaten by us; the French, instead of uniting their force with the other, dispatched away a fleet to subdue the English, in their plantations in the Leeward islands; almost totally expelled the English out of St. Christophers, interrupted them in their trade to their other islands, and assumed a sovereignty in those seas, but upon the treaty of peace, they were forced to restore all to the English again. But they left St. Christophers, in so pitiful a plight, that it seemed, in a manner, to be as much a wilderness, as when first the English took footing in it. About seven years after,

things veered about, the French joining with the English, against the Dutch, in a second Dutch war, during this reign; and here a late learned author has observed, that as the English were so successful in the former war against both, and the Dane to boot, and were never beaten but once, and that, when the fleet was divided; so in this the English in all the fights they had, which were four, came off with more loss than the Dutch. But the truth of it is, the French only came out to learn to fight, both in the one, and the other way, for they stood still looking on, or firing at a very great distance, while the English and Dutch battered one another; and monsieur de Martel, for falling on, and engaging bravely, was recalled, checked, and dismissed his employ; insomuch that the Parliament, who began to smell the French designs, moved, November the fourth, 1673, that the alliance with France was a grievance; and so a peace was concluded with the States, and our king sets up for a mediator at Nimeguen, between the French and Dutch, with their confederates, and in the mean time, having got considerable supplies from his parliament, raises forces. For the French king had, during this naval war, possessed himself of a great part of Flanders, and the territories of the States; but before a peace was shuffled up, or at leastwise, before the prince of Orange knew, or would know, of its being concluded, the prince, not staying for eight-thousand English, that were on their march to join him, did with the assistance only of ten-thousand English, under the command of the duke of Monmouth and earl of Ossery, storm the duke of Luxemburg's camp, fortified with all imaginable art, before Monts, with that resolution and bravery, that he beat him out of it, and relieved the place; and this was the last act of hostility, between England and France, of any kind, during this reign; this king afterwards, instead of putting a stop to the growing greatness of that kingdom, fell in more and more with the interest of it; and the nation, during the latter part of his reign, was almost rent to pieces, with the parties of Whig and Tory, which are but too much felt to this day; and he himself, at last, died on the sixth of February, 1684-5, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, computing it from his father's death.

JAMES II.

ONLY surviving brother to Charles the second, immediately assumed the English crown, of which, notwithstanding the opposition made against him, in the preceding reign, he got peaceable possession; but had not been long invested with the regal dignity, when the earl of Argyle, landing in Scotland, and the duke of Monmouth in the west of England, put him in no small danger of losing, that he had so lately attained. But this storm blew over, and ended in the execution of both the aforesaid chiefs, with a multitude of their followers, and that in a very barbarous manner; which execution, as it drew no small emulation upon his person, so the success egged him on, with so much violence, in the pur-

suits of his designs, for the advancing of the Papal power in these kingdoms, that it made the subjects now in danger of the loss, both of their religion, and civil properties, have recourse for relief to that prince, who has since so worthily filled the abdicated throne, and who then readily embraced their quarrel, and in the most perillous season of the year, with an army from Holland, landed at Torbay, November 5, 1688; a day and year memorable in the annals of time, for the English deliverance; and, having wished success, was the thirteenth of February following, with his princess, proclaimed king and queen of England, &c. King James having, sometime before, withdrawn himself into France, with whom he was so far from having any wars during his four years reign, that he entered into a stricter alliance with that crown; but since his present majesty's ascending of the throne, what traverses of war there have been between England and France by sea and land, and what the causes of them, I purposely omit, because they are yet fresh in every man's memory, and for that a final period has not hitherto been put unto them.

CONTEMPLATIONS

UPON

LIFE AND DEATH;

WITH SERIOUS REFLEXIONS ON THE MISERIES THAT ATTEND HUMAN LIFE, IN EVERY STATION, DEGREE, AND CHANGE THEREOF.

Written by a person of quality, in his confinement, a little before his death; shewing the vanity of the desire of long life, and the fear of death; with a true copy of the paper delivered to the sheriffs upon the scaffold at Tower-hill, on Thursday, January 28, 1696-7, by Sir John Fenwick, Baronet.

From a Quarto, containing thirty one pages, printed at London, in 1697.

I do not presume to arraign the justice of that sentence by which Sir John Fenwick, the author of this tract, was condemned to die for high-treason; neither does it concern me to enter into the particulars of the charge brought against him; but I cannot but justly observe, that he, in these contemplations, has left us a convincing proof, how well he improved the time under his confinement; and a rare example of patience, resignation to God's will, and of a real christian understanding in the way of godliness. For I may venture to say, that, in this short draught of life and death, he not only shews his great ability in point of method and invention; but has excelled

those excellent authors, Drexelius, Bellarmine, Bona, Sherlock, &c. who have written upon the same subject; and, therefore, believe it will be acceptable to my readers, and thought worthy to be preserved from the injury of time in this collection.

NOSCE te ipsum *, is a lesson a man can never learn too late; and therefore, though hitherto I have lived so much a stranger to myself, that I have had little leisure, and less desire to think or contemplate (a studious and sedentary life having always been my aversion) yet the solitary condition I am now reduced to, and the melancholy circumstances under which I lie, do, methinks, call upon me to consider what I have been doing, and what I am further shortly to do. I am now under a close confinement, secluded from all conversation with the world, and denied the visits of my nearest and dearest relations; and all this seems to be but the sad prologue to that sadder tragedy in which I am to be the principal actor, before I go off the stage of this world. And, therefore, since death and I must shortly be better acquainted, it will certainly be my wisdom, as well as my interest, to familiarise it to me before hand; and I do not know how that can be better done, than by contemplating the miseries of life, in all its various changes and conditions; and then to look upon death as the great panpharmacon or remedy of all those evils that life subjects us to.

It is true indeed, we generally fly from death as our worst enemy, although it is in truth our greatest friend; and this, to a considering man, is very unaccountable. I must confess, it does seem strange to me, and is, methinks, a thing to be admired, that the poor labourer, to repose himself, longs for the setting sun; that the mariner rows with all his might to attain his wished-for port, and rejoices when he can discover land; that the traveller is never contented, till he be at the end of his journey; and that we, in the mean while, tied in this world to a perpetual task, tossed with continual tempests, and tired with a rough and thorny way, yet cannot see the end of our labour, but with grief; nor behold our port, but with tears; nor approach to our home, but with horror and trembling. This life is but a Penelope's web, in which we are always doing and undoing; a sea that lies open to all winds, which sometimes within, and sometimes without, never ceases to blow violently upon us; a weary journey thro' extreme heats and colds, over high mountains, steep rocks, and dangerous desarts; and thus we pass away our time in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oar, and in passing this miserable way; and yet, when death comes to end our work, and stretches out his arm to pull us into the port; when, after so many dangerous passages, and loathsome lodgings, he would conduct us to our true home and resting place; instead of rejoicing at the end of our labour, of taking comfort at the sight of our desired haven, and of singing at our approach to those happy mansions; we would fain begin our work again, hoist sail to the wind, and would willingly undertake our journey a-new. No more we then remember our weariness and

* Know thyself.

pains; our dangers and our shipwrecks are forgotten. We fear no more the tiresomeness of travel, nor the danger of desarts. But, on the contrary, we apprehend death as an extreme pain; we shun it as the fatal rock on which we are like to split; we fly it as a thief that comes to rob us of our treasure. We do as little children, who all the day complain of illness, and, when the medicine is brought them, are no longer sick: or, as they who all the week long run up and down the streets, complaining of the pain of their teeth, and yet, seeing the barber coming to pull them out, are rather willing still to endure the pain, than use the remedy. And as those tender and delicate bodies, who in a pricking pleurisy complain, and cry out, and cannot stay for a surgeon; and yet when they see him whetting his launcet, to cut the throat of the disease, pull in their arms and hide them in the bed, as if he were come to kill them. We fear more the cure than the disease; the surgeon, than the pain; the stroke, than the imposthume. We have more sense of the medicine's bitterness, soon gone, than of a bitter long-continued languishing: we have more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, than the endless misery of our life. And whence proceedeth this folly and simplicity? we neither know life nor death; we fear what we ought to hope for, and wish for what we ought to fear; we call life a continual death, and yet death is the entrance of a never-dying life.

Now what good, O my soul, is there in life, that thou shouldst so much desire it? Or what evil is there in death, that thou shouldst so much fear it? Nay, what evil is there not in life, and what good is there not in death?

Consider all the periods of this life; we enter it in tears, we pass it in sweat, we end it in sorrow. Great and little, rich and poor, not one in the whole world that can plead immunity from this condition. Man in this point is worse than all other creatures; he is born unable to support himself; neither receiving in his first years any pleasure, nor giving to others any thing but trouble; and before the age of discretion passing infinite dangers. Only herein he is less unhappy than in other ages, because in this he hath no sense nor apprehension of his misery. Now can we think there is any so void of reason, that, if it were granted him to live always a child, would make choice of such a life?

So then it is evident, that not simply to live is desirable; but to live well and happy. But to proceed;

Grows he? His troubles likewise grow up with him. Scarcely is he come out of his nurse's hands, and scarce knows what it is to play, but he falls under the subjection of a schoolmaster; I speak but of those which have the best education, and are brought up with the greatest care and strictness. And then, if he studies, it is ever with repining; and, if he plays, it is never but with fear.

This whole age, while he is under the charge of another, is unto him no better than a prison; and therefore he longs for, and only aspires to that age, in which, freed from the tutelage of another, he may become master of himself; pushing time forward, as it

were, with his shoulder, that he may the sooner enjoy his hoped-for liberty. In short, he desires nothing more than to see the end of his age, which he looks upon as bondage and slavery, and enter upon the beginning of his youth.

And what is the beginning of youth, but the death of infancy? And the beginning of manhood, but the death of youth? Or what is the beginning of to-morrow, but the death of the present day?

And thus he implicitly desires his death, and judges his life miserable; and therefore cannot be reputed in a state of happiness or contentment.

Behold him now, according to his wish, at liberty; in that age wherein he has his choice, to take the way of virtue or of vice, and either to choose reason or passion for his guide. His passion entertains him with a thousand delights, prepares for him a thousand baits, and presents him with a thousand worldly pleasures to surprise him; and these are so agreeable to headstrong and unbridled youth, that there are very few that are not taken and beguiled by them; of which my own example is too evident an instance.

But, when the reckoning comes to be made up, what pleasures are they? They are but vicious and polluted pleasures, which ever hold him in a restless fever; pleasures that at the best end in repentance, and, like sweet-meats, are of a hard digestion; pleasures that are bought with pain, and in a moment perish, but leave behind a lasting guilt, and long remorse of conscience; all which I wish my own too dear experience could not witness.

And yet this is the very nature (if they be well examined) of all the pleasures of this world. There is in none so much sweetness, but there is more bitterness; none so pleasant to the mouth, but it leaves an unsavory gusto after it. I will not speak here of the mischiefs, quarrels, debates, wounds, murders, banishments, sickness, and other dangers, whereinto sometimes the incontinency, and sometimes the insolency of this ill-guided age does plunge men; for the remembrance of my own follies, upon this occasion, stops my mouth, and fills me with remorse and shame.

But if those that seem pleasures be nothing else but displeasures, if the sweetness thereof be as an infusion of wormwood; what then must the displeasure be which they feel? And how great the bitterness that they taste?

Behold then, in short, the life of a young man, who, rid of the government of his parents and masters, abandons himself to all the exorbitancies of his unruly passion; which, like an unclean spirit possessing him, throws him sometimes into the water, and then into the fire; sometimes carries him clear over a rock, and at other times flings him headlong to the bottom.

But, if he follows reason for his guide; (which is much the better choice) yet, on this hand, there are wonderful difficulties: for he must resolve to fight in every part of the field, and at every step to be in conflict, as having his enemy in front, in flank, and on the rear, never leaving to assail him; and this enemy is all that can delight him, all that he sees near, or far off. In short, the greatest

enemy, in the world, is the world * itself, which he must therefore overcome. But, beside the world, he has a thousand treacherous enemies within him, among whom his passion is none of the least; which waits for an occasion to surprise him, and betray him to his lusts. It is God only that can make him choose the path of virtue, and it is God only that can keep him in it to the end, and make him victorious in all his combates. But, alas, how few they are that enter into it! And, of those few, how many that retire again! So that, let a man follow the one way or the other, he must either subject himself to a tyrannical passion, or undertake a weary and continual combate; wilfully throw himself into the arms of destruction, or fetter himself, as it were, in the stocks; easily carried away with the current of the water, or painfully stemming the impetuous tide.

See here the happiness of the young man! Who, in his youth, having drunk his full draught of the world's vain and deceivable pleasures, is overtaken by them with such a dull heaviness and astonishment, as drunkards the morrow after a debauch, or gluttons after a plentiful feast; who are so over-pressed with the excesses of the former day, that the very remembrance of it creates their loathing. And even he, that has made the stoutest resistance, feels himself so weary, and with this continual conflict so bruised and broken, that he is either upon the point to yield, or die. And this is all the good, all the contentment, of this flourishing age, by children so earnestly desired, and, by those who have experienced it, so heartily lamented.

Next cometh that which is called 'perfect age,' in which men have no other thoughts, but to purchase themselves wisdom and rest. It is called perfect, indeed, but is herein only perfect, that all imperfections of human nature, hidden before under the simplicity of childhood, or the lightness of youth, appear at this age in their perfection. I speak of none in this place, but those that are esteemed the wisest and most happy, in the opinion of the world.

I have already shewed that we played in fear; and that our short pleasures were attended on with long repentance: But now Avarice and Ambition present themselves to us, promising, if we will adore them, to give us a perfect contentment with the goods and honours of this world. And surely none but those, who are restrained by a divine hand, can escape the illusions of the one, or the other, and not cast themselves headlong from the top of the pinacle.

But let us see what this contentment is. The covetous man makes a thousand voyages by sea, and journies by land; runs a thousand hazards, escapes a thousand shipwrecks, and is in perpetual fear and travel; and yet oftentimes either loseth his time, or gains nothing but sickness, gouts, and oppilations. In the purchase of this goodly repose, he bestoweth his true rest; and, to gain

* The corruptions of nature in those that he converseth with, &c.

wealth, loseth his life. But suppose he hath gained much, and that he hath spoiled the whole East of its pearls, and drawn dry all the mines of the West: Will he then be at quiet, and say, he is content? Nothing less: For, by all his acquisitions, he gains but more disquiet, both of mind and body; from one travel falling into another, never ending, but only changing his miseries. He desired to have them, and now fears to lose them; he got them with burning ardour, and possesses them in trembling cold; he adventured among thieves to get them, and now fears by thieves and robbers to be deprived of them again; he laboured to dig them out of the earth, and now, to secure them, he hides them therein. In short, coming from all his voyages, he comes into a prison: and the end of his bodily travels is but the beginning of the endless labour of his mind. Judge now what this man has gained, after so many miseries! This devil of covetousness persuades him he has some rare and excellent thing; and so it fares with him, as with those poor creatures whom the devil seduceth, under colour of relieving their poverty; who find their hands full of leaves, when they thought to find them full of crowns: he possesseth, or rather is possessed by, a thing wherein is neither power nor vertue, more base and unprofitable, than the least herb of the earth. Yet hath he heaped together this vile excrement, and so brutish is grown, as therewith to crown his head, when he ought to tread it under his feet.

But, however it be, is he therewith satisfied and contented? So far from that, that he is now more dissatisfied than ever. We commend most those drinks that breed an alteration, and soonest extinguish thirst; and those meats that in least quantity do longest resist hunger: but now, of this, the more a man drinks, the more he is a-thirst; the more he eats, the more he is an hungry: it is a dropsy, that swells him till he bursts before he can be satisfied. And, which is worse, in some so extravagant is this thirst, that it makes them dig the pits, and carefully draw the water, and, after all, won't suffer them to drink. In the midst of a river, they are dry with thirst; and, on a heap of corn, cry out of famine. They have goods, and dare not use them; garments, but dare not put them on: and, though they are possessed of that in which they joy, they don't enjoy it. The sum of all which is, that, 'of all which they have, they have nothing.'

Let us then return unto that, that the attaining of all these deceivable goods is nothing else but weariness of body, and the possession, for the most part, weariness of mind; which certainly is so much the greater evil, as the mind is more sensible than the body.

But the complement of all their misery is, when they come to lose them, either by shipwreck, fire, or any other accident, then they cry, weep, and torment themselves; like little children, that have lost their play-game, which yet is nothing worth. One cannot persuade them that mortal men have any other good in this world, but that which is mortal. They are, in their own conceits,

not only spoiled, but utterly undone: and forasmuch as in these vain things they have fixed all their hope, having lost them, they fall into despair, out of which they are seldom recovered, many times laying violent hands upon themselves, and bringing their own lives to an unhappy period.

In short, the recompence, that covetousness yields those that have served it all their life, is like that of the devil, who, after a small time, having gratified his votaries, either leaves them to the hangman, or himself breaks their necks.

I will not here discourse of the wickedness to which covetous men subject themselves to attain to these goods, whereby their conscience is filled with a perpetual remorse, which never leaves them in quiet. It is enough that in this immoderate pursuit of riches, which busieth and abuseth the greatest part of the world, the body is macerated, the mind debilitated, and the soul is lost, without any pleasure or contentment.

Let us then come to ambition, which, by an over-eager aspiring to honour, takes up the time and thoughts of the greatest persons: and, what! Do we there think to find more content? Alas! 'tis rather less; and this, I am sure, I can witness to my cost: for as the one deceives us, by giving us, for all our travel, but a vile excrement of the earth; so the other repays us but with smoke and wind: the rewards of this being as vain, as those of that were gross. In both we fall into a bottomless pit; but, into this, the fall is by so much the more dangerous, as at the first shew the water is more clear and pleasant.

Of those men that make their court to ambition, some are great about princes, others commanders of armies; both sorts, according to their degree, you see saluted, reverenced, and adored of those that are under them: you see them apparelled in purple, in scarlet, and in cloth of gold; that, at the first sight, one would think there is no content to be found, but amongst them. But, alas! men know not how heavy an ounce of that vain honour weighs; they know not what those reverences cost them, nor how dearly they pay for an ell of those rich stuffs: they are so over-rated, that he, who knew them well, would never buy them at the price. The one hath attained to this degree, after a long and painful service, hazarding his life, upon every occasion, with loss, oftentimes of a leg or an arm; and that at the pleasure of a prince, that more regards a hundred perches of ground on his neighbour's frontiers, than the lives of a hundred thousand such as he; unfortunate to serve one who loves him not, and foolish to think himself in honour with him, that makes so little reckoning to lose him for a thing of no worth.

Others there are that aspire to greatness by flattering a prince; which is a life so base and servile, that they can never say their very souls are their own, any longer than their prince is pleased to let them; for they must always have their hands and tongues ready to do, and say, whatever he would have them; and yet they must be content to suffer a thousand injuries, and receive a thousand disgraces: and, as near as they seem about the prince, they are

nevertheless always like the lion's keeper, who, when by long patience, a thousand feedings, and a thousand clawings, he hath made a fierce lion familiar, yet never gives him meat, but with pulling back his hand, always in fear lest he should catch him; and, if once in a year he bites him, he sets it so close, that he is paid for it a long time after. Such generally is the end of the favourites of princes.

When a prince, after long service, hath raised a man to the highest pitch of honour, he sometimes makes it his pastime to cast him down in an instant; and when he hath filled him with heaps of wealth and riches, he squeeses him afterwards like a sponge; loving none but himself, and thinking every one born but to serve and please him.

These blind courtiers make themselves believe that they have friends, and many that honour them; never considering, that, as they make only a shew to love and honour every body, so others do to them: their superiors disdain them, and never, but with some kind of scorn, so much as salute them. Their inferiors salute them, because they have no need of them, (I mean, of their fortune, their food, their apparel, not their persons.) And for their equals, between whom friendship usually consists, they envy, accuse, and cross each other; being always troubled either at their own harm, or at another's good. Now, what greater torment is there to a man than envy? Which is indeed nothing but a hectick fever of the mind; by which they are utterly deprived of all friendship, which was ever judged, by the wisest, the sovereign good amongst men.

But, to make this more evident, let but fortune turn her back, and every man turns from them; let them but be disrobed of their triumphal garment, and no body will know them any more. And then, suppose the most infamous and vilest miscreant to be cloathed in it, he shall, by vertue of his robe, inherit all the honours of the other, and the same respect shall be paid him; so that it is the fortune which they carry that is honoured, and not themselves.

But you will say, at least so long as that fortune endured, they were at ease, and had content; and he, who has three or four years of happy time, has not been all his life unhappy. True, if it be to be at ease, continually to fear to be cast down from that degree unto which they are raised; and daily covet with great labour to climb higher. But those whom thou lookest upon to be so much at ease, because thou seest them but without, are within far otherwise; they are fair-built prisons, but full within of deep dungeons, darkness, serpents, and torments. Thou supposest their fortunes very large, but they think them very strait; thou thinkest them very high, but they think themselves very low. Now, he is full as sick, who believes himself to be so, as he who indeed is so. Suppose them to be kings, yet, if they think themselves slaves, they are no better; for we are only what opinion makes us. You see them well followed and attended, and yet even those, whom they have chose for their guard, they distrust. Alone, or in company,

they are ever in fear: alone, they look behind them; in company, they have an eye on every side. They drink in gold and silver; but it is in those, and not in earth or glass, that poison is prepared: they have beds, soft, and well made; yet, when they lie down to sleep, their fears and cares do often keep them waking, and turning from side to side, so that their very rest is restless. And there's no other difference between them and a poor fettered prisoner, but only that the prisoner's fetters are of iron, and the other's are of gold; the one is fettered by the body, the other by the mind; the prisoner draws his fetters after him, the courtier weareth his upon him. The prisoner's mind sometimes comforts the pain of his body, and he sings in the midst of his miseries; the courtier is always troubled in mind, wearying his body, and can never give it rest. And as for the contentment you imagine they have, you are therein more deceived: you esteem them great, because they are raised high; but are therein as much mistaken, as they who should judge a dwarf to be tall, for being set on a tower, or standing on the top of the Monument. You measure (like one unskilled in geometry) the image with its base, which you should measure by itself, if you would know its true height. You imagine them to be great, but, could you look into their minds, you would see they are neither great (true greatness consisting in the contempt of those vain greatnesses unto which they are slaves), nor seem unto themselves to be so; seeing they daily are aspiring higher, and yet never where they would be.

Some there are, that pretend to set bounds to their ambition; and to say, if I could attain to such a degree, I should be contented, and sit down satisfied; but, alas! when he has once attained it, he scarce allows himself a breathing time, before he makes advances towards something higher; and all he has attained he esteems as nothing, and still reputes himself low, because there is some one higher; instead of reputing himself high, because there are a million lower: and so high he climbs, at last, that either his breath fails him by the way, or he slides from the top to the bottom.

But if he should get up, by all his toil and labour, unto the utmost height of his desires, he would but find himself as on the top of the Alps, not above the clouds, but more obnoxious to the winds and storms; and so a fairer mark for those lightnings and tempests which commonly take pleasure to thunderbolt, and dash to powder, that proud height of their's.

It may be herein you will agree with me, compelled thereto by those many examples that we find in the histories of former ages, and those more modern ones that are still recent in most men's memories; but my own sad experience is, to me, more convincing than a thousand instances; while, aiming at a higher pitch of honour, by a too forward zeal for my prince, I have only brought myself into a prison; where the greatest preferment, I can hope for, is to mount a scaffold; and, instead of having my head circled

with a coronet, 'tis like to fall a victim to my enemies, by the hands of an executioner.

But, say you, such, at least, whom nature hath sent into the world with crowns on their heads, and scepters in their hands; such as from their birth are placed in that high sphere, that they have nothing more to wish for; such are exempt from all the fore-mentioned evils, and therefore may call themselves happy: it may be, indeed, they may be less sensible of them, having been born, bred, and brought up amongst them: as one, born near the down-falls of Nilus, becomes deaf to the sound of those waters; and he, that is born and brought up in prison, laments not the loss of liberty; nor does he wish for day that is brought up amongst the Cimmerians in perpetual night. Yet even persons of this high quality are far from being free; for the lightning often blasts a flower of their crowns, or breaks the scepter in their hands; sometimes their crowns are made of thorns, and the scepter that they bear is but a reed: and such crowns and scepters are so far from curing the chagrine of the mind, and from keeping off those cares and griefs that hover still about them, that, on the contrary, it is the crown that brings them, and the scepter that attracts them. 'O crown,' said the Persian monarch, 'he, that knew how heavy thou sittest on the head, would not vouchsafe to take thee up, though he should meet thee in his way.' This prince gave law to the whole world, and each man's fortune was what he pleased to make it; and therefore, to appearance, could give to every man content; and yet you see himself confessing, that in the whole world, which he held in his hand, there was nothing but grief and unhappiness.

And what better account can the rest give us, if they would speak impartially what they found? We will not ask them who have concluded a miserable life with a dishonourable death; who have beheld their kingdoms buried before them, and have in great misery long over-lived their greatness. Neither will we enquire of Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, who was more content with a handful of twigs to whip the little children of Corinth in a school, than with the scepter wherewith he had beaten all Sicily. Nor will we ask of Sylla, who, having robbed the common-wealth of Rome, which had herself before robbed the whole world, never found means of rest in himself, but by robbing himself of his own estate, with incredible hazard of his power and authority. Nor (to come nearer home, will we enquire of Charles, the royal martyr, the lustre of whose crown did only serve to tempt his enemies, not only to take it from his head, but to take his head off too; and whose scepter was too weak to overcome the force of armed rebels. Nor will we ask of his two exiled sons, the first of which endured twelve years of banishment e're he enjoyed his crown; and the last, in less than a Quinque Neronem, was forced to leave his crown and kingdoms, and fly for refuge to a neighbouring monarch, whose generous goodness has ever since supported him; whose sad misfortunes I the more regret, because they both include my own, and are their source and foun-

tain. It is of none of these unhappy princes that we will make enquiry after happiness: but let us ask the opinion of the most opulent and flourishing of princes, even of the great king Solomon, a man endowed with singular wisdom from above, beyond the rest of men; and whose immense riches was so great, that gold and silver were as plentiful as the stones in the street; and the sacred history tells us, there was such plenty of gold, that silver was nothing accounted of, in the days of Solomon; and, as he wanted not treasure, so neither did he want for largeness of heart to make use of it: and, after he had tried all the felicities that the world could afford him, this is the account that he gives of it, 'All is vanity and vexation of spirit.'

If we ask of the emperor Augustus, who peaceably possessed the whole world, he will bewail his life past, and, among infinite toils, 'wish for the rest of the meanest of his subjects;' esteeming that a happy day, that would ease him of his insupportable greatness, and suffer him to live quietly among the least.

If of Tiberius, his successor, he will tell us, 'that he holds the empire, as a wolf by the ears, and that, if he could do it without danger of being bitten, he would gladly let it go;' complaining on fortune for lifting him so high, and then taking away the ladder, that he could not get down.

If of Dioclesian, a prince of great wisdom and virtue in the opinion of the world; he will prefer his voluntary banishment at Solona, before all the Roman empire.

And lastly, if of the emperor Charles the Fifth, esteemed the most happy that hath lived these many ages, he will curse his conquests, victories, and triumphs; and not be ashamed to own, that he hath felt more good in one day of his monkish * solitude, than in all his triumphant life.

Now can we imagine those happy in this imaginary greatness, who think themselves unhappy in it? And do profess that happiness consists in being lesser and not greater. In a word, whatever happiness ambition promiseth, it is nothing else, but suffering of much evil, to get more. Men think, by daily climbing higher, to pluck themselves out of this evil; and yet the height, whereunto they so plainly aspire, is the height of misery itself.

I speak not here of the wretchedness of them, who all their lives have been holding out their caps to fortune for the alms of court favour, and can get nothing; nor of them who, jostling one another for it, cast it into the hands of a third; nor of those who having it, and seeking to hold it faster, drop it through their fingers, which often happens. Such, by all men, are esteemed unhappy; and are so indeed, because, they judge themselves so.

Well, you will now say, the covetous, in all his goods, hath no good; the ambitious, at the best he can be, is but ill: but may there not be some, who, supplying the place of justice, or being

* Charles the Fifth, according to some authors, being grown very infirm in body, resigned his crown to his son, and became a monk in the cloister of the Hieronymites, at St. Justus, near Placentia, on the frontiers of Castile and Portugal, anno 1557.

near about a prince, may without following such unbridled passions, enjoy their goods with innocence and pleasure, joining honour with rest, and contentment of mind?

Perhaps, in former ages (when there remained among men some sparks of sincerity) it might in some sort be so; but, being of that composition they now are, it is, in a manner, impossible. For, if you deal in affairs of state, you shall either do well or ill; if ill, you have God for your enemy, and your own conscience for a perpetual tormenting executioner: if well, you have men for your enemies, and of men the greatest; whose envy and malice will espy you out, and whose cruelty and tyranny will evermore threaten you. Please the people, you please a beast; and pleasing such ought to be displeasing to yourself. Please yourself, you displease God: please him, you incur a thousand dangers in the world, with the purchase of a thousand displeasures. The sum of all therefore is this, there are none contented with their present stations; for, if you could hear the talk of the wisest and least discontented of men, whether they speak advisedly, or their words pass them by force of truth, one would gladly change garments with his tenant. Another preacheth, how goodly an estate it is to have nothing. A third, complaining that his brains are broken with the noise of a court, or palace, hath no other thought, but as soon as he can to retire himself thence. So that you shall not see any but is displeased with his own calling, and envieth that of another: and yet ready to recoil, if a man should take him at his word. None but is weary of the inconveniences whereunto his age is subject, and yet wishes not to be older, to free himself of them, though otherwise he keeps off old age, as much as in him lieth.

What must we then do in so great a contrariety and confusion of minds? Must we, to find true contentment, fly the society of men, hide us in forests among wild beasts, and sequester ourselves from all conversation, to preserve ourselves from the evil of the world? Could we, in so doing, live at rest, it were something; but alas! Men cannot take herein what part they would; and even they, which do, find not there all the rest they sought for.

But where can he fly, that carries his enemy in his bosom? And since, as the wise man says, the world is in our hearts, hardly can we find a place in this world, where the world will not find us. And as some make profession to fly the world, who thereby seek nothing but the praise of the world; and as some hide themselves from men, to no other end but that men should seek them; so the world often harbours in disguised attire, among them that fly the world. It is not, therefore, solitude and retirement can give us contentment, but, only the subduing of our unruly lusts and passions.

Now, as touching that contentment, that may be found in solitude, by wise men, in the exercise of reading divers books, of both divine and prophane authors, in order to the acquiring of knowledge and learning, it is indeed a very commendable thing; but, if we will take Solomon's judgment in the case, it is all but vanity

and vexation of spirit:' for some are ever learning to correct their speech, and never think of correcting their life. Others, by logical discourses of the art of reason, dispute many times so long, till they lose thereby their natural reason. One learns by arithmetick to divide into the smallest fractions, and yet hath not skill to part one shilling with his brother. Another, by geometry, can measure fields, and towns, and countries, but cannot measure himself. The musician can accord his voices, and sounds, and times together, having nothing in his heart, but discords; nor one passion in his soul, but what is out of tune. The astrologer looks up to the stars, and falls in the next ditch: foreknows the future, and is careless for the present; hath often his eye on the heavens, though his heart be buried on the earth. The philosopher discourseth of the nature of all other things, and yet knows not himself. The historian can tell of the wars of Thebes and of Troy, but is ignorant of what is done in his own house. The lawyer will make laws for all the world, and yet observe none himself. The physician cures others, but languishes himself under his own malady: he can find the least alteration in his pulse, but takes no notice of the burning fever of his mind. Lastly, the divine will spend the greatest part of his time in disputing of faith, and yet cares not to hear of charity: will talk of God, but has no regard to succour men. These knowledges bring on the mind an endless labour, but no contentment; for, the more he knows, the more he desires to know.

They pacify not the debates a man feels in himself, they cure not the diseases of his mind. They make him learned, but they make him not good; cunning, but not wise. The more a man knows, the more he knows, that he knows not; the fuller the mind is, the emptier it finds itself: forasmuch as whatsoever a man can know of any science, in this world, is but the least part of what he is ignorant of: all his knowledge consisting in knowing his ignorance, all his perfection in seeing his imperfections, which who best knows and notes is, in truth, among men, the most wise and perfect. In short, we must conclude with Solomon, that the beginning and end of wisdom is the fear of God; yet this wisdom, nevertheless, is taken by the world for meer folly, and persecuted by the world as a deadly enemy; and therefore, as he, that fears God, ought to fear no evil, for that all his evils are converted to his good: so neither ought he to hope for good in the world, having there the devil his professed enemy, whom the scripture termeth the prince of this world.

But, with what exercise soever we pass the time, old age unawares comes upon us, which never fails to find us out. Every man makes account in that age to repose himself without further care, and to keep himself at ease in health. But, on the contrary, in this age, there is nothing but an after-taste of all the foregoing evils; and most commonly a plentiful harvest of all such vices as, in the whole course of their life, hath held and possessed them. There you have the imbecillity and weakness of infancy, and (which is worse) many times accompanied with authority.

There you are paid for the excess and riot of your youth, with gouts, palsies, and such like diseases, which take from you limb after limb, with pain and torment. There you are recompensed for the anxieties of mind, the watchings and cares of manhood, with loss of sight, loss of hearing, and all the senses one after another, except only the sense of pain. Not one part in us, but death takes hold of, to be assured of us, as of bad pay-masters, which seldom keep days of payment: there is nothing in us, which is not visibly declining, except our vices; and they not only live, but, in despite of nature, grow young again. The covetous man hath one foot in his grave, and is yet burying his money, as if he had hopes to find it again another day. The ambitious in his will provides for a pompous funeral, making his vice to triumph, even after his death. The riotous, no longer able to dance on his feet, danceth with his shoulders, all vices having left him, and he not able to leave them. The child wishes for youth, and this man laments it. The young man lives in hope of the future, and this feels the evil present, laments the false pleasures past, and sees for the time to come nothing to hope for; and the old man is more foolish than the child, in bewailing the time he cannot recal, and remembers not the evil that he suffered in it; and more wretched than the young man, in that, after a vicious life, and not being able any longer to live, he must miserably die, seeing nothing round about him but matter of despair.

As for him that, from his youth, hath undertaken to combate against the flesh and the world, who hath used to mortify himself, and leave the world, whilst he continues in it; who, besides those ordinary evils, finds himself vexed with this great and incurable disease of old age; and yet feels his flesh, how weak soever, often stronger than his spirit; what satisfaction can he take, but only in this, that he sees his death is at hand; that his warfare is accomplished, and that he is ready to depart by death out of this loathsome prison, wherein he has been all along racked and tormented?

I forbear to mention the almost infinite evils wherewith men in all ages are afflicted, as loss of friends and parents, banishments, exiles, disgraces, and other accidents, common and ordinary in the world; one complaining of losing his children, another of having them; one lamenting for his wife's death, another for her life; one finding fault that he is too high in court, and others more often that they are not high enough. The world is so full of evils, that it would require a world of time to write them in. And, if the most happy man in the world should set his felicities against each other, he would see cause enough to judge himself unhappy: and yet perhaps another man might judge him happy, who yet, if he had been but three days in his place, would give it over to him that should come next. And he that shall consider, in all the goods that ever he hath had, the evils he hath suffered to get them, and having got them, to retain and keep them (I speak of pleasures that may be kept, and not of those that wither in a moment)

he will soon judge, that keeping itself of the greatest felicity, in this world, is full of unhappiness and infelicity.

We may well conclude, then, that childhood is but a foolish simplicity; youth, a vain heat; manhood, a painful carefulness; and old age, an uneasy languishing: that our plays are but tears; our pleasures, fevers of the mind; our goods, racks and torments; our honours, gilded vanities; our rest, inquietude: that passing from age to age is but passing from evil to evil, and from the less unto the greater; and that always it is but one wave driving on another, until we be arrived at the haven of death.

In short, life is but a wishing for the future, and a bewailing of what is past; a loathing of what we have tasted, and a longing for what is yet to taste; a vain memory of the state past, and a doubtful expectation of the state to come: and to conclude, in all our life, there is nothing certain, but the certainty and uncertainty of death.

And now we are come to the end of all the living, even to the house of death: behold this king of terrors, O my soul, and see, whether or no, he be so terrible, as he is represented: it is high time, methinks, for death and I to be acquainted, since I expect in a very few days, not to say hours, to be taken into his arms, and conducted by him to the bright mansions of eternity.

Let us now consider, then, whether death be such as we are generally made to believe; and whether we ought to fly from him as we do. We are afraid of death, like little children of a vizard, or of the images of Hecate. We have a horror for death, because we conceive him not such as he is, but ugly, terrible, and hideous; such as the painters please to represent him. We fly before him, because prepossessed with such vain imaginations, and care not to inform ourselves better. But, if we dare stand and look death in the face, we shall find him quite another thing, than he is represented to us, and altogether of a more amiable countenance than our miserable life. Death makes an end of this life, and this life is nothing but a perpetual scene of misery and trouble. Death, then, is the period of our miseries, and safe conduct into that desired haven, where we shall ride in safety from all winds and storms. And shall we be afraid of that, which delivers us from all our fears, and brings us safe into the port of happiness?

But, you will say, it is a pain to die. Admit it be, and so there is pain in curing of a wound. Such is the world, that one evil cannot be cured but by another; to heal a contusion, must be made an incision.

You will say, there is difficulty in the passage. But, if this be an objection, the mariner must always keep at sea, and not come into port, because there is no harbour whose entrance is not strait and difficult. There is nothing of value or worth to be had in this world, without the coin of labour and pain. The entrance may indeed be hard, but then it is ourselves that make it so, by carrying thither self-tormenting spirits, anxious minds, accusing consciences, and fearful expectations of meeting with the just reward of a de-

bauched and vicious life. But let us carry with us calmness and serenity of mind, with the comfortable remembrance of a virtuous and well-spent life, and the lively hope and expectation of approaching happiness, and we shall find no danger nor difficulty at all.

But what are the pains that death brings us? And why should death be charged with those pains we feel, when we come to die? We accuse death of all the evils we suffer in ending our lives, and consider not, how many more grievous and cruciating pains and sicknesses we have suffered in this life, in which we have even called upon death to deliver us; and yet all the pains of our life, to our last moment, we impute to death, whereas it ought to be ascribed to life; for it is but reasonable to believe that a life, begun and continued in all sorts of pain, must of necessity end so: and, therefore, it is only the remainder of our life that pains us, and not death; the end of our navigation that troubles us, and not the haven that we are to enter, which is nothing else but a safe-guard against all winds. We complain of death, when we should complain of life, just as if one that had been long sick, and beginning to be well, should accuse his health of his last pains, and not the relicks of his disease.

Tell me then, what is it else to be dead, but to be no more living in the world? And is it any pain not to be in the world? Did we then feel pain, when as yet we were not? Have we ever more resemblance of death, than when we are asleep? Or ever more rest, than at that time? Now, if this be no pain, why accuse we death of the pains our lives give us at our departure? Unless also we will fondly accuse the time wherein we were not, of the pains we felt at our birth. If our coming in be with tears, what wonder is it that our going out be such? If the beginning of our being be the beginning of our pain, no marvel that such is the ending. But if our not being, in times past, hath been without pain, and all our being here full of pain; whom ought we in reason to accuse of our last pains, the not being to come, or the remnant of the present being?

We generally think we die not, until we fetch our last gasp; but, if we mind it well, we shall find that we die every day, every hour, every moment. We apprehend death as a thing unusual to us, and yet have nothing so common in us. Our living is but a continual dying; and look how much we live, so much we die; how much we increase, our life decreases. We cannot enter a step into life, but we are upon the borders of death. Who has lived a third part of his years, is a third part dead; who, half his years, is already half dead. Of our life, all the time past is dead, the present lives and dies at once, and the future likewise shall die.

The past time of our lives is no more, the future is not yet, the present is, and no more is.

Briefly, this whole life is but a death. It is as a candle lighted in our bodies; in one, the wind makes it melt away; in another, it blows it quite out, many times, before it be half burned; in others,

it endures to the end. Howsoever it be, look how much the candle shines, so much it burns; for its shining is its burning, its light is but a vanishing smoke, and its last fire but its last wick, and its last drop of moisture.

So is it in the life of man. Life and death, in man, is all one. If we call the last breath by the name of death, so we must all the rest; all proceeding from one place, and all in the same manner.

One only difference there is between this life and that which we call death: that, during the one, we are always dying, but, after the other, we shall always live.

In short, as he, that thinketh death, simply, to be the end of man, ought not to fear it, inasmuch as he, who desires to live long, desires to die longer; and so he, who fears to die quickl does, to speak properly, fear lest he may not die longer.

But to us who profess the Christian religion, and are brought up in a more holy school, death is a far other thing. Neither do we need (as heretofore the Pagans did) consolations against death: for death itself ought to be, to us, a consolation against other afflictions; so that we must not only strengthen ourselves, as they did, not to fear it, but we ought also to hope for it; for, unto us, it is not only a departing from pain and evil, but an access unto all good; not the end of life, but the end of death, pain, and sorrow, and the beginning of a life that shall never have an end.

'Better, saith Solomon, is the day of death, than the day of birth.' But for what reason? Why because it is not to us a last day, but the dawning of an everlasting day.

No more shall we have, in that glorious light, either sorrow for the past, or expectation for the future; for all shall be there present to us, and that present shall be present for ever. No more shall we spend our strength in seeking after vain and painful pleasures, for there we shall be filled with true and substantial delights. No more shall we weary ourselves in heaping together these shining exhalations of the earth, for the inexpressible glory of heaven shall be ours; and this mass of earth, which ever draws us towards the earth, shall be then buried in it, and consumed with it.

No more shall we then be votaries to that gaudy idol, honour, nor put our wits upon the rack, that so we may be decked with finer feathers than our neighbours. Ambition will have there no place; for we shall there be raised to that excelling glory, and be possessed of all those heights of greatness, that we shall look with scorn and with contempt upon an earthly diadem, and smile at all the follies of poor groveling mortals, who fight and quarrel with each other for a small spot of earth, like children for an apple.

And, which is better still, no more shall we have combates in ourselves. Our sinful flesh, that, here, was our worst enemy, will cease from troubling, there; and our renewed spirits shall be filled with life and vigour: our passion shall be buried, and our reason be restored to perfect liberty. The soul, delivered out of this foul and filthy prison, where, by its long continuing, it is grown into a habit of crookedness, shall again draw its own breath, recognise its

ancient dwelling, and again remember its former glory and dignity.

This flesh which thou feelest, this body which thou touchest, is not man. Man is a spark of the divinity shot down from heaven; heaven is his country, and his native air; that he is in this body, is but by way of exile and confinement.

Man, indeed, is soul and spirit, and is of a divine and heavenly quality, wherein there is nothing gross, nothing material. This body, such as now it is, is but the bark and shell of the soul, which must necessarily be broke, before we can be hatched, before we can live and see the light.

We have, it seems, some life and some sense in us, but are so very crooked and contracted, that we cannot so much as stretch out our wings, much less take our flight towards heaven, until we be disburthened and separated from this lump of earth. We look, but it is through false spectacles. We have eyes, but they are overgrown with pearls. We think we see, but it is but in a dream, wherein all that we see is nothing but a vain illusion. All that we seem to have, and all that we seem to know, is but deceit and vanity.

Death only can awake us from our dream, and restore us to true life and light; and yet we think, so blockish are we! that he comes to rob us of them.

We profess ourselves Christians, and that we believe, after this mortal life, a life of immortality; that death is nothing but a separation of soul and body, and that the soul returns to its former happy abode, there to joy in, and enjoy the fountain of all bliss; and that, at the last day, it shall re-assume its body, which shall no more be subject to corruption. With these goodly discourses we fill our books; and, in the mean while, when it comes to the point, and that we are ready to enter in at this portcullis of seraphical glory, the very name of death, as of some dreadful Gorgon, makes us quake and tremble.

If we believe as we speak, pray what is it that we fear? To be happy? To be perfectly at ease? To enjoy more content, in one moment, than ever was enjoyed, even by Methuselah himself, in all his nine hundred and sixty-nine years; which was the longest mortal life I ever read of? If this be nothing that we fear, then we must of necessity confess, that we believe it but in part; that all, that we have said, are only words; that all our discourses, as of those hardy trencher-knights, are nothing but vaunting and vanity.

Some there are, that will confidently tell you, I know very well that I shall pass out of this life into a better; I make no doubt of that, only I fear the mid-way step.

Weak-hearted creatures! They will kill themselves to get their miserable living; they willingly suffer almost infinite pains, and infinite wounds, at another man's pleasure; and, fearless, go through infinite deaths without dying, and all this for things of nought, for things that perish, and that, oft-times, cause them to

perish with them: But, when they have but one step to make to be at rest, and that not for a day, but for ever; and not barely rest, but a rest of that exalted nature, that man's natural mind can never comprehend, they tremble, their hearts fail them, they are afraid; and yet it is nothing but fear that hurts them. Let them never tell me they apprehend the pain; it is but an abuse, on purpose to conceal the little faith they have. No, no; they would rather languish of the gout, the sciatica, or any disease whatsoever, than die one sweet death with the least pain possible; rather piningly die, limb after limb, outliving, as it were, all their senses, motions, and actions, than speedily die, though immediately to live for ever. Let them tell me no more, that they would, in this world, learn to live; for every one is thereunto sufficiently instructed in himself, and not one but is cunning in the trade. Nay, rather they should learn, in this world, to die, and, that they may once die well, to die daily in themselves, so prepared, as if the end of every day's work were the end of our life.

Now, contrariwise, there is nothing, to their ears, more offensive, than to hear of death. Senseless people! we abandon our life to the ordinary hazards of war for six-pence a day*, and are foremost in assaults, for a little booty; go into places, whence there is no hope of returning, with danger, many times, both of bodies and souls. But, to free us from all hazards, to win the precious pride of things inestimable, to enter into eternal life, we faint in the passage of one pace, wherein is no difficulty but in opinion; yea, we so faint, that were it not of necessity that we must pass, and that God's ordination, that all must die, compels us, hardly should we find in all the world one, how unhappy or wretched soever, that would ever shoot that gulph. Another will say, 'Had I lived till fifty or sixty years, I should have been contented, I should not have cared to live longer; but to die so young is that which troubles me: I would willingly have known the world, before I had left it.' Simple soul! In this world there is neither young nor old. The longest age, in comparison of all that is past, or all that is to come, is nothing; and, when thou hast lived to the age thou now desirest, all that is past will be nothing; thou wilt still gape for that which is to come. The past will yield thee but sorrow, the future but expectation, the present no contentment; and thou wilt be as unwilling to die then, as ever thou wast. Thou fliest thy creditor from month to month, and time to time, as unwilling to pay the last day, as the first; thou seekest but to be acquitted. Thou hast tasted all which the world esteemeth pleasures, not one of them is new unto thee. By drinking oftener, thou shalt be never a whit the more satisfied; for the body thou carriest, like the pail of Danaus's daughter, which was bored full of holes, will never be full. Thou mayest sooner wear it out, than weary thyself with using, or rather abusing it. Thou desirest long life to cast it away, to spend it on worthless delights, to mis-spend it on vanities. Thou art covetous in desiring, and prodigal in spending. Say not

* The pay of a common soldier.

thou findest fault with the court, or the palace; but that thou desirest longer to serve the commonwealth, to serve thy country, to serve God. He that set thee on work knows until what day, and what hour, thou shouldst be at it; he well knows how to direct his work. Should he leave thee there longer, perhaps, thou wouldst spoil all. But, if he will pay thee liberally for thy labour, as much for half a day's work as for a whole; as much for having wrought till noon, as for having borne all the heat of the day; oughtest thou not so much the more to thank and praise him? But, if thou examine thine own conscience, thou lamentest not the cause of the widow and the orphan, which thou hast left depending in judgment; not the duty of a son, of a father, or of a friend, which thou pretendest thou wouldst perform; not the ambassage for the commonwealth, which thou wert ever ready to undertake; not the service thou desirest to do unto God, who knows much better how to serve himself of thee, than thou of thyself. It is thy houses and gardens thou lamentest, thy imperfect plots and purposes, and thy imperfect life; which, yet, no days, nor years, nor ages can make perfect, although thyself mightest do it in a moment, couldst thou but think in earnest, that where, or when it ends, it matters not, provided that it ends but well.

Now the only way to end this life well is to end it willingly; devoting ourselves, with an intire resignation, to the will of God, and not suffering ourselves to be constrained and drawn by the force of unavoidable destiny.

And, then, to end this life willingly, we must hope for death, not fear it.

To hope for death, we must certainly look, after this life, for a better.

To look for a better life, we must fear God; and he, that truly fears God, has nothing else, he ought to fear, in this world, and has reason to hope for all things in the world to come.

To one well resolved in these points death must needs be sweet and agreeable, knowing that, through it, he is to enter into the fulness of joy.

The bitterness we may find, by the straitness of the passage, will be allayed by the sweetness we shall find, when we are entered in; our suffering of ill shall be swallowed up in the enjoyment of good; and the sting of death itself, which is nothing but fear, shall be dead.

Nay, I will say more; he shall not only triumph over all those evils supposed to be in death, but he shall also scorn all those evils men fear to meet with in this life, and look upon them as unconcerned.

For what can he fear, whose death is his hope? If you think to banish him from his country, he knows he has a country, from whence you cannot banish him; and that all these countries are but inns, from which he must part in a little time. If to put him in a prison, he can have none more strait than his own body; nor any more filthy or dark, or more replete of racks and torments:

Or, if you think to kill him, you only then compleat his hopes; for death is what he desires. And, for the manner of it, be it by fire, by sword, by halter, or by ax; within three years, within three days, within three hours, it is all one to him; he matters not the time, nor minds the way, by which he passes from this miserable life; for his work is ended, his affairs dispatched, and by the self-same way that he goes out, he hopes to enter into a most happy and everlasting life. Men can but threaten him with death, and death is all he promiseth himself; the worst that they do, is but to make him die; and death is the best thing, in his account, that he can hope for.

The threatenings of a tyrant, to him, are promises; the swords of his greatest enemies, against him, he reckons drawn in his favour; forasmuch as he knows, that, threatening him death, they threaten him life; and the most mortal wounds can make him but immortal.

The sum of all is, he, that fears God, fears not death; and he, that fears not death, fears not the worst of this life.

By this reckoning, perhaps, some men may say, death is a thing to be wished for: And to pass from so much evil, to so much good, a man would be ready to cast away his life, and make away himself.

In answer to this, we may take notice, first, that, though the spirit aspires towards heaven, the body draws towards the earth, and the soul is too often drawn by the body. But, in the second place; we must, indeed, seek to mortify our flesh in us, and to cast the world out of us; but to cast ourselves out of this world is, in no case, lawful.

The Christian ought willingly to depart out of this life, but not cowardly to run away. His work is to fight against the world, and he cannot leave his post, without reproach and infamy. But, if his great captain be pleased to call him, let him willingly obey: For he is not born for himself, but for God, of whom he holds his life at farm, as tenant at will, to yield him the profits. It is in the landlord to take it from him, not in him to surrender it, when a conceit takes him.

Diest thou young? Praise God; as the mariner that hath a good wind, soon to bring him to the port.

Diest thou old? Praise God likewise: For, if thou hast had less wind, it may be thou hast had less waves.

But think not, at thy pleasure, to go faster or slower, for the wind is not in thy power; and, instead of taking the shortest way to the haven, thou mayest suffer shipwreck.

Let us, then, neither fly from death, when we are called to die, whether it be in a more natural way, as by old age, or sickness; or, by a more violent way, as by the sword in battle, or by the hand of an executioner; nor fly to it, not being called: Which both argues the greatest baseness and pusillanimity of spirit, and will also bring the guilt of our own blood upon our own heads. But let us meet death, whenever, or however, it comes, with that magna-

nimity and greatness of mind, that becomes both a man and a Christian.

And now having beguiled my solitary hours in contemplating the miseries of life, and happiness of death, to me so much the more necessary, by how much it is nearer approaching; I will conclude with a valediction to the world, and all its vain delights, written by a very great man, and prime minister of state, in the reign of Charles the First, whilst under my unhappy circumstances, and but a little before his execution.

Go empty joys, with all your noise,
And leave me here alone,
In sad sweet silence to bemoan
Your vain and fond delight,
Whose dangers none can see aright,
Whilst too much sunshine blinds his sight:
Go, and ensnare, with your false ware,
Some other easy wight,
And cheat him with your flattering light:
Rain on his head a show'r, of honour, greatness, wealth, and pow'r,
Then snatch it from him in an hour:
Fill his big mind with the vain wind of flattering applause,
Let him not fear all curbing laws,
Nor king, nor people's frown;
But dream of something like a crown,
And, climbing tow'rds it, tumble down.

A true Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs upon the Scaffold at Tower-hill, on Thursday, January the 28th, 1696-7. *By Sir* JOHN FENWICK, *Baronet.*

SPEAKING nor writing was never my talent; I shall therefore give a short, but faithful account, first, of my religion; and next, what I suffer most innocently for, to avoid the calumnies I may reasonably expect my enemies will cast upon me, when dead, since they have most falsly and maliciously aspersed me, whilst under my misfortunes.

As for my religion, I was brought up in the church of England, as it is established by law, and have ever professed it; though, I confess, I have been an unworthy member of it, in not living up to the strict and excellent rules thereof, for which I take shame to myself, and humbly ask forgiveness of God. I come now to die in that communion, trusting, as an humble and hearty penitent, to be received by the mercy of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ my saviour.

My religion taught me my loyalty, which, I bless God, is untainted: And I have ever endeavoured, in the station wherein I have been placed, to the utmost of my power, to support the crown

of England, in the true and lineal course of descent, without interruption.

As for what I am now to die; I call God to witness, I went not to that meeting in Leadenhall-street, with any such intention, as to invite king James by force to invade this nation; nor was I, myself, provided with either horse or arms, or engaged for any number of men, or gave particular consent for any such invasion, as is most falsly sworn against me.

I do also declare, in the presence of God, that I knew nothing of king James's coming to Calais, nor of any invasion intended from thence, till it was publickly known: And the only notion I had, that something might be attempted, was from the Thoulon fleet coming to Brest.

I also call God to witness, that I received the knowledge of what is contained in those papers that I gave to a great man that came to me in the Tower, both from letters and messages that came from France; and he told me, when I read them to him, 'That the prince of Orange had been acquainted with most of those things before.'

I might have expected mercy from that prince, because I was instrumental in saving his life. For when, about April 1695, an attempt formed against him came to my knowledge, I did, partly by dissuasions, and partly by delays, prevent that design; which, I suppose, was the reason that the last villainous project was concealed from me.

If there be any persons whom I have injured in word or deed, I heartily pray their pardon, and beg of God to pardon those who have injured me, particularly those, who, with great zeal, have sought my life, and brought the guilt of my innocent blood upon this nation, no treason being proved upon me.

I return my most hearty thanks to those noble and worthy persons who gave me their assistance, by opposing this bill of attainder, without which it had been impossible I could have fallen under the sentence of death: God bless them and their posterity, though I am fully satisfied they pleaded their own cause, while they defended mine.

I pray God to bless my true and lawful sovereign king James, the queen, and the prince of Wales, and restore him and his posterity to this throne again, for the peace and prosperity of this nation, which is impossible to prosper, till the government is settled upon a right foot.

And now, O God, I do, with all humble devotion, commend my soul into thy hands, the great Maker and Preserver of men, and lover of souls, beseeching thee, that it may be always dear and precious in thy sight, through the merits of my Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

J. FENWICK.

AN ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF TRADE.

BY A RELATION OF THE DECEASED.

London; printed in the Year 1698. Quarto, containing thirteen Pages.

A WORTHY old dame,
Mother Trade was her name,
That had long lain in desperate state,
Perceiving at last
That all hopes were past,
Contentedly bends to her fate.

And, since she is gone,
For the good deeds sh'has done,
As 'tis common in such like cases,
We can sure do no less,
Than attend to her hearse,
With some marks of remorse on our faces.

There's her grand-daughter, Art,
Hath almost broke her heart,
For the loss of so faithful a friend:
She sits in her chair,
In the depth of despair,
And seems to draw near to'ards her end.

Industry, her sister,
When she left her, she kiss'd her,
And bid her for ever adieu;
I must seek out a place,
Where to alter the case,
For here, I find, it will not do.

Her cousin, Invention,
Seems too in declension,
And sits down by her, and cries,
Oh! What shall I do?
I have nought to pursue,
Except it be forging of lyes.

But what is still worse,
'Twould make a man curse,
Her landlord has seiz'd all she had;
He hath not allow'd
Her a coffin and shroud,
Good people, i'nt this very sad?

But the beadle is gone,
To see what can be done:
'Tis hard she should lie above ground;
And yonder he comes,
A biting his thumbs;
I'm afraid there's no help to be found.

Then come, Master Beadle,
Pray how look the people?
What means this mighty dejection?
Why, sir, the folk look,
Like our constable's book,
That hath been these three years in collection.

I'm afraid, Master Blue-coat,
That you are no true coat,
For all you look so precisely;
Why sure they will give,
Since they wou'dn't let her live,
Some small thing to bury her wisely.

Come, come, you must out,
And try t'other bout,
And, pray, put the thing to the godly.
What! Must the good dame
Lie unbury'd? For shame;
This all o'er the world will look odly.

Why, sir, if you'd hear me,
You'd instantly clear me,
I've been with abundance already;
As God knows my heart,
I've acted my part,
And was always to serve her most ready.

I have been with the merchant,
Who, you know, is an arch one,
As also with the baker and brewer;
I have been with the banker,
And with him that makes th' anchor,
With the taylor, and almost all that knew her

Then pardon my passion,
'Twas my zeal for my nation,
That urg'd me a little too fast:
Come, prithee, go on,
Let me know man by man,
What betwixt you and each of them pass'd.

For the merchant then, first,
When I told him he curs'd,

And swore he expected it long:
I'll be moving, says he,
No, faith, they shall see
I'll ne'er stay to starve with the throng.

My debts lay an embargo,
Or I'd be my own cargo,
And sail to the land of Mogul;
But, when a man breaks,
His vessel then leaks,
And 'tis danger to swim in the hull.

But I'll sell what I've got, land,
And e'en go to Scotland,
I'll venture their itch and their lice;
'Tis better, you know,
Master Beadle, to go,
Than to stay here to be eat up with mice.

And now, for to give,
I have nought, as I live,
I was never so poor in my life;
The times are so dead,
I can hardly get bread
For myself, my children, and wife.

Next I went to the baker,
And he was a Quaker,
But a little inclin'd to the Papist;
When I told him our loss,
He made on him a cross,
And swore and damn'd like an Atheist.

Says he, friend, be gone,
For money I've none,
Go, prithee don't trouble my shop;
Don't tell me o'the dead,
I must live by my bread,
And so I was forc'd for to 'lope.

When I came out o'the door,
Says I, you son of a whore,
By your forestalling, regrating, and cheating,
You have got an estate,
And that makes you prate,
Take notice I owe you a beating.

I went hence to the brewer,
And there I thought sure
I should meet with a little relief;
But, faith, when I come,
He look'd so damn'd grum,
I said nothing, but stood like a thief.

It seems 'twas the day
He was doom'd to go pay,
Upon ale and beer, the excise:
Betwixt taxes and malt,
Says he, I don't get salt,
And so should lay down, were I wise.

At length I grew bold,
And went to him, and told
The long and short of the thing;
His reply was, don't tease me,
Pray friend, I'd be easy,
I must give not to her, but the king.

Then next with the banker
I soon cast my anchor,
And told him the state of the dame;
His answer was short,
All he had lay at court,
And bid me return whence I came.

To th' anchor-smith next,
Whom I found sadly vex'd,
At the news of a merchant just broke;
I ask'd him for something,
Who stood like a dumb thing,
At last scratch'd his head, and thus spoke:

Friend, did you but know,
You'd ne'er press me so,
And out he lugs a long scroul;
As God is to save me,
'Twixt merchants and navy,
I'm utterly ruin'd by my soul.

Thence I trudg'd to the taylor,
That wretch did bewail her,
But swore he had never a souse;
If I had it, said he,
You shou'd have something of me,
But, faith, I'm scarce worth a louse.

A pox take all the beaus,
They must have their new cloaths;
I abhor those fools in the fashion:
Your knights, 'squires, and lords,
That won't keep their words.
By heavens, wou'd there was none in the nation.

I went next to the drapers,
Found their boys cutting capers,

With abundance of fiddles and flutes;
But, when I ask'd them for money,
They stood staring upon me,
As though they'd been so many mutes.

Said I, where's your master?
So I told the disaster;
To which answers one of the wisest,
Sir, he, seldom comes here,
If he does, he with beer,
In a dreadful manner, disguis'd is.

From the draper of linnen,
(Which they sell, and then sin in)
I went to their brother of woell:
But he gave me a joke,
And said that his poke
Was as empty as his skull.

To the next that I went,
Was old sir Cent. per cent. *
That was soundly enrich'd by her art;
His reply was in short,
I have found better sport,
And don't value her death of a fart.

Being thus in quandary,
I met apothecary,
And told him the full of the matter;
He call'd me aside,
And ask'd, when she dy'd,
And withal, what doctors came at her.

I'm afraid, with their blisters,
Their purges and clysters,
And issues in every part,
They weaken'd her so much,
She could not stand the touch,
I'm afraid on't with all my heart.

If her head had been shav'd,
She might have been sav'd,
Had she taken a vomit withal;
But, if she's dead, 'tis in vain
Any more to complain,
Here's a couple of pence, 'tis my all.

I march'd next to the pressers,
And from him to the mercers,

* An usurer.

Where the foreman stood combing his wig;
At the fur-end o'th' shop,
The lads were whipping a top,
In the middle one dancing a jig.

You must know this spruce cit
Laid a claim to some wit,
And, to shew it, took a wife for her beauty;
But I saw by his face,
There was something i'th' case,
I'm afraid she'd late been on duty.

Well, without long petition,
I told the condition,
He gave me his answer in brief:
I lament the good dame,
And speak it with shame,
But have nothing to give for relief.

Being devilishly vex'd,
To a wretch I went next,
That was selling of buttons and thread;
But, had you been there,
You'd have said, I dare swear,
He was more fit to be ty'd in his bed.

When I told him, Mother Trade
Was gone to the shade,
He swore a great oath, why do'u name her
I have just bought a horse,
And I'll out for a purse,
I'd almost venture hanging to shame her.

I thought 'twas no boot,
To say more to the brute,
And so to the saddler I pack,
Where I found him a swearing,
Stamping, grinning, and staring,
He had scarce got one to his back.

Says he, these commanders,
By their warring in Flanders,
Have so cursedly run in my debt,
They've scarce left me a farthing,
To keep me from starving,
Prithee, friend, don't urge me to fret.

I went then to the grocers,
To the brasiers and throwsters,
To the binders and sellers of books;
But, for the success,
I could presently guess,
By their goods in their shops, and their looks

I went next to the black-smith,
The silver and jack-smith,
And so called on a perfumer;
But he, like a rogue,
Though the chief trade in vogue,
Bid the devil in hell consume her.

I went to the printer,
The victualler and vintner,
But, there finding nothing but chalk,
To the weavers I went,
But, being near day of rent,
They were all mov'd, their landlords to baulk.

But, sir, 'tis too long
To repeat the whole throng,
I have been with most trades in the city;
And said what I cou'd,
But 'twould all do no good,
They're too poor to be wrought into pity.

Having finish'd my range,
From Temple-Bar to the 'Change,
I thought of a new expedition;
I was resolved to go,
As far as Soho *,
And try of French and Dutch the condition.

And yet, by the way,
I made a short stay
At the Temple, if you know the place, sir;
On a lawyer I call'd,
That oft client had maul'd,
And told him the state of my case, sir.

He ask'd me, from whence
I had that impudence,
To expect any goodness from him;
Says he, sirrah, you know,
We have nothing to do,
But to cheat, drink, whore, and go trim.

Then, master attorney,
Since it don't concern ye,
I'll go to the jobber of stocks;
But he'd jobb'd so long,
As I found by his song,
That he could give her nought but the pox.

* The French refugees and Dutch, that came over in king William's reign, chiefly settled about Soho-square.

I went next to the priest,
But he swore, 'twas in jest
To ask any charity there;
For he'd many children to get,
With much cost, pains, and sweat,
Besides something for puddings and beer.

And now for Monsieur *,
Who, before I came near,
I suppose had smelt out the matter;
He makes two or three cringes,
As if he hung upon hinges,
And thus he began for to flatter.

Begar, me and Minheer,
Bin very sorry to hear,
Of de death of de English trade;
Dis be one good nation,
Upon my salvation,
As ever me tinke dat God made.

Here I put him in mind
Of what I design'd,
And he very briskly reply'd:
De French and de Dutch,
Dat love her so much,
Will take care dat she shall be supply'd.

The Frenchman, begar,
Will take very good care,
To lay her so deep she shan't rise;
For, if once she shou'd,
Dat wou'd be no very good,
If de English should open their eyes.

The beadle here ends
The tale he intends,
And so we march'd on to the grave;
But, when we came nigh,
There was such an outcry,
Good Lord! how the people did rave.

There was gun-smith, and cutlers,
And founders, and suttlers,
And coach-makers a great many;
There were coblers, and tinkers,
Those honest ale drinkers,
And shoe-makers too more than any.

There were some of all trades,
Even rogues, thieves, and jades,

* See the foregoing note.

All howling and yelping about her;
Such throwing away snot,
Drivel, piss, and what not,
That, in short, I wish'd myself out, sir.

Had you been next,
When Master Spin-text
Began to hold forth to the people,
You'd have swore that the jar
Had been louder by far
Than that 'twixt the 'Change and Bow-steeple.

And then for the sound,
When they put her i' th' ground,
What mortal was able to bear it?
For my part, I confess,
I got out of the press,
And left those, that lik'd it, to hear it.

But now, to conclude,
I think, 'twou'd be rude,
Without saying something o'th' dame;
In short, we shall miss her,
But you know how 'tis, sir,
And let those that deserve't have the blame.

A FULL AND TRUE ACCOUNT*

OF A

MOST DREADFUL AND ASTONISHING FIRE WHICH HAPPENED AT WHITEHALL,

And begun in Col. Stanley's Lodgings, on Tuesday last, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, continuing with great Violence till about Nine o'Clock the next Morning, burning down and consuming the King's Chapel, the Guard-Chamber, the Long Gallery, &c. together with near 150 Houses. An Account also how several Persons were killed, with the blowing up twenty Houses, &c. Licensed according to Order. London, Printed by J. Bradford in Little Britain, 1698. Folio, containing two Pages.

MANY and various have been the relations concerning this dreadful and surprising accident, some affirming it had its beginning in one place, and some in another, and yet all or most of them remote from truth; therefore, for satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly informed in those unhappy and amazing particulars, I have published this following account, viz.

* Vide the 513th article in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

On Tuesday last, being the fourth of this instant January 1698, betwixt the hours of three and four of the clock in the afternoon, a Dutch woman who belonged to Col. Stanley's lodgings (which were near adjoining to the Earl of Portland's house at Whitehall) having sudden occasion to dry some linnen in an upper room, (for expedition sake) lighted a good quantity of charcoal, and carelesly left the linnen hanging round about it, which took fire in her absence to such a degree, that it not only consumed the linnen, but had seized the hangings, wainscots, beds, and what not, and flamed and smoaked in such a violent manner, that it put all the inhabitants thereabouts into consternation, as well as confusion, not knowing from whence it proceeded, insomuch that the unhappy Dutch woman could not return; so that in an instant (as it were) the merciless and devouring flames got such advantage, that, notwithstanding the great endeavours used by the water engines, numerous assistance, and blowing up houses to the number of about twenty, it still increased with great fury and violence all night, till about eight of the clock next morning, at which time it was extinguished, after it had burnt down and consumed (according to modest computation) about 150 houses, most of which were the lodgings and habitations of the chief of the nobility.

Such was the fury and violence of this dreadful and dismal conflagration, that its flames reduced to ashes all that stood in its way, from the Privy-Stairs to the Banqueting-House, and from the Privy-Garden to Scotland-Yard all on that side, except the earl of Portland's house, and the Banqueting-House, which were preserved, though much damnified and shattered. The fire proceeded close to the gate by the duke of Ormond's lodgings, before it could be extinguished. The most remarkable houses, which were consumed by these astonishing flames, are the Guard-Chamber, Council-Chamber, Secretary's Office, the King's Chapel, the Long Gallery to the gate, the Queen's Lodgings, Duke of Devonshire's, &c. but not the Earl of Portland's, as has been impudently affirmed in a late scandalous and ridiculous pamphlet. The danger, done by this fiery disaster, is at present unaccountable, considering the vast riches that were contained among those noble families; therefore consequently their loss must be very great, and might have been much greater, had not the officers of the guards taken care to stop the numerous crouds from pressing forward into houses where goods were removing.

It was confidently affirmed, that twenty or thirty persons were killed, but, blessed be God, upon a strict enquiry, I cannot learn that above twelve persons perished, among whom were two grenadiers, a water-man, and a painter; who endeavouring to reach out some goods at a window while the house was on fire, a piece of iron fell upon his head and beat out his brains. The like fate had a gardener, by the blowing up of a house: yet it is certain many more are dangerously wounded.

The Banqueting-House, though not much injured by the fire, except that part next Westminster, yet all parts of that renowned

and ancient building are so much shattered and disordered, that it little resembles what it was the day before; as are also most houses thereabouts, whose inhabitants were under the apprehension of danger, particularly the duke of Ormond's at the gate, which is not only cleared of all its rich furniture, but of all hangings whatsoever, that could possibly be got out, during the fury of the fire.

To conclude, it is a dismal sight to behold such a glorious, famous, and much renowned palace, reduced to a heap of rubbish and ashes, which the day before might justly contend with any palace in the world, for riches, nobility, honour, and grandeur.

God save king William.

Note, There is a scandalous, lying, and ridiculous pamphlet published, which asserts, that the Earl of Portland's and Duke of Shrewsbury's houses are burnt; which is notoriously false, they being both standing, having received no damage by the fire; with many other impertinencies, which the printer is ashamed to set his name to, or the place where he lives, only a counterfeit one like his pamphlet.

A LETTER TO A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN*:

SETTING FORTH THE CAUSE OF THE DECAY AND RUIN OF TRADE.

To which is annexed a List of the Names of some Gentlemen who were Members of the Last Parliament, and now are (or lately were) in Publick Employments. London; printed in 1698. Quarto, containing twenty-four Pages.

SIR,

YOURS I received, bearing date the third of the last month, by which I find you seem to be much afflicted to see the trade of the nation ruined, and your native country brought into so great calamity as now it is; and desire me to give you some account, if possible, how, and by what means, all these evils have been brought upon the whole kingdom? Which I shall endeavour to do, in as brief a manner as I can, and, in order to it, shall relate to you some publick transactions in relation to the late war, and then leave you and all rational men to judge, who it is have been the grand instruments of bringing all these evils upon us.

For the situation of our country and the constitution of our government, we have always been esteemed the happiest nation in Europe: and no people in the universe ever enjoyed a longer series of peace and plenty than we have done. Yet, during the time of

* Vide the 514th article in the catalogue of pamphlets.

the late war, we have seen the trade of the nation, some ages a raising, almost totally ruined; and a general poverty and distress brought upon the whole kingdom, and that in the reign even of the best of princes.

Trade has ever been the universal mistress of mankind, courted and caressed by all civilized nations, many bloody wars having been carried on by those that have been rivals for her favour; for she never fails to bestow invaluable blessings upon her admirers, being always attended with riches, honour, power, and all other earthly blessings.

Those nations that obtained her favour, and have not had the wisdom and prudence to retain her, we see have grown weak and despiseable, and lain exposed a prey to other nations, which appears to be the present case of Spain.

Our forefathers enjoyed a large share of her favour, which they carefully handed down to us; but we, like unthrifty and undutiful children, have been so far from following their footsteps, that we have been, as appears by our actions, great enemies to trade, and used all manner of violence to make her fly the nation, wherein she had long cohabited with us, and seemed unwilling to depart, till our continual acts of violence were such as they grew insupportable; so that she has now taken her flight into the neighbouring nations, viz. Holland* and Ireland, by whom she is highly caressed, and not like to return in haste; and, unless she do return, we can expect no other than to be a miserable people, land itself having a dependence upon trade, and rises or falls as that ebbs or flows.

But, before we can expect that, it is necessary to be known what way and means it was we took to make her desert us. Unless we do so, we can never expect her return; for she is coy and nice, and will not bear the least affront, but cleave to those who treat her best.

The first ill usage, trade appears to have met withal from us, was at the breaking out of the late war. Ever since, all manner of persons, things, or matters, that have had relation to, or more interested in trade, have been evil treated by those whose immediate duty it was to have encouraged and protected them.

It is well known our ships (under God) are our greatest security, and the glory of our isle, and the sailors our myrmidons, whom we ought to cherish as the apple of our eye; yet, all the time of the late war, they were most barbarously treated, even as if they had not been of the race of mankind, but a sort of vermin fit to be rooted out; for, what by their evil treatment on board ship, and frequent turning over without pay, the unjust pricking them run, and being harrassed with the uncertainty of payments, many thousands of these poor wretches and their families have been destroyed,

* The Dutch having grown rich by the late war, and improved themselves eight millions; they are a wise people, and, among themselves, strict observers of justice, never suffering any to grow great out of the ruins of the publick; as sir William Temple well observes in his memoirs, and which is the true cause of the flourishing condition of their state.

and great numbers constrained to leave their native country, and betake themselves to foreign service, or, which is worse, turn pyrates.

This evil treatment of the poor sailors, though in itself highly wicked, seems to have been one of the least of the crimes committed in the government, tending to the destruction of trade *; for it appears, there were articles brought into the House of Peers (the highest court of judicature in the nation) against the lords of the Admiralty, the commissioners of the navy, and the commissioners for the sick and wounded seamen, by one Mr. Crosfield, in the year 1694.

Upon which, their lordships examined divers witnesses at the bar of the house, and were very zealous in the matter; but it seems the articles were drawn out of the house, by the commissioners for stating the publick accounts, who never proceeded therein, though their lordships issued out two successive orders for them so to do; but for your better satisfaction, and that posterity may see the wickedness of the age, I here give you a true copy of those articles, and which are as followeth:

Article 1. That the present commissioners for sick and wounded seamen, and exchanging prisoners at war (depending on the Admiralty) not regarding instructions, or the good of the government, have committed gross enormities; as holding or conniving at an unlawful correspondence with the French, and wronging both the king and subject in their accounts, with other great miscarriages: all which has been, about a year since, laid in writing, before the secretary of state, by one Mr. Baston, and, by the king's command, examined before the lords of the Admiralty, &c. And it will appear, that the said commission has been very injurious to the poor sailors in particular, and very detrimental to the government in general.

Artic. 2. That the lords of the Admiralty and commissioners of the navy have acted contrary to the publick good, by countenancing, supporting, and preferring criminals; and on the contrary, persecuting the discoverers, and turning just men out of their offices.

Artic. 3. That their lordships have had great discoveries laid before them of embezzlements, and other great frauds committed in the king's yards, attended with forgery and perjury.

Artic. 4. That it is manifest, some of the commissioners of the navy have, in that office, advanced themselves from salaries of thirty pounds per annum, to vast estates, having passed great

* For the first five years of the war, it appears, we were seldom free from an embargo upon shipping; few or no ships were allowed to sail, till they got protections or permits, to the great charge of the merchants, and damage to trade in general; as little care was taken to protect our shipping, not any one person having been so much as appointed to examine sea commanders journals, all the time of the late war; but they were left to their own genius, to act and do as they pleased: and thus, by the lords of the Admiralty's, and commissioners of the navy's wise conduct, and prudent management of affairs, we lost above a hundred ships of war, with many hundreds of merchantmen, to the great honour of the nation.

frauds, and totally discouraged the discovery of embezzled stores, to the great waste of the publick treasure.

Artic. 5. That it has been a long practice in the navy, to make out false tickets and powers, suspending and delaying the poor sailors in their just payments, to the general discouragement of them, and starving their families.

The commissioners of the post-office appear to have as much contributed towards the ruin of their country, as any persons living, having all along supported their officers in all their evil actions, as corresponding with known Papists, and others disaffected to the government, stopping the king's mail, breaking open persons of quality's letters, all along countenancing and supporting a smuggling trade, by bringing in the mail, and otherways vast quantities of Flanders lace *, &c. Being resolved, it seems, to make as plentiful an harvest as they could, so long as the war lasted. Withal, they were not wanting to use all indirect means to ruin such of their officers, or others, that detected the crimes.

All these matters relating to the foregoing articles, and the commissioners of the post-office, were long since published in print, by divers hands, wherein a more large and ample account has been given of them; and they were dedicated and presented to our late representatives in Parliament, who took no more notice thereof, than if these things had been acted and done in the great Mogul's country.

Moreover, there appears to have been laid before our late representatives many other matters of the greatest importance:

First, in reference to the Toulon squadron getting into Brest: it having been declared by the house, the government had timely notice given, whereby the said fleet might have been intercepted.

Secondly, in relation to the Mint, it did appear to the house, the moneyers in the Tower had committed foul crimes, and that several dyes had been conveyed away for coining false money abroad.

Thirdly, in reference to the disbanded troopers, that served in Ireland and Flanders, who, by their petition, appear to have been most barbarously treated, contrary to his majesty's express commands.

Fourthly, in reference to the evil actions of the commissioners of the Victualling-office.

Fifthly, in relation to the twenty-seven sail of victuallers being taken by the Dunkirkers; the house having declared, the lords of the Admiralty had timely notice given them, whereby they might have prevented their falling into the enemies hands.

These, with a multitude of other matters, that lay before the

* Indeed, these gentlemen have since been very instrumental in causing a late act to be made, the better to prevent the bringing in foreign bone-lace; as likewise have been the lords of the Admiralty, and commissioners of the navy, in procuring an act to prevent the embezzlement, and stealing his majesty's naval stores; and therein they have done wisely, when the steed is stolen, to shut the stable-door.

house, were dropped by our late representatives, who took no manner of care to do the people justice:* Indeed, the house appeared very zealous in the prosecution of Mr. Duncomb, who, as they alledged, wronged the king, of about three-hundred and sixty pounds, by the false endorsement of exchequer bills; though, at the same time, it plainly appeared, the king and kingdom had been wronged, by means of the treasury,† to the value of twenty thousand pounds, in relation to exchequer bills. Yet, all they did, therein, was to take care how to wash them white; and, while the war was on foot, our late representatives seemed to be very zealous for an act to be made against the buying and selling of employments; but, when once we had obtained an honourable peace, they soon dropped the matter, as conceiving the people then better able to bear their pack,‡ than they were before. There is a matter, wherein it appears, the king has been wronged several thousand pounds, that was designed to have been laid before the late House of Commons; but the gentleman, who intended to have done it, was dissuaded from doing it, by a member of the house, who plainly told him, of all their members, they could not make above a hundred, or a hundred and ten at most, in the whole house, that seemed to have any regard to the welfare of the nation: Saying, one had one employment, another another, touch one and touch all, and said they did and would support one another;§ and so by all means advised him to decline it. Now I conceive, it is obvious, by what means, and by whom, the trade of the nation has been brought to so low an ebb, and so many publick debts contracted, by the consequence of which, many thousands of honest industrious families, in London, &c. are reduced to extreme poverty, at the same time, not knowing the true cause from whence their evils have risen. These things are very harsh to flesh and blood, when we consider how all our calamity appears to have been brought upon us, by those very persons, in whose hands we entrusted our lives, liberties, and estates.

We find king David complained he could not do the justice he

* Sad it is to consider, how all complaints of abuses done in the government have been stifled, for want of a committee of grievances, according to our ancient laws and customs, to be sitting, during the session of parliament, to hear the grievances of the people; which, it is plain, was not done all the time of the late war.

† The publick treasure, in all ages and nations, has ever been accounted as sacred as the king's person: and those that have been found to purloin, waste, or mispend the same, have been severely chastised; and if it must be acknowledged, as every man will do, who is not a professed atheist, we are obliged by the dictates of nature, and that holy religion we profess, to do all such acts as tend to the good and benefit of mankind in general. What ground of fear can any man have, that lays open publick crimes, in order to their being examined in a judicial manner? And, if the law, which favours and countenances the act, shall not be able to protect him, little reason can any man have to flatter himself of being secure, the publick peace and tranquillity not being long to be maintained by any other means, than a due administration of justice.

‡ Vide England's Calamities discovered, sold by ——— Fox, in Westminister-hall, &c.

§ Those gentlemen, that have been in publick employments, have had great opportunity to execute their malice against them that detected or publickly laid open their crimes, and have not been wanting to use all arts and means whereby to bring them to ruin; by which means, several honest ingenuous gentlemen have died through grief, and many others through grief and want; and who may all truly be said to have died martyrs for their country.

would have done, the sons of Zerviah were too strong for him; no wonder then, if we see our prince * under the same circumstance, who has had so many sons of Zerviah to deal withal, who were sensible of the great interest, they and their friends had in the several corporations, and how they were able thereby to support one another in whatever they should act or do, and put it out of the power of any, even the king himself, to call them to an account for their actions. It is evident, ours is a mixed government, wherein the people have a large share; and if we will not act our part, in reference to the chusing of members of parliament, great pity it is we should ever be relieved, but remain as we are.

By this, we may see what a great duty there lies upon all gentlemen that live in, or near any corporation and the principal inhabitants thereof, to inform the meaner sort of people therein (who, in most corporations, have votes) the absolute necessity there is of chusing gentlemen of good estates to be their representatives, as have not been in any (or long since declined) publick employment, during the late war, there being no other means possible, whereby to make them sensible of these past miscarriages, or we to have such members, as will be able to rectify them, and do the king and kingdom justice; † publick leaks being not to be stopped by the hands that made them.

It is sufficient to make any Englishman blush, to consider how strenuously our forefathers withstood those who made a breach of the law, and how indifferent and careless we appear to have been therein, ever since the late happy revolution, not at all considering, how mankind are generally more liable, and in greater danger of being ruined by the falshood and treachery of friends, than open enemies; and that those who lay the foundation of great estates, for the most part, raise themselves by fraud, oppression, and injustice. And how in all ages they that were in publick employments, or ambitious of honour and preferment, likewise generally have been found too ready to abuse their prince's ear, and trample the laws under their feet.

We may see by the bishop of Salisbury's pastoral letter, burnt by the common hangman, what sycophants these sort of men are, who care not what evils they bring upon the rest of mankind, so they may but advance themselves; and weeds commonly are apt to grow so fast, as to overtop the corn.

Thus, sir, have I given you a short relation of such matters of fact, which plainly appear, as I conceive, to have been the true cause, all the blood and treasure spent in the late war, for want of justice, in a manner has been lost, like water spilt on the ground.

* Whatever Englishman duly considers, how great and glorious the actions of his majesty have been, and to what hazard he exposed his royal person for our sakes, and the great things he has done for us, cannot but be moved with grief and anger, to see how unfaithful, in his absence, he has been served, and his people oppressed.

† It is hoped the citizens of London and Westminster, who correspond with all parts of the kingdom, will be so just to themselves, their king and country, as forthwith to send this and other things of the like nature, to the several corporations; for it will be as they make their choice, we may conclude, we shall be either happy or miserable.

Our trade being in great measure ruined, and the nation miserably plunged in debt, and in danger of being involved in a new war, about the succession of Spain, in which (according to the present circumstance, and management of affairs) we are in no condition to engage: So, you may see the fatal consequence that attends the actions of men, when they leave the paths of virtue, and go along with the multitude to do evil. I am, Sir, his majesty's faithful subject, a true lover of my country, and

London, July 16, 1698.

Your most humble servant,

G. W.

A List of the Gentlemen who were Members of the last Parliament, and now are, or lately were, in publick Employment or Trust.

A.

Sir Edward Askew, knt. commissioner of the prizes, for Grimsby, Lincolnshire.

Sir Matthew Andrews, knt. gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and master of Trinity-house, Shafton, Dorsetshire.

Matthew Aylmer, esq. a flag officer in the fleet, Dover, Cinque-Port.

B.

The honourable Peregrine Bertie, vice-chamberlain, Boston, Lincolnshire.

The honourable Hugh Boscawen, governor of St. Maw's castle, &c. county of Cornwall.

William Blaithwait, esq. secretary of war, one of the council of trade, and one of the clerks of the council, Bath, Somersetshire.

Nathaniel Bond, the king's serjeant at law, Dorchester.

William Bridges, esq. secretary to the commissioners for paper and parchment, Liscard, Cornwall.

John Burrard, esq. governor of Hurst castle, Lymington, Southampton.

John Burrington, esq. commissioner of the victualling, Oakhampton, Devonshire.

Thomas Blofield, esq. receiver-general of the excise for the county of Norfolk, Norwich.

The honourable George Booth, esq. late commissioner of the customs, Bosiney, Cornwall.

The honourable Charles Bertie, esq. treasurer of the office of the ordnance, Stamford, Lincolnshire.

C.

The right honourable lord Coningsby, late lord justice of Ireland, Leominster, Herefordshire.

John Conyers, esq. one of his majesty's council at law, East-Grimstead, Sussex.

Sir Robert Clayton, knt. late one of the commissioners of the customs, London.

Edward Clark, esq. commissioner of the excise, Taunton, Somersetshire.

The honourable John lord Cuts, baron Gouram, governor of the isle of Wight, and colonel of foot, Cambridgeshire.

Sir Robert Cotton, knt. post-master-genèral, Newport, isle of Wight.

William Culliford, esq. surveyor-general of his majesty's customs, Corfe-castle, Dorsetshire.

William Coward, esq. king's serjeant at law, Wells, Somersetshire.

William Cowper, esq. king's council, Hertford.

D.

Edward Dummer, esq. surveyor of the navy, Arundel, Sussex.

Thomas Done, esq. auditor of the imprest of the exchequer.

Thomas Dore, esq. lieutenant-colonel to col. Gibson's regiment, Lymington, Southampton.

Sir Robert Dashwood, knt. and bart. commissioner of the excise, Banbury, Oxfordshire.

Sir Ralph Delaval, late a flag officer in the fleet, Great Bedwin, Wilts.

E.

Sir Stephen Evans, knt. commissioner of the excise, and commissioner for wine licenses, Bridgeport, Dorsetshire.

Thomas Earle, esq. major-general of the army, governor of Portsmouth, and colonel of two regiments of foot, Warham, Dorsetshire.

F.

Sir Stephen Fox, knt. lord of the treasury, Westminster.

Sir Thomas Felton, bart. master of his majesty's houshold, Orford, Suffolk.

Sir William Forrester, one of the commissioners of the green-cloth, Northumberland.

William Farrer, esq. one of the king's council, Bedford.

The right honourable viscount Fitzharding, a teller in the exchequer, Windsor, Berkshire.

Sir Thomas Frankland, bart. post-master-general, Heydon, Yorkshire.

The right honourable lord Fairfax, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, York.

Charles Fox, esq. paymaster to the army, Cricklade, Wiltshire.

G.

Sir Henry Goodrick, lieutenant-general of the ordnance, Burrowbridge, Yorkshire.

John Gauntlet, esq. clerk of the signet, Wilton, Wilts.

Charles Godolphin, esq. commissioner of the customs, Helston, Cornwall.

Sir Rowland Gwyn, late treasurer of the king's chamber, Tiverton, Devonshire.

Francis Gardner, esq. an employ in the mint at Norwich, Norwich.

The honourable Ralph Grey, esq. auditor of the exchequer, Berwick.

Sir Bevil Granvil, governor of Pendennis castle, and colonel of foot, Fowey, Cornwall.

John Gibson, esq. colonel of a regiment of foot, and deputy-governor of Portsmouth, Portsmouth.

H.

The honourable sir Robert Howard, knt. auditor of the exchequer, Castlerising, Norfolk.

Henry Haveningham, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, Dunwich, Suffolk.

Robert Henley, esq. commissioner of the customs, Lime-regis, Dorsetshire.

Thomas Howard, esq. a teller of the exchequer, Blechingley, Surrey.

Sir Joseph Herne, patentee for copper halfpence, and trustee for circulating exchequer-bills, Dartmouth, Devonshire.

Sir John Hawles, knt. sollicitor-general, Wilton, Wiltshire.

Sir Henry Hobart, bart. commissioner of the customs, county of Norfolk.

James Herbert, esq. treasurer of the prize-office, Ailesbury, Bucks.

Simon Harcourt, esq. secondary in the crown-office, Abingdon, Berkshire.

I.

Sir Henry Johnson, knt. a great builder of ships for the king by contract, Aldborough, Suffolk.

Sir Jonathan Jennings, commissioner of the prize-office, Rippon, Yorkshire.

K.

James Kendal, esq. lord of the admiralty, Port-Pigham, alias West Loe, Cornwall.

John Knight, esq. late auditor of the first fruits, Weymouth, Dorsetshire.

L.

Sir Thomas Littleton, bart. lord of the treasury, New-Woodstock, Oxfordshire.

James Lowther, esq. clerk of the stores of the tower, Carlisle, Cumberland.

William Lownds, esq. secretary to the lords of the treasury, Seaford, a Cinque-Port.

Sir John Lowther, bart. for many years past lord of the admiralty, Cumberland.

M.

Charles Montague, esq. chancellor of the exchequer, undertreasurer of the same, one of the lords of the treasury, &c. Westminster.

Sir Thomas Mompesson, knt. one of the commissioners of the privy-seal, in the absence of the earl of Pembroke, New Sarum, Wilts.

John Methuin, esq. lord chancellor of Ireland, Devizes, Wilts.

Christopher Montague, esq. commissioner for paper and parchment, Northampton.

Sir Charles Musgrave, bart. master of the robes to the queen dowager, Appleby, Westmoreland.

N.

Thomas Neale, esq. master of the mint, and groom-porter, Lurgeshall, Wilts.

O.

Foot Onslow, esq. commissioner of the excise, Guildford, Surry.

Charles Osbourn, esq. lieutenant-governor of Hull, Hull, Yorkshire.

P.

Thomas Pitt, esq. master in chancery, Old Sarum, Wilts.

Thomas Pelham, esq. lord of the treasury, Lewis, Sussex.

The honourable Henry Priestman, esq. lord of the admiralty, Shoreham, Sussex.

Thomas Papillon, esq. commissioner of the victualling, London.

R.

The right honourable lord Edward Russel, treasurer of the chamber, county of Bedford.

Sir Robert Rich, lord of the admiralty, Dunwich, Suffolk.

The right honourable lord Robert Russel, clerk of the pipe, Tavistock, Devonshire.

The right honourable Richard lord Ranelagh, pay-master-general to the army, and governor of Chelsea-College, Chichester, Sussex.

S.

The right honourable John Smith, esq. lord of the treasury, Andover, Southampton.

George Sayer, esq. lieutenant of the yeomen of the guards, Canterbury.

Sir Cloudsly Shovel, admiral of the blue, commissioner of the navy, and colonel of a marine regiment, Rochester, Kent.

James Slone, esq. secretary to the chief justice in Eyre, Thetford, Norfolk.

The honourable James Stanley, esq. groom of the king's bedchamber, secretary to the houshold, and colonel of foot, county of Lancaster.

T.

Sir William Trumball, knt. late principal secretary of state, Oxford University.

Sir Thomas Trevor, knt. attorney-general, Plimpton, Devonshire.

John Taylor, esq. book-keeper to the treasurer of the navy, and usher of the receipt of the exchequer, Sandwich, Kent.

Charles Trelawney, esq. a major-general in the army, and colonel of a regiment of foot, East-Low, Cornwall.

Henry Trelawney, esq. a colonel in the army, East-Low, Cornwall.

Joseph Thurbarne, esq. king's serjeant at law, Sandwich, Kent.

U.

The right honourable J. Vernon, esq. principal secretary of state, Penryn, Cornwall.

W.

Sir Joseph Williamson, keeper of the records of state, Rochester, Kent.

Sir William Wogan, one of the king's serjeants at law, Haverford-West, Wales.

Richard Woolliston, esq. receiver-general for the county of Hertford, Whitchurch, Southampton.

The honourable Good Wharton, esq. lord of the admiralty, Cockermouth, Cumberland.

Edmund Webb, esq. gentleman-usher to the prince of Denmark, Cricklade, Wilts, &c.

AN ESSAY

TOWARDS CARRYING ON THE

PRESENT WAR AGAINST FRANCE,

AND OTHER PUBLICK OCCASIONS.

As also, for paying off all Debts contracted in the same, or otherwise. And new coining of all our Monies, without Charge, to the great increase of the Honour, Strength, and Wealth of the Nation. Humbly proposed for the Parliament's Consideration, and submitted to their great Wisdom, and Love to their Country, &c. Octavo, containing thirty-two Pages. To which is added an Appendix, MS.

Sect. 1.

ABOUT three years since, I humbly proposed, among other things, the new coining of all our monies, and gave these reasons for it, viz.

1. They were generally so bad, as to be refused abroad; and so were unserviceable in other countries.

2. The suffering them to pass gave advantage to the further clipping them, as is manifest in our sad experience, for they are now much worse; and so unserviceable at home.

3. It was reproachful to us, that it should be suffered to pass; and, therefore, worthy consideration and inquiry into the causes of it.

4. It was no otherwise to be prevented or reformed, than by new coining all; and then prohibiting the passing of any clipped money from and after a certain day to be limited, under the penalty of

seizure and sequestration, in whose hands soever the same should afterwards be found.

Sect. II.

Since which, and, as the natural consequence thereof, the value of our gold coin hath been inhansed to about half as much more as the same was coined at; the inconveniences and damages whereof to the nation and trade thereof are, and will be, at least, as great as the clipping of the silver, and, if not timely prevented, will utterly ruin us in our trade; and, the longer this is suffered, the firmer will the disadvantages be fixed, till the root of all our commerce becomes worm-eaten and cankered, and we lose the sweet fruit thereof for ever.

Sect. III.

In short, the whole nation is almost destitute of monies, not only for the carrying on the war, in, or by any ordinary course of procedure, but for our home markets; and taken off from trade abroad, as by means hereof, so, partly by their losses at sea, partly by the more advantageous proposals for lending or laying out their monies on the lotteries, and other ways and means found out, and pitched upon, by the late parliament, for carrying on the war: and, lastly, by the high exchange of monies abroad for commodities imported hither, and paying our forces there, who must, otherwise, have had more of our monies sent hence to our further streightening.

Is there any remedy? viz.

Q. First, How shall the silver be new coined, so as to become a due measure and standard for traffick?

Q. Secondly, How shall our gold be reduced to its coined value?

Q. Thirdly, How shall the war be carried on thereby?

Q. Fourthly, How shall the trade be recovered, so as to preserve our coins, and augment bullion?

To the first, viz. How shall the silver be new coined? &c.

Sect. IV.

I humbly proposed, that all the clipped monies might be called in by a certain day to be limited; that the value in weight might be delivered out again new-coined; and that the damage accruing, as well to the publick as the private persons concerned, by the new coinage thereof, might be made good to both, by issuing so many bills of credit, made current by act of parliament, as would countervail the same, so as there should be no lessening of the nation's stock, and would cost nothing: and, to facilitate this, that all unnecessary silver plate (especially in taverns, inns, ale-houses, and victualling-houses) might be prohibited, called in, coined, and delivered out immediately to such as should bring in the same, at five shillings and three pence per ounce, deducting the coinage.

To the second, viz. How shall the gold be reduced to its coined value?

Sect. V.

I humbly propose, that all coined gold may be likewise called in by a certain day, and each piece punched, and delivered back again to the owner, thenceforth to pass but at twenty shillings each guinea, &c. and that like bills of credit may be also delivered to the parties concerned for ten shillings more upon each guinea; and so proportionably for other pieces of gold, &c. And thus both silver and gold become reduced to their coined values, without prejudice, loss, or damage, either to the parties concerned, or to the publick stock of the nation: nobody is injured, but all greatly obliged in thankfulness and loyalty to the king for recommending the care thereof, and to the parliament for their enacting the same: for thus our home-markets and manufactures will be supplied and carried on, in future, to general satisfaction. And, for preventing as much as may be this additional charge upon guineas, I humbly propose care may be taken, that, from henceforth, no guineas may be coined till this work be over; and, afterwards, only such as shall be distinguished from those already coined, by some special mark in the stamp thereof, to be passed at twenty shillings, and no more: which is, also, the reason of propounding that all guineas already coined may be punched, viz. that they may not be twice allowed for.

To the third, viz. How shall the war be carried on thereby?

Sect. VI.

I formerly proposed, 1. That whatsoever taxes or assessments should be thought fit and necessary to be raised or levied for carrying on the present war, and other publick charges of the nation, whether by or upon lands, tenements, or hereditaments, poll-monies, or personal estates, might be paid by the parties so assessed, quarterly, as had been done before, in ready monies, or silver plate, at five shillings and three-pence per ounce. This I argued to be necessary upon several accounts: 1. To assist and facilitate the coinage proposed And, 2. For pay of our forces abroad; tho', possibly, not needful to be all sent over in specie, but partly remitted by bills of exchange charged by merchants, &c. and partly supplied by the products, manufactures, and provisions that may be sent from England, Scotland, and Ireland (by which I mean, not only of such things as are needful for the soldiers, or them only, but of others to be transported to our confederate countries, at merchantable rates, instead of monies; out of the proceed whereof, the soldiers may be paid in the respective monies or coins of such countries) which would be a means to keep much of our monies amongst us, and afford employment to our own manufacturers at home in this dead time of trade, and keep them in peace.

Sect. VII.

2. I also proposed, that every person so assessed, who should voluntarily advance and pay in one full year's tax at one intire payment, to the parish, or county-collector, or receiver, within one month after demand made of the first quarterly payment, might, in lieu thereof, have like bill or bills of credit delivered him, for the reimbursement of his said full sum paid, and so be out nothing. And,

Sect. VIII.

That, in case the party taxed should not comply therewith, if any other person should, within one month after that, pay in the said whole year's tax, and should declare his willingness to accept his repayment thereof quarterly from such taxed party's self, or from the said collector or receiver, when it shall grow due, or be received, he might, in like manner, receive also half the value thereof in like bills of credit for his encouragement so to do.

Sect. IX.

3. That the like method, rules, and advantages might be allowed, in case the parliament shall annually repeat and pass acts for that purpose, during the continuance of the war, and for carrying on thereof, and not otherwise.

Sect. X.

4. That, in case the sums appointed to be assessed, taxed, and levied, &c. shall not amount to the respective values or sums, at which, they shall be declared by the parliament to be computed or estimated (as for example, if four shillings per pound, or whatever other proportion, chargeable on lands, shall be so computed and granted to his majesty, for two millions, which, were it duly taxed, no doubt, it would raise; and, upon the taxing and levying thereof, it shall appear to amount to no more than one million and a half, &c) whosoever shall voluntarily advance and pay any sum or sums of money or plate, as aforesaid, towards the making up the same, might, for every hundred pounds sterling so paid by him, receive, and have like bills of credit, delivered him to the value of a hundred and twenty pounds; and so proportionably, for any lesser or greater sum, that shall be so paid in and received on that account. On which terms, no doubt, but such sums, as the parliament shall think fit to raise, for carrying on the war from year to year, may, and will be raised in money, for that service; as long as there shall be so much money in trade, or hoarded up in the nation, to be had: which is our present consideration and care. And, further than that, is to be over fore-sighted in the present crisis. And,

If any object, this will reflect on and lower the reputation of our nation abroad; as if we were reduced to so sinking a condition, as not to have money sufficient to carry on the war: And thence, that we cannot hold out, to the length of the French king, &c.

Sect. XI.

I answer, first, Such, as so think, will but deceive themselves; and, if they be our enemies, be necessitated to take new measures, for (which they might have observed before) the king will certainly be supplied by this means, with ready monies, as much as he shall need, each year, and that, in the beginning thereof, and by no other way whatsoever, for carrying on the war. For these advantages will bring out all the hoarded best money, which any have culled and laid by against a more cloudy day: if means be used for promoting trade, as is herein after proposed; otherwise, it will be in vain to conceal our poverty. All the world will see it, whatever taxes shall be laid on the nation, cannot otherwise be paid: so that, if our dependence should be thereon, they must and will fail, for want of a money-stock to pay them: But,

Sect. XII.

Secondly, It is well known, that all nations and persons improve their credit, some banks of credit, as well as monies, for carrying on their respective trades, and occasions, both at home and abroad, without the least reflexion of dishonour; and they grow rich thereby (to which many of our wealthiest men in this city and kingdom must subscribe, who began with little of their own) and much more may these nations. For,

Sect. XIII.

Thirdly, his majesty and parliament, designing vast improvements, both of wealth and power, for these nations, by their own products and manufactures, which may be as well done by bills amongst ourselves, as by ready monies, beyond whatever was in prospect, attempt, or attainment heretofore, by us, or any nation under heaven, by all their or our ready monies; by this medium of bills of credit, added to our money-stock, for the inlargement and increase thereof, to what proportion they please, will be able to carry on the same, *pari passu*, with this expensive war: And thereby become more formidable to our enemies. And, the rather,

Sect. XIV.

For that no other nation will be able to keep pace with, or go to the length of these kingdoms, nor to imitate us considerably, in these undertakings; by reason of our products and manufactures, to so great excess of theirs, &c. which must of necessity bring in great plenty of gold and silver. Nor will they be able to hinder our free trading, during the lasting and continuance of this war, if we be not wanting to ourselves: And, consequently, in an ordinary course of Providence, we shall find our enemies disposed, or necessitated, to seek our peace and friendship, when they shall find us disposing ourselves into such a flourishing condition. Which brings on the consideration of the ways and means, next to be treated of, viz. under

The fourth question, viz. How shall our trade be recovered, so as to preserve our coin, and augment bullion? &c.

Sect. XV.

I answer, first, by the parliament's owning and encouraging the royal fishery company and trade, to the increase of one, two, or three millions per annum, export of that sea product: Which, added to our other products and manufactures, and they also improved and multiplied as aforesaid, must necessarily produce and bring in great wealth of all kinds: And particularly, plenty of monies, for its balance, from the masters of it in all countries, &c. For, the situation of these islands, being such as may justly challenge to be the emporium or mart of all trade, beyond all others put together, and furnished thereby, at all times, with magazines and stores of all sorts, for war and peace, for ourselves and all our neighbours, must needs be attended with this success (our ports being made free for their importation and exportation after a time to be limited.) And we shall not need to fear the vent of such surplusage of imports, as we shall not use, even for ready monies of all countries, who shall need them: Nor shall we have any occasion to send out our monies, to fetch in like proportions, yearly.

Sect. XVI.

Secondly, by taking care, that guards and convoys be always in a readiness to attend, as well our fishing-trade, as our foreign exports and imports. To which purpose, it is humbly proposed, as necessary hereunto, that a select number of ships of war be set apart for that sole use, and be under such conduct and commanders, as may be accountable for their miscarriage, by the neglect of their duty therein. The raising, charge, and paying of which ships may be borne, and provided for, by the bills of credit aforementioned, which will cost the nation nothing. And this may be called, in way of distinction, the 'Trading admiralty, or fleet volant for trade;' as the other is the navy royal. It may also be done by commissions from his majesty, and be but temporary, viz. whilst his majesty, being engaged in wars abroad, cannot so well, or seasonably, attend the particular consideration of such things, as may encourage and enlarge so great trade of these nations, or addresses cannot be made to him in order thereunto.

If it be said, this seems to lay the whole foundation of our trade and commerce, on bills of credit, which have neither intrinsick value, nor fund.

Sect. XVII.

Admitting that, yet, 1. If we have a sufficiency of these bills in our counting-houses, pocket-books, or letter-cases, uncounterfeitable, made current, as monies, by act of parliament, which will answer all our occasions at home, as well as monies in specie; and particularly may as well be disposed forth at interest on bonds, as

ready money in bags: And, consequently, we become as rich in these, for all uses, to which we would employ monies, as now we are; yea, and much more: Where, then, lies the force of this objection? For,

Sect. XVIII.

2. It cannot be denied, but, that if we were twenty times as rich, in that which will effectually carry on trade and manufactures, pay debts, purchase lands, and manage our markets, amongst ourselves, as now we are, or ever were, we shall be able thereby to multiply and export our manufactures proportionably; and carry on our fishing-trade (the richest golden mine, in the experience of our neighbours; so called by them, for that it infallibly brings them gold in) to far greater value, from the greatest masters of it, than our necessary imports of commodities from other countries need to be, for our home expence: And what is imported more, may be easily shipped off to other countries; as is afore-mentioned. As for example:

Sect. XIX.

3. If we were wont to export cloths, stuffs, lead, tin, iron, monies, bullion, &c. to the value of two millions yearly; and, by the fish we may take, to export one, two, or three millions more, without any monies, &c. The product and balance thereof must be answered to us, in other goods from other countries; or remitted or brought to us in bullion, or ready monies, as it has with our neighbours, to above five millions, per annum, on that account, or it must remain in our factors hands abroad, for supply of our foreign occasions: So our riches will increase, proportionably, as the export can be increased, whether of our own products and manufactures, or other importations; for there will be no occasion for transporting our monies for goods: And it is undeniable, that whatsoever means may be suggested, for furnishing and keeping of monies amongst us, must be fruitless: For there will abide no more with us, than such proportion, as the super-balance of our exports shall amount unto, let what value will be set on our monies, above the current price thereof, here, and in other countries, with whom we deal.

Sect. XX.

4. It is found by experience, that bills are judged so necessary, whether of intrinsick value, or not, as that, without them, these kingdoms cannot otherwise subsit, or pay taxes much longer. And they are become so useful and eligible already, as that most men desire them, rather than our present monies. Upon which presumption, since the erecting the bank of England, banks of credit are multiplied upon men's voluntary undertakings, on various principles or funds, methods and pretensions, also uses and ends; most of them for the private advantages thereof to the undertakers, and without any reference or regard to the supporting

the parliamentary funds and credit given by them, or having the least respect to the present exigencies of the publick, or how they shall be provided for next year. By which means, nevertheless, the monies we have are, for the present, eeked out for our necessary occasions; and both our markets at home, and bills of exchange from abroad, have been supplied and answered. And, if so,

Sect. XXI.

Why may not such bills of credit, as are proposed, be made current, for the service of the publick, by act of parliament, and regulated or kept within bounds by law, for carrying on this necessary war, wherein the king has been engaged by parliament? Particularly, why may not his majesty be supplied with such number and values of them, as added to what present taxes, the condition of the nation will bear to have imposed, upon the terms aforesaid, may compleat the sum needful, for carrying on the present war, this next year; and so much longer as that shall continue: And, also, pay off the debts contracted last year, &c. through the deficiency, or falling short of the sums or funds, settled for the same, in the way and manner before proposed?

As touching that part of the objection against the want of a fund for these bills, &c. I answer,

Sect. XXII.

Though some things might be offered, which possibly might silence some objectors; yet the debt, should the war continue, would be so vast, as nothing less than the whole nation can be equivalent; and that can no otherwise be engaged, than by an act of parliament. It cannot be nationally expected, they should expose particular estates of this, or that, or another sort of men, to become liable, exclusive of others: And it is manifest, if the people were ever so willing, they cannot pay down so much money, yet the war must and may be carried on by bills, &c.

If, then, the parliament shall judge it necessary to make use of such bills of credit, and to make them current by law, and for facilitating the new coining of our present monies, and giving some respite and ease from greater taxes, shall enact, That they shall be, and continue current, until the nation be in a better capacity and condition to pay them off, by laying moderate taxes on all men's estates and persons in general; and shall rather chuse to have them so paid off, than to continue; that will be as good a fund as can be expected. For,

Why should they be called in, at any time, to become so burthensome?

First, They will be of such general use and great convenience,

when understood and further experimented, that people will chuse to have them, rather than monies in specie, as is found true in fact, amongst ourselves, to the value of many hundreds of thousand pounds, already given out by the aforementioned banks erected. Besides which, they have also been so found and approved of in other places of the world, even where money-banks have been erected by publick authority, viz.

In Holland, where their bills, or credit in bank, are ordinarily better than monies, by at least three per cent. sometimes four, five, and more.

In Venice also, where their credit is better, by twenty per cent. and was once at above thirty per cent. and with much difficulty reduced to twenty per cent. where it is fixed to be so. By which means also, that state has answered a debt of above two millions, borrowed of their people, and spent on their publick occasions. And all their creditors are so satisfied, as that never will any of them ask a hundred pound, for the hundred the state had of him; being sure of a hundred and twenty pounds for the same, from any other hands.

Sect. XXIII.

And if any inquire, what induced that people thus to raise and value their said bills or credit? I answer,

1. The ease of counting, carriage, and preventing damage to the receiver by counterfeit, clipped, and base coin; which is as valuable with us, at this juncture; as is obvious to all.

2. Their safety in travelling, &c. as visible as the other.

3. The advantage that was to be made by the exchange, on the account of such conveniences, &c.

Where then is the necessity or usefulness of a fund, in our case?

Sect. XXIV.

I answer, 1. Some late proceedings, for raising monies, have given a rise for such an expectation: But, there, men parted voluntarily with their estates; whereas, in this case, men have these bills for nothing, and may dispose them to the uses of such trading and manufactures, as may bring in riches to themselves and the whole nation.

2. It is objected, upon a supposition, that some persons (perhaps of those who will be concerned to give a sanction to the matter of these proposals) may imagine, that the bills delivered out must necessarily be called in at one time or other, &c. whereas such consider not, that the usefulness of these bills will make them current for continuance, and preferable to monies, upon the forementioned accounts; as it hath proved in the two forementioned instances: And,

If still any doubt, that bills may prove prejudicial in after-times, and that, if any future parliament shall conceive them to be so, they will make them void, &c.

Sect. XXV.

That is thus resolved, viz. instead of prejudicing the nation, they will continue to promote, improve, and carry on our home-trade, manufactures, and fishery, as aforesaid; and thereby answer our expectations as effectually as monies in specie: And, the rather, for that the generality of the people, at their first receiving of them, viz. for the reimbursing of their taxes, will be thereby prepared to esteem them, by their property in, and possession of them, in the way and manner before proposed, and become inriched thereby. It will therefore be as far from any parliament to pass a law to make them void, without first paying them off, as to pass an act for taking away all their lands, which their justice, as well as interest, will not suffer them to do: For every parliament-man, and person in the nation, will have a considerable part of their personal estates lie principally in these bills; so that fear is sufficiently removed by interest, which will not lye. But,

May not our coin be so raised in denomination, price, or value, as to bring in gold and silver plentifully?

Sect. XXVI.

I answer, it is evident, even to a demonstration, that the inhansing the value of our monies, whether silver or gold, is, and will be a very great impoverishing of, if not utterly destructive to the nation. For that will unavoidably raise the price of all our foreign exchanges, and work confusion in our trade; and that raises, consequently, the price of all goods, not only foreign but domestick: which, though it may not be any great damage, possibly, to our retailers thereof, and such as bring to our market, for they will not sell to loss, yet, to the body of the rest of the people, the buyers thereof, and the poorer sort especially, viz. servants, day-labourers, artificers, seamen, soldiers, &c. it cannot be otherwise: And what a condition then will this bring the nation into?

Sect. XXVII.

Now, that it is, and will be so, I shall give two instances, within his Majesty's dominions in America, which occurred to my own observation, whilst I was the unworthy governor of the province of Pensylvania, viz. about seven years since.

The one is in New-England, where the government, conceiving they had power by their charter from the king, to coin monies, coined shillings of about the value of nine pence sterling, and stamped the same twelve pence: They also raised the value of Spanish pieces of eight, of about seventeen penny-weights, from four shillings and six-pence, to six shillings, which held proportion with their shillings. This they did, upon this vulgar error, and misapprehension, that, by this inhansing the price of silver, they should both keep their own coin, and bring in and retain other imported monies amongst them. But this, instead of answering their expectation, raised the value of all goods to at least twenty-five per

cent. And likewise all their exchanges, whether to or from England, or other parts, proportionably: Or, so much more of their monies were carried forth in these species (though they were sufficiently severe against its exportation) to their disappointment.

The other instance, and more notable, is in Pensylvania; where, though they coined no monies, yet suffering Spanish pieces of eight, of not above eleven or twelve penny-weights, and consequently not above three shillings in value sterling, to pass current at six shillings: And, though the exchange did not rise proportionable, for they had little or very seldom occasion to return any in trade; yet this other consequence attended their so doing, viz. that such as brought thither any goods or merchandises, needful for that plantation, from England, &c. when any came to contract with them for their goods, they treated them after this manner, viz. says the importer, 'The cargo cost me one-hundred pounds in English ready money, at about five shillings per ounce sterling, whereas your money is not half the value: So I must have two-hundred pounds of your money, or I shall be a loser of my first cost: And I cannot take less than fifty pounds sterling per cent. for my freight, risque, and profit, which will be one-hundred pounds more of your money: And accordingly receives of the retailer there three-hundred pounds, who generally raises the price of the same goods to another hundred pounds; whereby the price of the same goods, which cost one-hundred pounds English money, costs the people there four-hundred pounds.

The importer, having received his three hundred pounds, buys therewith, only, such commodities of the country products, as he needs for his voyage; and carries away the rest in specie, making money, which ought to be the standard of traffick, to be the merchandise, as they must do, who take it at inhansed values, &c. And, thus, three pieces went for one, and their monies decreased proportionably.

The effect whereof was, the generality of the people, except their shop-keepers, artificers, handicrafts-men, carpenters, bricklayers, labourers, and servants, grew poorer. And, particularly, it had this influence upon the landed men, whether proprietors or farmers, viz. that they were forced to give great wages to all these sorts of poor people, especially to ploughmen, carters, &c. viz. from twelve poun3s, per annum, wages, to twenty-seven pounds, besides victuals, &c. And, at this charge, they get a little corn; which, if they spend not all in their own families, they bring, what is left, to the market, and sell that there, at two shillings and six pence, the bushel of wheat, which, in English money, is but fifteen pence, per bushel. Which impoverisheth the masters, many of them, to such a degree, that, after a while, their servants set up in their steads, on new plantations given them, for their encouragement to plant the country: And their masters children become their servants: All which naturally ensues their inhansing the value of their monies amongst themselves. 'For, say their servants, &c. we must have such wages, or we cannot live: we can buy

nothing we have occasion for, but at four times the rate of what is paid in England. And therefore,

Whilst we plead, though under the most specious pretences, having regard barely to the theory and notions of things taken up thence, or from vulgar misapprehensions, for the inhansing of our silver or gold, to above the par, intrinsick value, and ancient meteyard of traffick, between us and other nations, we are, in truth and reality, steering by the same needle, or common politicks of Pensylvania; and discern it not. Which will, in time, be alike ruinous to us.

Nor is it any answer to our assertion, to tell us, our servants, &c. need nothing that comes from beyond sea; which may be as truly predicated of ourselves too, could we be contented, with sobriety, to use our own products, and manufactures: for what does that avail? Such do not observe or consider, that the prices, even of our own products, and manufactures that are necessary, as well as foreign, that are less necessary, are raised alike upon us all, since our coin hath been at this pass.

Nor do such give us any estimate of the height, to which servants, as well as their masters, are grown, since the last act of state for inhansing the value of silver and gold, in their expectations, and deportments. Which yet can no more be reformed, than the nation converted from their atheistical prophaneness, and impieties, &c. till their superiors and masters set them better copies to write by.

There is, then, a necessity of putting a stop to the inhansing of our monies: and, if any easier, safer, more probable, or advantageous means, ways, or methods of doing it to general satisfaction, than these afore-mentioned, and humbly proposed, be offered; I shall readily receive my dismiss from this controversy, having offered my poor mite. But,

There remains yet one stumbling-block, in the minds of some, who do not duly weigh and consider, that there is no perfection attainable under the sun, &c. It is this, viz. The danger of counterfeit bills. Touching which, I shall offer some considerations, viz.

I humbly proposed,

1. That the said bills of credit should be printed or impressed on paper, from engraven copper-plates, and gave reasons for it. Which, together with a specimen of such bills, being uncounterfeitable, I shall readily evince, when required.

2. That the said paper should be of a different make and mark from any yet extant in the world.

3. That the indented counter-parts of each bill should be filed up, and kept in a publick office, or offices, to be erected for that purpose, in order to the discovery, and preventing of damage thereby, to the publick.

4. That the printing or publishing such bills, to any greater number, value, or proportion, than shall be allowed and appointed by act of parliament, though by the persons that shall be there-

unto authorised, might be made as penal, as coining or counterfeiting the current monies of the kingdom. Or, that the same: and particularly,

5. That the engraving all such plates, and making, having, or keeping undiscovered any such paper, so made and marked, as from time to time shall be made use of upon this occasion: or bringing the like into this kingdom from beyond the seas, by any other person than by order of such as shall be by such act of parliament appointed and authorised thereunto, might be punished with great severity, both corporal and pecuniary, *in terrorem*, viz. Being convicted thereof, may be branded in the right-hand, and forehead, or cheek: so, as to be known thereby ever after; and thenceforth kept strictly to the most severe, servile, constant, hard work and labour: enjoined a daily task; and, on failure of doing it, have correction at the keeper's or work-master's discretion: never to be pardoned, remitted, or mitigated, but upon the discovery and producing of other his partners, accomplices, associates, or other offenders in like nature, and proving the same. Which, undoubtedly, if pursued, will deter and keep all men, who have the least spark of ingenuity, or humanity, from attempting to counterfeit these bills, if any thing will. And,

6. That, though it is impossible in nature these bills should be so counterfeited, as to deceive the office; or that, in twenty millions of them, printed off from the same copper-plates, any two should agree [as hath been acknowledged by several engravers and other counterfeiters of writings, critically skilled in such affairs, and called together for advice in the like case] yet, that persons abroad may not, in all cases, be so critical, as to discern true bills from false, through the niceties of them. It may be therefore queried, viz.

Is there any course to be prescribed, by way of remedy, for avoiding false bills?

I answer, 1. Where the distance is not great, persons may repair to the office, where the counter-parts of all true bills remain; and have them examined, as exchequer tallies, by applying the counterparts: and, if remote, they may be sent up per post, &c. Or, the person who offers them may be put upon the proof of them; or, if suspected, give security. And being made to continue but for a year, from the respective dates of them, as is proposed, they will then be certainly detected, and the values of them known.

2. Suppose that there should be some bills counterfeited, which may be thought fit to be repaired, to the person deceived thereby, by the publick: it would, in the whole, be far less, being thus annually detected, than the twentieth part of the interest money, hitherto allowed for monies, borrowed upon the funds settled, and laid upon the nation, according to Mr. Brisco's computations, in his printed treatise. Besides, the repaying of them might be by other bills, which would cost nothing. But,

3. The risque of such is no greater, than of gold and silver coin, of which the nation has been, and daily is, and will be deceived: nor than that of all merchants bills of exchange, and letters of advice from foreign parts: all which may be more easily counterfeited. Besides,

4. There are no sorts of deeds, conveyances of lands, or bonds given for monies, but, they, also, are more liable to be counterfeited, both as to the hands and seals of the granters, obligors, and witnesses: all which, &c. may be so counterfeited, that the parties themselves will not be able to deny them to be theirs. Yea, even exchequer tallies are liable to be counterfeited, so that persons may be doubtful, till they come to the office, &c. Yet, by these more uncertain methods of common dealings, and dangers, we are not affrighted, or taken off from our correspondencies, and businesses, as men.

Why then, in this case only, and upon this urgent occasion; wherein, if now we become so singularly wise or cautious, as to stumble at the threshold, we endanger ourselves, and these nations and government, to all our unavoidable ruin, rather than run the hazard of, probably, some small inconsiderable sum, per annum, which will certainly come to be discovered, at each year's end, at farthest, and cancelled? This were to be penny-wise, but pound-foolish, according to our English proverb.

AN APPENDIX.

Containing an Abstract of the foregoing Treatise; explaining, also, some Particulars therein: and humbly proposing a more particular Fund, for paying off the Bills of Credit, viz.

First, the Abstract.

§. 1. Contains the reasons given for new coining our silver monies.

§. 2. Shews how the clipping thereof, and suffering it to pass, has occasioned the raising our gold, to half as much more as it was coined at.

§. 3. That our trade is lost; our merchants having, too generally, withdrawn their stocks, and disposed them in more profitable present adventures.

Pag. 371. Four questions are proposed to be answered for remedies, viz.

Question I. How shall our clipped silver be new coined, so as to become a due measure and standard for traffick, without obstructing our present markets, &c. and without decrease of our stock?

§. 4. It is proposed, that all the clipped silver may be called in, by a time to be limited; and new coined as fast as may be, ac-

cording to the ancient standard. And that the damage by such coinage thereof may be made good to the parties, bringing in the same, by bills of credit, made current, as monies, by act of parliament. And that for the rendering thereof practicable, so as there may be a full supply of the tale thereof, for carrying on the trade and markets, until the monies can be so coined, and delivered out: that at the time of each person's bringing in his monies for coinage, he may receive the full sum, according to the tale thereof, in such bills, to traffick and trade withal. That upon notice, by proclamation or otherwise, that the coin is ready, one half thereof may be delivered to the respective parties, who brought it in; they delivering back respectively one half of the bills they received for the said new coined silver, to be concealed, or made void: and retaining the other half of the said bills, for answering the deficiency of their clipped monies brought in.

Question II. How shall the gold be reduced to its coined value?

§. 5. It is proposed, that all the guineas, &c. in the nation, may be also called in by a time to be limited, and each piece punched, so as it may be known, and declared thenceforth, to pass for no more than twenty shillings, each guinea, &c. And that, at the punching thereof, like bills of credit, to the value of ten shillings, each guinea, and so proportionably, to the respective persons, who bring in their gold, may be given forth; also, that no other, or more guineas, &c. be coined, till after the day is past, for bringing in the same: nor any be suffered to be brought in from beyond the sea, or past here at any other value than twenty shillings, from thence forward. And, thus, the nation will be supplied for carrying on their trade and markets, to as great extent as heretofore; and this, without loss or damage to the parties concerned, and without any interest, or present charge to the nation.

Question III. How shall the war be carried on abroad?

§. 6. It is proposed, that a tax, of four shillings per pound, being laid on lands, &c. may be made payable quarterly, as heretofore, in ready monies, or silver plate, at five shillings and three pence, per ounce.

§. 7. That it be provided therein, and enacted, that in case the party taxed shall voluntarily advance, and pay in his whole year's tax, at one intire payment, within a month after demand of his first quarterly payment, he may have like bills of credit delivered to him, for his reimbursement, at the time of his payment thereof, for his full sum taxed, whereby, in effect, he pays nothing.

§. 8. That in case the party taxed shall not so do, if any other person shall do it, within a month after that, such other person may have half so much, in like bills delivered to him, as the taxed party himself should have had, for his encouragement: and may

also receive his quarterly payments for his reimbursement, as the same shall grow due.

§. 9. That the like method may be pursued from year to year, during the continuance of the war, if the parliament shall see cause to pass acts annually for that purpose, and not otherwise.

§. 10. That in case the four shillings, per pound, shall not amount unto two millions, whosoever shall voluntarily supply and make it up, may have like bills of credit, to the value of one hundred and twenty pounds, for every hundred pounds so advanced by him; and so proportionably. On which terms no doubt but his majesty will be supplied with two millions of the best silver and gold, that shall be in the nation, at the beginning of the next year. And what his majesty shall further want, as §. 21. viz.

His majesty may be supplied with such further numbers and values of these bills, as added to what other present taxes the condition of the nation will bear to have imposed, upon the terms aforesaid, may compleat the sum needful for carrying on the present war, this next year; and so much longer, as that shall continue: and also pay off the debts contracted last year, &c. through the deficiency or falling short of the sums, or funds, settled for the same.

§. 11, 12, 13, 14. Contain the answer of an objection, touching the disrepute of passing bills. To which might have been added, the reason of making use thereof, especially during the new coinage of our monies.

Question IV. How shall our trade be recovered; and what is the necessity thereof, as to the getting and increasing of monies? &c.

§. 15. It is proposed, that there be an encouraging and countenancing of the royal fishery company and trade, by act of parliament, &c.

§. 16. That both guards and convoys be seasonably afforded, &c.

§. 17. That bills of credit will carry on our home-trade, fishery, and manufactures, as well as monies in specie.

§. 18. That if we had twenty times as much in bills, as ever we had in monies, they will proportionably increase our manufactures, fishery, and exports of both; and consequently our wealth; for that the balance must come back in monies or bullion.

§. 19. An instance thereof is given: and it is further shewed, that whatsoever other means may be suggested, for the furnishing or keeping monies amongst us, must and will be fruitless.

§. 20. Another instance, taken from the late experience we have had of the usefulness of bills, issued by goldsmiths, and by the several banks erected amongst us: which have eeked out our monies, for answering our markets at home, and paying off bills of exchange from abroad; which could not else have continued thus long.

§. 21. The parliament, therefore, may much more make bills current: for the preservation of the nation, and carrying on the war, wherein the king has been engaged by their advice, which require far greater credit than all the banks together can give security for, &c. by supplying his majesty with a sufficiency of them, instead of other taxes, which there is not money to pay.

Pag. 378. The objection against bills without a fund is answered, viz.

§. 22. There can be no fund equivalent, but the whole nation: and that can be no way engaged, but by act of parliament, declaring such bills shall be and continue current, in all receipts and payments whatsoever, as monies in specie, whether to, or from the king, or the people of these nations amongst themselves, until the nation be in a better condition to pay them off, by laying moderate taxes on all estates, real and personal, which is a good general fund, and as much as any state or nation, until very lately this, have been exposed unto. Whereof two instances are given, viz.

1. Of the States of Holland.
2. Of the States of Venice.

§. 23. Contains an enumeration of the advantages of bills beyond monies.

§. 24. Answers the objections about the necessity of a fund.

§. 25. Answers the objection about the hazard, that some future parliaments may see cause to make the bills of credit void, without paying them off.

§. 26. Answers the objection, touching raising the price of silver and gold, by two instances. And,

§. 27. Shews the unavoidable mischiefs thereof, viz.

1. In New England, } In America.
2. In Pensylvania, }

Pag. 380. Answers the objections about counterfeiting the bills of credit proposed: and offers a specimen, evincing the utter impossibility of it, so as to deceive the publick, &c.

Pag. 381. To the end of the treatise, further clears the vanity of that objection, by comparing and preferring these bills of credit, for uncounterfeitableness, above and beyond all other writings, bills of exchange, letters of credit and advice, obligations for monies, deeds and evidences of lands, which may be also counterfeited, as the parties signing, sealing, and witnessing thereunto, cannot deny them to be theirs: yea, our gold and silver coins, exchequer tallies, &c. yet we are not affrighted or taken off from our correspondences and businesses depending thereon. Why then in this case only; wherein, by stumbling at this threshold of the only door of our hopes, we expose ourselves and our posterities to our unavoidable and utter ruin?

I say, the only. For, 1. propose the raising of whatsoever taxes, if there be not money in the nation to pay them. Or, 2. propose what funds you will, whether for principal or interest, for paying off bills of credit or otherwise, if there be not monies in the nation to pay them. Or, 3. propose what means you will for bringing in monies or bullion, if there be not an excess of our exports above our imports, our monies, as fast as they are coined, must and will be carried away. And, 4. without bills made equivalent, for supplying the uses of monies, we cannot carry on our manufactures or fishery, which, alone, can increase our wealth and power at sea, &c.

Nevertheless if, notwithstanding all that has been said, it shall be judged needful to make a present settlement of a fund, or funds, for paying off such of the said bills, as shall be given forth upon this occasion, within some time limited; it is therefore humbly offered, that, in order thereunto, there may be a thrifty managing and improving of all casual revenues, incomes, profits, and advantages, that may arise, accrue, or be made, whether in England, or Ireland; to which his majesty is, or by inquisitions or other usual ways, means, or methods, may be intitled; some of which may be these following, viz.

Secondly, the Fund.

1. One moiety, the whole in two equal parts to be divided, of all such lawful booty, seizures, and prizes, as shall, or may be hereafter taken in war, whether by land or sea.

2. All French and other prohibited goods, so seized, which may be by act of parliament allowed to be brought in, and sold here, or where else a market may be found for them.

3. All the undisposed lands, within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, forfeited, upon the account of the last defection, war, or rebellion, in, or about the year 1688, or since: and all other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods, and chattels, by felonies, murders, treasons, or otherwise escheated, or to be escheated, and accruing to his majesty, his heirs and successors, in right of his crown: and also all rents and profits of such estates, due since the respective convictions, out-lawries, or attainders of such persons.

4. All forests, chaces, and parks, within the said kingdoms, except such as his majesty shall reserve for his royal pastimes, and recreations, &c.

5. In defect, or falling short of these, whereby the said bills of credit, or any of them shall remain unsatisfied, for the space of years, from the end of this session, &c. that a yearly tax of pence in the pound of, and upon lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments; as also of, and upon all annuities, offices, and salaries of above twenty pounds, per annum; and upon all goods, chattels, &c. may be passed this present session, by act of parliament: to commence from, and after the end of this present war, or expiration of the fore-mentioned term or space of years,

which shall first happen: or sooner, if the parliament shall judge it needful, and that it may be done without hindrance to the carrying on the publick affairs and trade of these nations: and that the same may have continuance, and be in force, until the said bills shall be fully paid off, and no longer.

6. And for the better appropriating and securing these funds, and the rents, revenues, and profits thereof, to the ends and uses aforesaid: that, by the said act of parliament, it may be made highly criminal, in all and singular person and persons respectively, who shall be concerned, in the levying, raising, receiving, disposing, and paying the same, or any part thereof, to pay, or dispose, the monies that shall be by this act, or by any of these funds raised, to any other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever, than to, and for the paying off the said bills of credit. And that no warrant or order, shall be issued, or if issued, shall be obeyed by the commissioners, or other persons, that shall be intrusted with the charge and care hereof, to any other use or uses whatsoever.

7. And that the way and manner, time and place, order and course of paying thereof, as also the persons to be employed and used herein, be settled by act of this present parliament, so as the said bills may be satisfied, and paid accordingly, without fees, &c.

All which, notwithstanding,

Is humbly submitted,

By the Proposer.

Quod omnes tractat ab omnibus tractari debet.

THE HONOUR OF THE GOUT:

OR,

A RATIONAL DISCOURSE,

Demonstrating, that the Gout is one of the greatest Blessings which can befal mortal Man; that all Gentlemen, who are weary of it, are their own Enemies; that those Practitioners, who offer at the Cure, are the vainest and most mischievous Cheats in Nature. By Way of Letter to an eminent Citizen, wrote in the Heat of a violent Paroxysm, and now published for the common Good. By Philander Misaurus. Duodecimo, containing sixty-seven Pages; printed at London, in 1699.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

This piece, which I present to you, as appears from many passages in it, was wrote towards the beginning of the reign of King

William; whether or no the author be living, I cannot satisfy you; but this I will engage: greater profit, and more agreeable entertainment, were never purchased of a bookseller cheaper.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The author is of opinion, that some epistles dedicatory would do best, standing after the pamphlet; therefore, good reader, pass on, and expect mine in its proper place.

SIR,

I OWE you a greater observance, more profound respects, and hearty thanks, for favours to which I had not merit to pretend, than I am able to express, should I make words and phrase my study; but I am not like to do that at present; for you have used me so of late, that you tempt me to think you are going to put as much despight in one scale, as ever you put obligation into the other. Why! Sir, I am informed, that your worship, not having a right sense of things, nor the fear of God before your eyes, should, to the disgrace of your own virtue, give your tongue the liberty, in an open coffee-house, to speak ill of the gout. Of the gout, Sir! which if you look on as a disease, you ought to welcome, as the most useful and necessary thing that could have happened to you; but, if you consider it as becomes you, then, with me, you must reverence it as a power divine,

> On whose sacred internodial altars I,
> Each spring and fall, at least, will sacrifice
> Morbifick, painful loads of matter tartarous,
> With recrements of nervous juice impregnate.

Would you yourself, Sir, patiently endure the honour of our great master, our rightful and lawful king, to be contemptuously reflected on by ever a recreant piece of consciencious priestcraft *, that infests the town? Then, why should not I be concerned for the honour of my great master, the gout? Who claims not, it is true, the power, he exercises over me, by any hereditary pretence, but from an origin altogether as sacred and indisputable, viz. some voluntary acts and deeds of my own. Yet you could say, that, when the Almighty God had, out of rude chaos, built this goodly frame of nature, which we see, and formed his noble creature, man; he indulged the devil to create some one thing, and his damned envy gave being to the gout. Now I am confident, Sir, and have great authorities for it, that, if the devil ever created any thing, it was the doctor, of whom, since you have made so much use, I know not, but it may be rationally inferred, that you have dealt with the devil. The gout, Sir, whether you know it, or no, was postnate to the creation, and younger, something, than the fall of man; who having incurred the sentence of death, the friendly

* Alluding to Bishop Burnet's unbecoming insinuation against King William the Third.

gout was sent in mercy, down from heaven, to lengthen wasting life. By my consent, you should never have the gout, who have no more consideration in you, than to blaspheme it.

I always took your worship for a person the most accomplished our city has ever bred. I imagined, that you thoroughly understood most things; but it could never enter into my head, that you should fall into so profane an error, as to think, into so rash a practice, as to speak ill of the gout. But, because my soul has been full of humble deference to your worship, I will be at some pains to recover you to your right mind, and a due veneration of that friendly dæmon, the gout. For, though you may value yourself, and reckon, that no girding satyrist can take up the old proverb against you, and say, that you are afraid of your friends, when there is none near you; yet, what is worse, they may reproach you with this disgraceful truth, you are afraid of your best friend, when he kisses your very feet.

Now, upon this subject, having no need to use the inveigling arts of oratory, I shall not with tropes and metaphors, with flourishes and amusements of insinuating words, seek to divert your mind, and cheat your judgment; but, to make my work the shorter, and do it effectually, press you with plain demonstration. Your error, Sir, was this: that the devil created the gout. I prove he did not. You know, Sir, that the man of sin, the son of perdition, best known by the name of Antichrist, is the Pope. You must not doubt of this; for, till the days of that excellent prelate, Archbishop Laud, the whole stream of Protestant interpreters gave it so. A learned chaplain of his has put that character upon the Grand Seignior; and a famous annotator has taught our church to split antichrist into Simon Magus and his Gnostick followers. I must confess, I have a sort of respect to these authorities; but the body of modern Dissenters, and the general agreement of interpreters, Whig and Tory, in the age before, weighs them down. Take in, then, the lay-mobility of the nation, who should know something, but are confident of nothing more, than that Antichrist is the Pope; and your worship will agree with me, that that is the plain truth of the matter. By the way, I will observe one thing, which will not trouble my demonstration, but let your worship see, how ready I am to allow you, in your speculation, all that can reasonably be desired. A celebrated author notes, that the ancients described Antichrist by the phrase of πρωτότοκος τοῦ Σατανᾶ, the first-born of the devil. Supposing now, that the devil created something, as you contend, you see, it could not be the gout; at least, not if you will be judged by the fathers; but rather Antichrist, or the Pope. I desire your worship to consider next, that you shall not read, in Platina, Onuphrius, or any later Anti-christian biographer, that ever fetid toe of Pope was visited with the beneficial gout. But, had so great a blessing been created by the devil, as you fondly imagine, the devil had, for certain, bestowed it on his first-born, the Pope: nay, and then too, instead of the filthy scrutiny, through the porphyry chair, for old and wasted

testicles, the deacon had only pulled off the stocking of the elect, and the ratificatory report had been, *Dominus noster Papa habet podagram**. In short, Sir, Antichrist, or the Pope (for they are one and the same first-born of the devil, according to the ancients,) being never favoured with the gout, it is plain, that the devil did not create it; ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, which was the thing to be demonstrated.

Having thus, Sir, utterly confounded your error, my next labour shall be, to instruct you in a sounder persuasion. The gout was sent, in mercy, down from heaven, to lengthen wasting life.

The seat of this friendly dœmon, by whom every afflicted man receives a thousand times more benefit, than ever Socrates by his; his seat, I say, is in the nervous parts. He commonly visits the internodia of the bones of the feet; sometimes the hip, the knee, the elbow, shoulder, wrist, and ancle. But, to prove its divine original, I will proceed methodically, and, from his lowest commendations, ascend, by six just steps, or degrees, till I have raised him above the stars, and entered him among the celestial spirits; to whom, Sir, you will then be tempted to offer up your oraisons, in the prescribed form, at the end of an old manuscript missal, communicated to me by a learned antiquary, a great collector of those rarities. The form is this: 'Blessed gout, most desirable 'gout, sovereign antidote of murdering maladies, powerful cor-'rector of intemperance, deign to visit me with thy purging fires, 'and throw off the tophous injury, which I may have suffered by 'wine and wit, too hard for the virtue of a devotee upon a holy 'festival; but fail not thy humble supplicant, who needs thy 'friendly help to keep his tottering tenement in order; fail him not, 'every vernal and autumnal æquinox.'

I know, some precise doctors are against all invocation of saints. At present I shall not dispute with them, but they must grant me, that there is more to be said in justification of such a prayer to the gout, than can be said for the offices directed to any other saints, not excepting the virgin. For I defy their worshipers to prove, that there has been the tithe of so much good done by them all, as, I shall prove, has been done by the beneficial gout. I begin at the lowest step, and note,

First, the gout gives a man pain without danger.

It is possible, I confess, that a sick man, if he were directly asked to declare his sense of the matter, might refuse to acknowledge the benefit of pain without danger; for sickness and peevishness commonly go together. But mind his discourse at another time, when he talks from the heart, and is not upon his guard; then, O then, pain without danger is a blessed thing. For instance, ——Suffering under a painful threatening distemper, what is his first question to the physician, but this? Doctor, pray be plain with me, and let me truly know what I am to expect, don't flatter a sick man, but tell me, am I like to recover, or no? That pain, you see,

* Our Lord the Pope has got the gout.

which he suffers, does not at all trouble him; he is only afraid he shall die; secure him against that danger, and all is well with him: cut, slash, burn, no pain is grievous, if it promise to set us out of the danger of death.

When the other doctor comes, the physician of the soul I mean, whose coming bodes no good to the body, he tells the decumbent a long story of the pains and misery of life, in order to make his *Nunc dimittis* go down the easier; but that method seldom takes, for not one of a hundred is so bad, but he is content to live, and put the rest to the venture. The fear of death is generally more grievous, than all the cruel pains of a wretched life. But, since we must have pain while we live, give me the pain of the gout, which has no danger attending. Here some malevolent adversary may importunately object, did ever any man die of the gout? To this I answer, 1. I have not yet affirmed, that the gout can make a man immortal, though I will boldly say thus much, it very often keeps a man alive till all his friends are weary of him. But, 2. Should I venture to say, that the gout has in itself the power to make a man immortal; it ought not to seem so very strange, all things being considered. If that be true, which some authors write of the noble Paracelsus, he had the secret to make a man immortal, and I would not say he lyed, though himself died about forty; for, perhaps, he did not like his company; but it must have been by way of his discovery to give any man the gout when he pleased; in that I am positive. Here the objector will scornfully put me in mind, that gouty persons escape death no more than other men; which is very true, but that's because men are fools, and don't know when they are safe. They must be curing the gout, forsooth, and, to that end, they deal with the doctor, i. e. with the factor of death, the emissary of hell, the purveyor of the grave, damned alchymist, good at calcining nothing but living bodies into dust and ashes. Let every one bear his own burthen; the gout has nothing to do with the carnage of the doctor. All, that can be rationally said against the gout, is, that it does not actually preserve man, in spight of their own folly, and the doctor's ignorance: and yet there is the right honourable Sir R. H. the gout is so salutary to him, that two Swiss doctors can't dispatch him. What would a certain lord give, that those two coagulating spirits could remove his honour's gout; but, say I, 'Gout, hold thy own;' for earth has more need of the cripple, than heaven of the saint. And now, Sir, let me tell you a story, the famous Willis shall be my voucher, who dissected the body of the reverend, learned, and pious Doctor Hammond, killed purely by his friend, who, unhappily, taught him a medicine to cure the gout; upon the cessation of that medicine, the doctor's old nephritic pains returned, and in a fortnight dispatched him.

Therefore, for your own, for your lady's, and for your childrens sake, Sir, welcome the gout to your house, and shut all your doors against the physician, I'll warrant you for upwards a hundred. Lord! how glad shall I be, to see them pick chalk-stones out of

your worship's feet, some forty or fifty years hence; by that time you will have learned so much patience, as never to roar for the matter. But if you do roar (for that may be then as you use yourself now) they that look on, if they love life, will envy, not pity you. Indeed you are already a fit object for the envy of thinking men, for I have heard you confess, that yours is an hereditary gout, and that is for the better; an hereditary gout is a far greater happiness than an acquired one. What a deal of intemperance, and amorous excesses, might it have cost your worship to have got the gout before forty; whereas now you have the mighty blessing for nothing, *sorte nascendi*, it is your birth-right, Sir, never think of parting with it.

Perhaps, you may be now tempted to ask me, how I acquired my gout? I shall not be shy to satisfy your curiosity, for I came by it honestly. We scholars have a way, by ourselves, to come at the blessing, without ever being beholden to the god, that chears the genteel candidate of the gout by day, or the goddess that entertains him on nights. We lead sedentary lives, feed heartily, drink *quantum sufficit*, but sleep immoderately; so that, the superfluities of our sober and grave fulness not exhaling, we very honestly prepare tartarous matter for the gout, for the beneficial gout, which gives us pain without danger. Ascend we now the next step, which advances the honour of the gout.

2. The gout is no constant companion, but allows his patients lucid joyous intervals.

Human nature is so framed, that no one thing is agreeable to it always; therefore it is well for us, that the world is so full of changes. The earth we tread on, the seas we sail on, the air we breathe in, the starry firmament expanded round us, have their continual vicissitudes, which all make for our advantage and delight. The body of man is a true microcosm in this respect, for it never continues in one condition; and, upon the same account, his mind is a very fit guest for his body; for, at different times, he thinks and speaks different things,

——— *Modo reges atque tetrarchas,*
Omnia magna loquens, modo sit mihi.———

'Sometimes he'd talk, of heroes, and of kings,
'In mighty swelling numbers, mighty things;
'And then, again, let gracious fortune give
'A little meat and drink enough to live;
'Let her a coat to keep out cold present,
'Although 'tis thick, and coarse, he'll be content.'
Mr. Creech.

How welcome is a guest that knows when to be gone; but, if his stay be longer than ordinary, we are ready to thrust him out of doors. For these, and the like considerations, the way of the

gout's dealing with his patients can never be enough esteemed. Whatever some impatient weak minds may think, it is manifest, that the gout, by his coming and going, takes the right course to be very agreeable and obliging. Weak people may curse the gout, and wish to be wholly excused from his intermitting visits; but I look upon such people, as men that are weary of the world, and, being willing to leave it, I grant, they have reason to be angry with the gout; with the gout, that folds their mortality so fast about them.

Your worship has been guilty of this impatience, but I hope to recover you to a better mind. I have already shewn you, that, to a wise considerer, the absence of danger takes off from the pain of the gout; but some pain there is, and ought to be, for constant health has no relish, it is an insipid dull thing: that reverend Calvinist, Dr. Twiss, affirms, that it is better to be damned, than annihilated. I might, I suppose, with less offence, affirm, that it were better to be dead, than never to be sick of the gout: nay, this I am sure of, that all the sober and experienced people will be so far from taking offence, that I shall have them on my side, if I venture on that paradox; for, how often have I heard a grave adviser, one that had tried health and sickness, alternately, for many years, tell the robust, young, riotous fellow, that he knew not the value of health. No, how should he, having never been sick? But why should his sober adviser press him to be careful of his health? That is the way never to understand the deliciousness of it; by that time he gets the gout, he will thoroughly understand the matter, I'll warrant him. Set me two men together, one that never knew pain, and another newly recovered of the gout; observe them both narrowly; in the former, perhaps, you may perceive an easy, even temper; but the latter is ravished with joys and satisfactions, which, if his tongue does not declare, his hands, and feet, and gesture shall.

Homer says, that the beauty of Helen was a prize, worth all the blood spilt through the long course of the ten years war. Homer would not have redeemed those lives by the least injury to that adorable lady. Such are the lucid intervals between heart-breaking fits of the gout, worth all the ravings, and roarings, which the violent paroxysm forces from the tortured patient; and who would spoil the refined pleasure of his recovery, by wishing to have one angry throb, one heavy groan abated him? *Si parvis componere magna liceret*, if we might compare great things with small, the gout is to health, as ham, and tongue, to wine, or rather, as Ζὼη ἡ Τύχη, to the lovers congress. Courage, Sir, and be advised by me, it is good advise I am giving, and you shall have it gratis. When your foot swells, and burns, and throbs, banish all foolish sorrow and repining, instead whereof, let swelling joys dilate your generous breast; when sharp, fermenting juices, not easily miscible, shall meet, and, by their furious contest, cause cruel twitchings of your nervous fibres, comfort your heart, and be extremely pleased; when masculine, acetous recrements shall, with female,

tartarous matter, mix, ingender, and beget a tophous mass; when that same tophous mass shall lodge in the internodia of your worship's bones, entertaining you with a rending solution of continuity, then let your soul triumph; but touch not, taste not, the crumen-emulgent doctor's emulsions, juleps, apozemes, nor let his repercussives, or resolvents, cataplasms, and anodynes touch you; so let your friend, the gout, take his course, and maul you soundly. O! so easy, so pleased, so joyous, so happy, so blessed will you be, when the turn of health shall come; why, Sir, you will be in heaven, in heaven while you are on earth; you will be intirely beatified on this side the grave, and that is more than Solomon has arrived at yet (if you can give any credit to a Catholick painter) for but one half of him is glorified, the other fries in flames, vexed by tormenting devils, like the noble Shaftsbury in Windsor-hall; beshrew the painter for ——his pains, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* Learn of our common enemy; Sir, I fancy, the late tyrant solaces his exile, with the expectation of a return to trample on the liberties, and riot in the blood of hereticks; but, before ever that dismal day come, may the gout, my life's kind preserver, and my dear life itself forsake me; only I will make it in my bargain, I will not stand to this wish, if my help can contribute any thing to oppose this invasion. I am much of the mind, Sir, that, by what I have said already, you are a coming proselyte; but, before I have done with you, you shall chuse to part with your eyes, rather than your true friend, the gout. The mighty blessing whereof, that you may the better understand, mount with me one step higher, and then take notice of this farther advantage of the gout.

3. The gout presents you with a perpetual almanack; and that it may never be out of the way, but ready always for your worship's use, safely deposits it in the internodia of your bones. Barometers, thermometers, and other the inventions of men, not yet perfect masters of their art, serve more for the delight, than the use of the curious; but the useful pains of the gout give your honour trusty prognosticks of the seasons. As often as a moist constitution of the year, south or north winds, or snows are at hand, you predict those things from the accesses of your pains; and by the absence of your pains you foreknow the contrary; so, one way or other, your bone-almanack serves for all changes.

Our Lilly's and Gadbury's foreknow, when it shall be rain-like, or snow-like, but what your honour foreknows, by means of the gout, does afterwards actually come to pass. Doctor Goad knew more of the stars, and their positions than you, but not half so much of their influence. Spinoza will have it, that, when a Jewish prophet foretold any thing, he gave a sign, a present sign, which was a confirmation of his prophecy; you have the sign within you, Sir, and are a true prophet all over.

Majora animalia diutius visceribus parentum continentur, says Pliny. Nature gives to larger sized animals a longer stay in the womb of their mother; their mighty limbs, and vast frame of body,

are not so soon fashioned and perfected, as is the compendious texture of lesser animals. So it is with the most noble arts and sciences, with the most useful inventions, when first brought to light; every man is taken up with unactive extasy, and lazy admiration, greatly pleased to be taught, and let into mystery, and as well content to know no more than is taught him. Time passes silently on, and ages steal away, before there starts up a studious inquisitive person, who bends his wit to improve the discoveries of his ancestors, and raise them to their just perfection.

Now of this observation, I am of the mind, there is not again in nature so clean an instance as the gout affords us. The gout, at first, passed for no other but an evil spirit, which an exorcising priest attacked with charms, before ever the physician fell foul upon him with poisonous recipe's. The physician, purely to force a trade, imposed upon the people, that the gout was a disease. Having cheated them with this false opinion, he plagued them with real tortures, all which he was pleased to christen by the general name of therapeutick method, in which his barbarous executions thus follow one another. First phlebotomy, then catharticks, emeticks, hypnoticks, the ——— and all; and, while the inside of the poor patient is thus miserably racked and confounded, he dawbs the outside with anodyne applications, unguents, and cataplasms; and, when all is done, I will give them my body to practise on (though I had rather the executioner had it to dispatch outright) if plain cathartick-gruel, and the cataplasm of a fresh cow-turd, do not work greater wonders, than any thing they can pretend to. From Germany, nay, from beyond the Alps, they come, with hard names, exotick cant, and baneful poison, to allay the paroxysm and remove the procatarxis of the gout; but, God be thanked, their practice decays, and must do more and more every day, now that it is so plainly discovered, that the gout needs no remedy, not being, in truth and proper speaking, a disease, but a sovereign antidote, against the most dangerous diseases. And therefore people of the best sense are content to let it take its course; and not only so, but they are proud to publish the satisfaction they take, in one or other advantage, which the gout affords them. For instance, as to the foreknowledge of weather: the gout never twitches their nerves, but they will be telling others what changes are towards. Now, that which I propose is this, that people should not think it enough to know thus much of the gout, but study to improve and increase their knowledge; for, no doubt, more may be made of this blessing, than ever yet was done by the happy man that has enjoyed it longest. I am persuaded, that if the fortunate patient would be at the pains to observe all the motions of the gout, in his pinching, smarting, gauling accesses; in his gnawing, stabbing, burning paroxysms; in his evacuating, tender, remitting recesses, he might quickly come to wind a storm, so long before, that, in a short time, no owners would think their ship safe, but with a gouty master, nor would any experienced seaman, that wanted a ship, offer himself to the merchants, but

upon crutches. Possibly here some nice person may object, that it is a sad thing to be a cripple; I reply, in lameness two things are to be considered, the unsightly gate, and the afflicting pain. As to the unsightly gate, set the Italian proverb against it:

> He knows not Venus in her perfect sweetness,
> Who has never lain with a lame mistress;

And Montaigne tells us, that the same is said of men, as well as women; for the Queen of Amazons answered the personable Scythian, who courted her to love, ἀρίστα χωλὸς οἰφεῖ, lame men make the best gallants. In that female republick, to prevent the dominion of the males, they lamed them arms and legs in their infancy, believing that they would be rather the better, for the use which they should make of them thereafter. Montaigne gives a philosophical reason for the advantage accruing by lameness, either to men or women, viz. the legs and thighs not receiving their due aliment, it falls out, that the genital parts above are the fuller, better supplied, and more vigorous.

2. As to the pain proceeding from lameness, I will not, to diminish that, tell the objector a long story from the reasonings of Aristotle, or the practice of Cato; but only pray him to consider the lower sort of people, who know little of example, and mind as little of precept. Nature is their guide, and this their familiar practice. They call the phthisick, says Montaigne, a cough; the bloody flux is no more with them than a looseness; a pleurisy, but a stitch in the side; and as they softly name, so they patiently endure these grievances.

If the mercenary adversaries of the gout, the doctors, have any other objections against a Bone-almanack, besides what I have answered, let them be published; I will fairly and fully answer them also, or renounce my reverence for the gout.

O! That I had an infallible medicine, which would both certainly and speedily cause the gout (wine and women are tedious and uncertain ways of purchasing the mighty blessing) I would not doubt but to make more of it, than ever Daffy did of his elixir, or any strolling mountebank of his nostrum. The fair for Rider's almanack, Partridge's almanack, Al—ch's almanack, lasts but one month in the year; but I might vend Gout-almanacks, and Bone-almanacks, all the year round. Here I suspect, that the malevolent doctors, that get their living by their mischievous craft in practising on the gout, will object, that all, which I have hitherto urged in its commendations, has a very great allay; for, though it is not dangerous, yet it is painful; though the patient has lucid intervals, yet he has violent paroxysms; though he be a prophet, yet the spirit, which inspires, rends him. But of these objectors I would fain know, whether holy precious enthusiasm be not a furious ungovernable impulse; whether lucid intervals are not more eligible than a constant, weak, and sullen light; whether pain, without danger, is not better than ease without security? I am of

opinion, that our compositions are no more able to endure pure and unmixt felicities, than Semele, the half-gone mother of Bacchus, to abide the warm congress of the Olympick Jove, circled with all his glories. Yet, to silence envy itself, the next step we ascend, we shall see the gout dealing to his patients a benefit, so wonderous, refined, pleasant, and useful, that he must be a very dull creature, that can seriously think on this, and not passionately wish, deliberately consider it, and not heartily labour, by all honest ways and means, to deserve the gout.

4. Gouty persons are most free from the headach; the reason of which is this:

— The heavy recrements of the blood and nervous juice always fall downward to the gouty joints. The nerves of the head, the fibres and the membranes, whereof there are many placed above and under the skull; the two meninges, the tunicles of the nerves, the pericranium, and other periostia, the muscles, the panniculus carnosus, and lastly, the skin itself, are all freed from a world of torment by means of the medicinal gout, which attracts to exterior remote parts vicious humours of various denominations, and there sets them on fire, wastes and evacuates them. Persons much favoured by the gout, upon every long absence of that best friend of theirs (whether occasioned by unknown accidents, or unwise recourse to the mischievous tampering of a wicked doctor) exchange their freedom from the gout, for pain more intense and dangerous; but, of all other pains, they are extremely subject to the head-ach; something of a cloud, more or less, always hangs over their brain; but as soon as ever the gout pleases (forgiving their ingratitude) to revisit them, presently the weather breaks up, the nerves are relaxed, the fibres unmolested, the membranes and muscles recover their right tone; while the inimicous contesting particles, thrown off from boiling blood, and turgid nervous juice, fall down to the remote parts of the body; and then the understanding grows clear, the thoughts brisk and active; and the patient is fitted, whatever his station and employment is in the world, to do the duty thereof better than ever. I have been told of several sea-captains (and I have reason to believe the relator) who, during a fit of the gout, happening to meet the enemy, bestirred themselves with a vigour that forgot their pain, and gave their order with a steddier presence of mind, than ever they were masters of before. I have the honour to be known to a person of quality, who has obliged the age with several instructive pieces, who never published a sorry trifle, nor ever any thing so absolutely perfect, useful, and entertaining, as when he lay under a course of the gout. Then would he dictate like an angel, or, which is much the same, a man inspired, to his ravished amanuensis. That amanuensis of his has told me, though he loved his master very well, yet he was always sorry for his recovery; for then his strength failed him, and he was no more than another writer, I mean a writer of the first rate though. I know nothing that a man, when

he enjoys the gout, is unfit for, but jumping, running of races, or foot-ball. The Amazons, if they be not belied, coveted to admit strangers, *flagrante paroxysmo:* had Montaigne ever met with the MS. whence I have the notice, he would have given us a philosophical reason for it. The gout being thus beneficial, I bless myself to think, that any patient should be so much his own enemy, as to be weary of it; any doctor so much an enemy to mankind, as to offer at the cure; but cure it they cannot, whatever they pretend, unless they kill the patient. For my part, I know no difference in the earth between a doctor of physick and a tinker, save that the doctor has more of the tinker, the tinker more of the doctor in him. For, the tinker effectually stops that particular hole which he is hired to stop, though he makes two or three for it; but the doctor does but disturb the gout, which he undertakes to cure; and, when the vicious humours of the body are not suffered to have their course to the exterior remote parts, there to be sacrificed on the internodial altars of the gout, they revert with fury and indignation, dangerously assault the vitals, diffuse their venom over all the viscera, corrupt the stomach, but more especially affect the head, with violent pains, which are often followed by dangerous swooning, a vertigo, a failing of memory; nay, and sometimes a downright delirium. Thus physicians cure their patients of the gout! Then doubly blessed are the poor and needy, who, when they have the gout, and do not understand their own happiness, cannot be at the charge to get rid of it, by a cure of the doctors. Nay, beside the mischievous consequences of their meddling, their very meddling itself, is a sorer pain, than the gout, a thousand times: so that man's intellectuals must not be right, who would not wish to have his head-ach cured by the gout, rather than by the doctors methods, i. e. by being purged and blooded, cupped and fluxed, stifled with spirit of hartshorn and soot, drenched with cephalick juleps and waters — Cold as those that extinguished the vital heat of that renowned thrice illustrious heroe, hight old Simon the king. The gout is a specifick, a single, proper, and effectual remedy for the head-ach: by a strong revulsion it attracts morbifick matter from the nobler parts, and, ever while you live, say I, keep pain from your head, and sorrow from your heart. The honest old beldame made sport for her neighbours, when she applied the clyster to her forehead, the part affected. Again, when her neighbours turned up her blind-side, and plaid her pipe at her virgin avenue, that was a jest to her: 'Marry Gap, quoth she, it is the upper end that akes, and you give physick to the lower;' but the clyster was a good remedy for the head-ach, though planted at a distance, and so the gout. How necessary a friend to the head the medicinal gout is, keeping it easy, clean, and free from all morbifick matter which disturbs the brain, we might partly guess, from the subtle observation of the famous Confucius upon gouty persons, which is communicated to us, by one of the chastest historians among the veracious emissaries (for the Chinese are blessed with the gout, as well as the Europeans:) It is possible, said the

wise Mandarin, for a lame, gouty person to be a knave, even in our own country have I known some such; but who ever knew a gouty cripple that was a fool? In a book of that great master of morals and politicks, presented by a Mandarin of Confucius's own race, to a learned Jesuit, who has inriched the King of France's library with it, (but, I suppose, the book was there reposited, since a certain person finished his travels:) These farther remarks are delivered, natural fools never acquire the gout, the sons of gouty persons are defended from dulness and folly by the sins of their parents; or, if in their minority, their understandings happen to lie a little backward, they shall no sooner enter on their gouty inheritance, but a bright illumination brings the same forwards. Whatever a man's natural powers are, they are so improved by the gout, so refined, so heightened in the paroxysm, that I am almost tempted to call it a sort of natural inspiration. *Facile est inventis addere*, what the noble Confucius has admirably well observed of the gout, viz. 'That it is a perfect deletory of folly,' prompts me to think, that it would be worthy inquiry, whether the gout is not as effectual against madness; and we may reasoably believe that it is so, if, upon examination it should be found, that there are no gouty people in Bedlam; and then for the recovery of those poor creatures to their wits, again, it will not need much consideration, whether they ought not to be excused the hard blows which their barbarous keepers deal them; and the therapeutick method of purging, bleeding, cupping, fluxing, vomiting, clystering, juleps, apozemes, powders, confections, epithemes, and cataplasms, with which the more barbarous doctors torment them; and, instead of their learned torture, indulged, for a time only, a little intemperance, as to wine, or women, or so; or the scholar's delight of feeding worthily, and sleeping heartily, whereby they might get the gout, and then their madness were cured.

Many and great are the advantages which accrue to mortal men from the gout, as cannot but sufficiently appear to your worship from what I have, in running haste, observed; but far more numerous, and unconceivably vast, are the improvements, which a man, worthy of the gout, and sensible of his happiness, might, with attentive care and sedulous observance, make. Yet I shall not insist on conjectural topicks to do justice to so effectual a promoter of the safety of human life; but proceed on those benefits, which are the objects of sense; so that, if there be any person, that shall think, or speak ill of the gout, he must be one, that does not desire, or deserve to live.

It is a lofty height to which I have advanced your worship; four steep ascents you have already climbed, but the honour of the gout

——————*Caput inter nubila condit.*

Can your head bear to mount a fifth? But, why do I ask that question? the gout itself will enable you.

5. The gout preserves its patients from the great danger of fevers.

Gouty persons, by reason of a fixed dyscrasy of the blood, are not obnoxious to fevers; as they live free from the dreadful pains of the head-ach, so, likewise, from the scorching heat of fevers. Every one knows, that a fever is a disorderly motion, or over-boiling of the blood, which seldom, or never, happens to gouty persons; because the malignant recrements of the blood and nervous juice, which occasion fevers, are continually deposited in the joints of gouty persons, are there imprisoned, watered, and consumed by the purging, healing, cleansing, sanative fire of the burning gout. There is a natural motion and heat in the blood, depending, partly, on its proper crasis and constitution (for, being composed of spirit, salt, and sulphur, principles vigorous and active, it spontaneously grows turgid and tumultuous, like generous wine in narrow vessel pent;) and, partly, to the ferment implanted in the heart, which rarefies the liquor passing through its channels, and forces it to rise with effervescence frothy. The preternatural ebullition of the blood is raised, either by some extraneous, heterogeneous mixture, or from the immoderate exaltation of its own natural spirit or sulphur; which, when it happens, presently a high and quick pulse follows; the blood, like a sulphurous liquor, taking fire, diffuses its burning heat all over the body.

The vast Sicilian chasms, which vomit flaming heaps of matter sulphurous and combustible, what are they, but nature's emblems of a burning, fiery fever? and, when the poets fable, that haughty Typhœus, big Eryx, and bald Enceladus, deep buried in the earth by angry Jupiter, belch out those fires, which waste the country, and fright the inhabitants, what meaned they to denote, but the restlessness of strenuous heroes (for want of the gout to withdraw the feverish fewel) frying in flames merciless and destructive?

Methinks, I pity the young and healthy, whose blood flows temperately, and never knew disorder; I pity them, I say, not for their present ease, but because of their imminent danger. For, when a royal sun of France blazes, and perishes in flames painted by a brave Russel's masterly hand; when a vanquished admiral shifts off in boat inglorious, a king of equal valour, from a safe station, all the while beholding the monsieur's prudent care to preserve a great commander; when a haughty Mareschal is beat out of the strongest bulwark, that fenced his master's treacherous rapine; and, to induce that master of his for once to keep the cartel, can, in spight of all his blustering, part with his sword: When rebel invaders are disappointed, and execrable assassines punished; on such tempting occasions as these, who can forbear a rightful, lawful, and brimful glass? yet, on so solemn a festival, if the healthy gives nature but a fillip, it may, perchance, throw him into a fever, and that fever, perchance, cost him his life; whereas the man, that is obnoxious to the gout, chearfully ventures the duty of the day, well knowing, that, when the worst comes to the worst, it is but roaring in purgatory some forty days, or so; and, by that time the gout has wasted and cleansed off the tartarous recrements of undigested falern, who knows, but good news may come, to make another holy-day?

Purgatory, which cleanses the souls of the departed from their filth, which sets them out of the danger of the lake, and renders them (like burnt tobacco-pipes) clean and pure, and fit for paradise, is a true picture of the fire of the gout, which spends the morbifick matter, that might otherwise throw the body into a hellish fever. Indeed, infidels and hereticks may object, and say, that, perhaps, purgatory is but a false story; but no matter for that; for grave authors teach, that a false story may be a true picture, and serve to illustrate as necessary a doctrine as that of purgatory. But in this I am positive, that neither a false story, nor a true one, can illustrate a more infallible maxim than this, that the purging fires of the gout withdraw the fewel from the destructive fires of burning fevers.

Those learned and worthy authors, that write of devils and spirits, and know the natures and orders of them as perfectly as heart can wish, tell us, that there be two sorts of them, white and black, good and bad. So is it certainly with diseases. The gout, if it be lawful to call it a disease, is a good and useful disease, a white devil; the fever, a bad, hurtful disease, a black devil, the devil of a disease, or a disease that is the devil; whom if ever the physician casts out, I will swear, it is by compact: whereas the gout is an honest febrifuge, the operations thereof natural and intelligible; something painful indeed, but there is no magick in them. By the way, if the physician cures, or casts out black diseases, or devils, by compact with black devils, may it not be said to be a double wickedness? for I took it to be the Roman priests ungodly office, with rumbling exorcisms, to eject them; but this is the fault also of other dealers; there is nothing more common, among them, than to incroach on one another's trade. Could tyrants inflict fevers, they would never make use of rack or gibbet, ax, or unrighteous judge, unless the object of their fate were an honest gouty fellow; for the gout would soften the feverish infliction, as the popish printer did his father confessor's penance, when he boiled the pease, which he was required to put in his shoes, before he took his walk. There is not, certainly, a severer torment than a burning fever, nor a more sovereign antidote than the medicinal gout; so that it is a truth clear as the sun, if more people had the gout, fewer would die of a fever. Having placed these things in so clear a light, I am strongly persuaded, that not your worship only, but the generality of the age will set their prejudices aside, and yield to the happy force of the many useful truths, which, by the bright illumination of a violent gout-paroxysm, I have here discovered; so that, hereafter, instead of the old parting compliments,——Save you, sir; God keep you in good health, I question not but we shall say,——The gout defend you, sir; God give you the gout; for we ought not to hope for a blessing without the means. To wish a man the gout is to wish him that, which withdraws fewel from diseases, and preserves life at so cheap a rate; it costs a man not a penny more than patience.

It has been the opinion of some writers, that none can be saved, who die of the plague; but, in judging of the future state of others, I think it best to venture being mistaken on the charitable side; and

therefore, I would sooner believe, that none can be damned, who have the gout; and, I must tell your worship, that I have known a less probable sign of salvation given by a dissenting Rabbi, to his hearers.

When Mercury, by the mighty power of a verse, borrowed from that great architect Homer, heaved up the aspiring mountain Pelion, and piled it intire on heaven-shouldering Ossa, and then helped Charon, up to the top; the poor old ferry-man complained, that the distance from the earth was so great that he could not see what was done there. I am much afraid, sir, that this uppermost step of ascent, on which I am going to seat your worship, that you may have a full view of the amazing excellence of the medicinal, useful, health-restoring, soul-enlivening gout, will place you at such a vast distance above terrene things and notions, that you will not be able to discern the true proportion of that benefit, which crowns the honour of the gout; at least, not so plainly as I could wish.

6. To crown the honour of the gout, it is not to be cured.

The gout defies all your gross galenical methods, and all your exalted chymical preparations; for the conjunct causes thereof (as the learned Willis confesses) lie in parts so very remote, that the vertues of no medicines can reach them; and, heaven be praised for it, for why, sir, would you cure (as you call it) the gout which gives you pain without danger, a better taste of health, by an acquaintance with pain, a knowledge of future things, freedom from the head-ach, and from fevers?

Bless us! that any man should wish to be rid of the gout, for want of which he may become obnoxious to fevers, and head-ach, be blinded in his understanding, lose the taste of his health, and the security of his life. I hope you and I, dear sir, shall be better advised, and to shew that we are so, and at the same *time*, to set the world a good example, I hope we shall neither of us ever tamper with the doctor for the cure of the gout, which really and truly is incurable, unless the patient be to be killed; which is what the doctor's medicines aim at, perhaps not what he directly aims at himself. For his heart is chiefly upon his fee; his prayers, that his patient may neither die, nor recover; at least not die, while he is worth a penny; but, when his last penny is spent, then the miserable creature is forsaken, like the poor woman in the gospel, and may perish for all him, unless heaven has a miracle in store for a poor sinner, that has been tormented by a nasty D——, before his time, But, lest I should be thought, in vindication of the honour of the gout, too severe against the pretenders to cure it, I shall argue against them, from their own confessions: we may say of every medicaster, whether a college, or a stage-doctor, *habemus confitentem reum;* the whole clan of them are homicides, by their own confession. Other wicked people put on the guise of honesty, for the better perpetrating their crimes; but physicians own the roguery of their art; indeed, to save themselves from publick infamy, they give this softening turn to their scandalous cause. The principles

of their art, they say, are difficult to be understood, and, uncertain to be relied on; and, then, also the temperament of the Body, on which they practise, can be but guessed at; so that the success of the most learned practitioner can be but casual. Now, that, after this, these men should be entertained, and so general admittance given to their practice, does evidently prove, that the generality of men, when they lose their health, lose their wits together with it. I will allow, that it were resonable for a sick man liberally to part with his guineas for his health, if the doctors, that have their money in hand, were sure of restoring health, or upon failure would refund; but, to pay down ready money for a lottery chance, where it is great odds, but the adventurer increases his malady, and hastens his death! I, for my part, declare against it, and am persuaded, that no one, who considers rightly, but would keep his money, and bear his burthen. A spare and easy diet shall be always my physick, and I will leave it to nature, to do her own work. But let us come to some more particular acknowledgments of these deadly enemies of mankind.

Galen, that is still revered as a god by modern practitioners, acknowledges it impossible to find out a medicine that shall do any great good one way, and not do as much hurt another. The learned Dr. Hammond fatally experienced the truth of this acknowledgment; the medicine, which was prescribed him to cure the gout, moved the gravel from his kidnies, which, being too big to pass the ureters, choaked the channel, and deprived him of his life that way. Cornelius Agrippa tells us of one Rasis, a physician of note, who, considering the foolish credulity of patients, and the contentious ignorance of professors in physick, advised, that never above one doctor should be made use of at a time, giving this reason, because the mistake of a single man is less dangerous. And I would advise never to use any; for, as the mistake of one man is less dangerous than of a consult of them, so the having nothing to do with any one, is less dangerous than the mistake of one; for nature can commit no mistake, but if not loaded with luxury, nor disturbed with physick, will vigorously strive to throw off every noxious disease. Such the gout is not, for nature, throwing off morbifick matter to the remoter parts of the body, does designedly beget the gout, and make use of that admirable remedy, to cure diseases already gotten, and to prevent others. But it is not mere reason which I rely upon, when I advise men to trust nature alone for their recovery, and never go to a physician, I have the greatest authority to support my advice. 2 Chron. xvi. 12. Asa, in the 39th year of his reign, was diseased in the feet (as I am now, which hinders me from running to my commentators) but I remember the phrase of the septuagint is, ἐμαλακίσθη τοὺς πόδας, his feet were soft and tender, (swelled with the gout, that must be the meaning) until his disease (gout) was exceeding great, yet in his disease (ἐν τῇ μαλακίᾳ αὐτοῦ, in the extreme softness and tenderness of his gout) he sought not to the Lord, but to his physician. I do not

see how our doctors in physick can evade the force of this text, in defence of their profession; for it is a very weak and precarious reply, which they make, when they tell us, 'That Asa is blamed, not directly for seeking to the physicians, but not for trusting in the Lord when he sought to them.' Now, I will grant these gentlemen, that it is the duty of patients to trust in the Lord, when they seek to the physicians; nay, it is their duty to trust in the Lord, then, above any other time; for then they run themselves into those hazards, that, if the Lord does not help them, 'tis odds but they miscarry. But I would have these physicians, who make but sorry interpreters of scripture, to consider, that the text sets seeking the Lord, and seeking the physician, in opposition to one another; plainly enough implying, that the former was his duty, the latter his fault. But our physicians, it seems, would have the sick seek to the Lord, and them both; as if the Lord could not do his own work without them. *Odi profanum Genus.*——Hence, sir, it is plain to me, that they are an order of men, that care not much what they say, or do, to uphold their own honour, and keep their ungodly trade a-going. But therefore I would wish all unhealthy people, who have bought their misery of the professors; and all honest gentlemen, who are preserved by the salutary gout in the land of the living, to prefer a bill in parliament against this destructive order of men, that, by a strong cathartic act, they may be purged out of his Majesty's dominions; I will engage, that there's never a family in the nation, but shall, by this means, besides their health, save their taxes, so that a vigorous war may be continued against France, till the Monsieur is not worth a livre, and no body with us ever the poorer. For such an useful decree, we are not without a precedent in history. The wise Romans, under Marcus Porcius Cato, banished physicians, not only from Rome, but also from Italy, which council, it may be reasonably thought, contributed not a little to the increase of their people; for, as where the most lawyers are, there are the most quarrels and contentions; so, where the most physicians, there the most funerals; and some say, where the most divines, there the most differences about religion; but that is not the fault of the divines; for, if the magistrate would let the strongest party alone, they would force all the rest to be of their opinion. But I am afraid I forget myself in too long a digression; what I ought chiefly to insist on, is, the superlative excellence of the gout, which is never to be removed. The fear of losing a blessing takes off from the pleasure of enjoying it. Thieves may plunder your house, age will ruin your beauty, envy may asperse your reputation, bribes corrupt your faith, but the gout is a sure inheritance; neither thieves, nor knaves: neither time, nor envy, nor any thing else, can despoil you of it. A man may, himself, if he has a mind to it, squander his estate, blemish his comely form, injure his fame, and renounce his honesty; but let him get rid of the gout if he can; that blessing he may take comfort in, being secure that it is for his life. They

nay, there is more care and trouble in keeping an estate, than getting it; as for the gout, there may be some trouble in getting it, tho' that is mixed with pleasure too, but no man is put to the least care and trouble for the safe keeping of the gout; he may endure misery enough indeed, if he seeks to the physician for the cure of it. You cannot be always young and handsome; but gouty once, and gouty ever; thence came the proverb, 'Drink claret, and have the gout; and drink no claret, and still have it:' The gout, it is true, is the reward of some works, but there is no forfeiting it, and therein it is preferable to a crown imperial. Possibly a wise and worthy person may secure his virtue against dangerous temptations, but then he must be always on his guard; but let him take as little care of himself as he pleases, he shall never have the less gout for his loose way of living. But, possibly, it may be objected, That the gout, curing other diseases, and not being to be cured itself, becomes an encouragement to intemperance and lust. The lustful and intemperate drink, and love on, reckoning that the gout will carry off the evil consequences of wild excess, and foolish passion. Now, I will not lye for the gout, as much as I honour it: If it were not for this one————abatement, it were physick for an angel. But, that the reader may not reproach me for a gross philosophical error, I declare, that I do not mean, for the spiritual substance of an angel, for that, I well know, needs no physick, of one sort, or other; but for the corporeal vehicle, which an angel may chance to assume; which vehicle, being rectified by the gout, may, with less trouble, be actuated by the angel.

Sir, I thought to have taken a longer view of the excellency of the noble gout, from this sublime ascent, which represents it with its greatest advantage, the advantage of being incurable. But, alas! the violent paroxysm, which I have laboured under for these three short days and nights, abates; the intenseness of my pains considerably remits, and therefore I am forced to break off abruptly; for I am sensible, that no man can do honour to the gout by a just and adequate panegyrick, but he that, at the time of writing, feels it in extremity.

THE DEDICATION.

TO ALL THE NUMEROUS OFF-SPRING OF APOLLO, WHETHER DOGMATICAL SONS OF ART, OR EMPIRICAL BY-BLOWS.

To all Pharmaceutick Residentiaries in Town or City; also to all strolling Practitioners and Impostors.

Gentlemen,

IF this letter shall happen in any measure to spoil your trade, heaven make me thankful; for well I know, that yours is the very

trade of two famous princes, that have, by one method or other, rid out of the way very great numbers of men.

A malefactor, condemned to die, ought to be free from all manner of insults as he goes to execution. I know it, and therefore do not dedicate this letter to you, by way of insult, but friendly to mind you, that, since your unrighteous trade is broke or breaking, you would timely bethink yourselves, what honest employment you may be fit for. If you will take my advice, you shall travel; for, to your sorrow, you have known an over-grown farrier, from abroad, make a great doctor in England; why should not you make as good farriers abroad, as they do doctors here? This is certain, like true farriers, you have prescribed to many a weak man, a medicine for a horse; so then, for the *materia medica*, it is the same, nothing will be troublesome and uneasy to you, in your new profession, but that you shall never get as much by practising on the spavin as the gout; but you must be content with less earnings. What! you cannot, in conscience, expect as much for killing a horse as a man.

To this change of your profession, not only the discovery of the frauds and dangers thereof, but also the name of your great patron, Hippocrates, invites,——what are you more than he? Come, come, τέχνην ἢ τύχην μεταμείψατε, change name and profession, better a murrain among horses than a plague among men.

Having thus obliged you, gentlemen, in an epistle dedicatory, by minding you of the imminent decay of your practice upon human bodies, and teaching you how to make the best of a bad market, by trying experiments upon horse-flesh; I hope you will make me that grateful return, as to prevent the obligation I confer on you from turning to my prejudice; therefore, if any gouty person that may happen to malign you, shall object against me, and say, I had better have made a forlorn regiment of you, and sent you to have been knocked on the head in Flanders, than given you a license to kill horses, remember to say this for yourselves, and your benefactor, 'That, when the devils were ejected out of human bodies, they were suffered to enter into swine.'

A TRUE AND JUST RELATION

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MORGAN'S

PROGRESS IN FRANCE AND FLANDERS,

WITH THE SIX-THOUSAND ENGLISH,

IN THE YEARS 1657 AND 1658,

AT THE

TAKING OF DUNKIRK, AND OTHER IMPORTANT PLACES;

AS IT WAS DELIVERED BY THE GENERAL HIMSELF.

London, 1699. Quarto, containing Sixteen Pages.

CROMWELL being confirmed in his protectorship by parliament, concludes a league offensive and defensive with the King of France, conditionally, that the Protector should assist the French with six-thousand men, and that they should be put into possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk, when taken. But Cromwell's great aim, in this league, was, to destroy the children of Charles the First, and their adherents. So,

In consequence of this treaty, James Duke of York, and all others that adhered to the fortune of the Stuarts, had notice to leave France; and Cromwell sent his six-thousand soldiers, who, as it plainly appears from all, but especially from the following account, wrought wonders in that expedition, not under the command of Reynolds and Lockhart, two successive ambassadors at the court of France, as Rapin and most historians have erroneously recorded, but under that brave soldier, Sir Thomas Morgan; as this intripid general has avouched under his own hand.

I shall say no more of the value of this piece of history, without which the memoirs of those times are imperfect, but conclude this introduction with the publisher's advertisement.

Sir Thomas Morgan, says he, drew up the following relation at a friend's desire, who was unwilling that posterity should want an authentick account of the actions of the six-thousand English, whom Cromwell sent to assist the French against the Spaniards, and thought the right they did their country, by their behaviour, might make some amends for the occasion of their being in that service. It had been printed in the last reign,* if the authority of it had not interposed, because there was not so much said of some,† who were then in the Spanish army, as they expected;

* Of K. James II. † The Duke of York, the Earl of Bristol, &c.

and is published now, to let the world see, that more was owing to our countrymen, at the battle of Dunkirk, than either * Monsieur Bussy Rabutin, or † Ludlow, in their memoirs, do allow. The former, by his manner of expression, seems contented with an opportunity to lessen their merit; and, being in the right wing of the French, while this passed in the left, comes under the just reflexion, he himself makes ‡ a little after, upon the describers of fights, who are particular in what they did not see; and, whether the latter was misinformed, or swayed, by his prejudice, to § those that were engaged to support the new-erected tyranny, is left to the reader to judge. It may not be improper to add, that these papers came to the publisher's hand, from the gentleman, at whose request they were wrote, and to whom Sir Thomas Morgan confirmed every paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the time he delivered them to him: which, besides the unaffected plainness of the stile, may be urged for the credit of the narrative, since Sir Thomas was intitled to so much true reputation, that he had no need to grasp at any that was false.

Jan. 24, 1698.

THE French King, and his eminence the Cardinal Mazarine, came to view the six-thousand English near Charleroy; and ordered Major-general Morgan, with the said six-thousand English, to march and make conjunction with marshal Turenne's army, who, soon after the conjunction, beleagured a town, called St. Venant, on the borders of Flanders. Marshal Turenne having invested the town on the east-side, and Major-general Morgan, with his six-thousand English, and a brigade of French horse on the west, the army incamped betwixt Marshal Turenne's approaches and Major-general Morgan's; and, being to relieve Count Schomberg, out of the approaches of the west-side of the town, Major-general Morgan marched into the approaches, with eight-hundred English. The English, at that time, being strangers in approaches, Major-general Morgan instructed the officers and soldiers to take their places by fifties, that thereby they might relieve the point to carry on the approaches, every hour. In the mean time, whilst we besieged the town, the enemy had beleaguered a town, called Ardres, within five miles of Calais. In the evening, Count Schomberg, with six noblemen, came upon the point, to see how Major-general Morgan carried on his approaches; but there happened a little confusion, by the soldiers intermingling themselves in the approaches, so as there was never an intire fifty to be called to the point. Count Schomberg and his noblemen taking notice thereof, Major-general Morgan was much troubled, leaped upon the point, and called out fifty to take up the spades, pick-axes, and fascines, and follow him: But so it happened, that all in the approaches leaped out after him, the enemy, in the mean time, firing as fast as they could. Major-

* Part II. p. 135. † Part II. p. 561. ‡ Part II. p. 139. § Part II. p. 496.

general Morgan, conceiving his loss, in bringing them again to their approaches, would be greater, than in carrying them forward, passed over a channel of water, on which there was a bridge and a turn-pike; and, the soldiers crying out, 'Fall on, fall on,' he fell upon the counterscarp, beat the enemy from it, and three redoubts; which caused them to capitulate, and, the next morning, to surrender the town, and receive a French garison; so as the sudden reduction thereof gave Marshal Turenne an opportunity afterwards to march and relieve Ardres.

The next place Marshal Turenne besieged was Mardyke, taken, in twice eight and forty hours, by the English and French. After the taking whereof, Major-general Morgan was settled there, by order of the French king and Oliver, with two-thousand English, and one-thousand French, in order to the beleaguering Dunkirk, the next spring.

The rest of the English were quartered in Borborch. For the space of four months, there was hardly a week, wherein Major-general Morgan had not two or three alarms by the Spanish army. He answered them all, and never went out of his clothes all the winter, except to change his shirt.

The next spring, Marshal Turenne beleaguered Dunkirk on the Newport side, and Major-general Morgan on the Mardyke side, with his six-thousand English, and a brigade of French horse. He made a bridge over the canal, betwixt that and Bergon, that there might be communication betwixt Marshal Turenne's camp and his. When Dunkirk was close invested, Marshal Turenne sent a summons to the governor, the Marquis de Leda, a great captain, and brave defender of a siege; but, the summons being answered with defiance, Marshal Turenne immediately broke ground, and carried on the approaches on his side, whilst the English did the same on their's; and, it is observable, the English had two miles to march every day, upon relieving their approaches. In this manner the approaches were carried on, both by the French and English, for the space of twelve nights; when the Marshal Turenne had intelligence that the Prince of Conde, the Duke of York, Don John of Austria, and the Prince de Ligny were at the head of thirty-thousand horse and foot, with resolution to relieve Dunkirk.

Immediately upon this intelligence, Marshal Turenne and several noblemen of France went to the King and Cardinal at Mardyke, and acquainted his eminence therewith; and desired his Majesty, and his eminence the Cardinal, to withdraw their persons into safety, and leave their orders: His Majesty answered, 'That he knew no better place of safety, than at the head of his army; but said, it was convenient the Cardinal should withdraw to Calais.' Then Marshal Turenne and the noblemen made answer, 'They could not be satisfied, except his Majesty withdrew himself into safety; which was assented to; and the King and Cardinal, marching to Calais, left open orders with Marshal Turenne, 'That, if the

enemy came on, he should give battle, or raise the siege, as he should be advised by a council of war.

The enemy came to Bruges, and then Marshal Turenne thought it high time to call a council of war, which consisted of eight noblemen, eight lieutenant-generals, and six marshals du camp; but never sent to Ambassador Lockhart, or Major-general Morgan. The whole sense of the council of war was, that it was great danger to the crown of France, to hazard a battle in that streight country, full of canals and ditches of water; and, several reasons being shewn to that purpose, it ran through the council of war to raise the siege, if the enemy came on. Within half an hour after the council of war was risen, Major-general Morgan had the result of it in his camp, and went immediately to Ambassador Lockhart,* to know if he heard any thing of it. He said he heard nothing of it; and complained, that he was much afflicted with the stone, gravel, and some other impediments. Major-general Morgan asked him to go with him the next morning to the head-quarters: He said he would, if he were able.

Next morning, Marshall Turenne sent a nobleman to Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan, to desire them to come to a second council of war. Immediately, therefore, Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan went with the nobleman to Marshal Turenne's camp; and, by that time they came there, the council of war was ready to sit down in Marshal Turenne's tent.

Marshal Turenne satisfied the council of war, that he had forgot to send for Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan to the first council of war, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might be satisfied; and then put the question: 'Whether, if the enemy come on, he should make good the siege on the Newport side, and give them battle; or raise the siege? and required they should give their reasons for either.' The Marshals du Camp ran away with it clearly to raise the siege; alledging what danger it was to the crown of France, to hazard a battle within so streight a country, full of canals and ditches of water; farther alledging, that, if the enemy came upon the rock, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps, and prevent their conjunction. Two of the Lieutenant-generals ran along with the Marshals du camp, and shewed the same reasons. But Major-general Morgan, finding it was high time to speak, and that otherwise it would go round the board, rose up, and desired, though out of course, that he might declare his mind, in opposition to what the Marshals du Camp, and the two Lieutenant-generals had declared. Marshal Turenne told him he should have freedom to speak his thoughts. Then Major-general Morgan spake, and said, 'That the reasons the Marshals du Camp and the two Lieutenant-generals had given for raising the siege, were no reasons; for the streightness of the country was as good for the French and English, as for the enemy: And whereas they alledged, That, if

* This man had married Cromwell's niece.

the enemy came on the bank between Furnes and Dunkirk, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps; Major-general Morgan replied, It was impossible, for they could not march upon the bank above eight a-breast; and farther he alledged, that Marshal Turenne's artillery and small shot would cut them off at pleasure:' He added, 'That that was not the way the enemy could relieve Dunkirk, but that they would make a bridge of boats over the channel, in an hour and half, and cross their army upon the sands of Dunkirk, to offer Marshal Turenne battle.'

Farther, Major-general Morgan did alledge, 'What a dishonour it would be to the crown of France to have summoned the city of Dunkirk, and broke ground before it, and then raise the siege, and run away; and he desired the council of war would consider, that, if they raised the siege, the alliance with England would be broken, the same hour.'

Marshal Turenne answered, 'That if he thought the enemy would offer that fair game, he would maintain the siege on Newport side; and Major-general Morgan should march, and make conjunction with the French army, and leave Mardyke side open.' Upon Marshal Turenne's reply, Major-general Morgan did rise from the board, and, upon his knees begged a battle, and said, 'That he would venture the six-thousand English, every soul.' Upon which, Marshal Turenne consulted the noblemen that sat next him, and it was desired that Major-general Morgan might walk a turn or two without the tent, and he should be called immediately. After he had walked two turns, he was called in; as soon as he came in, Marshal Turenne said, 'That he had considered his reasons, and that himself and the council of war resolved to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the siege on Newport side; and that Major-general Morgan was to make conjunction with the French army.' Major-general Morgan then said, 'That, with God's assistance, we should be able to deal with them.'

The very next day, at four in the afternoon, the Spanish army had made a bridge of boats, crossed their army on the sands of Dunkirk, and drew up into battalia, within two miles of Marshal Turenne's lines, before he knew any thing of them. Immediately, all the French horse drew out to face the enemy at a mile's distance; and Marshal Turenne sent immediate orders to Major-general Morgan, to march into his camp, with the six-thousand English, and the French brigade of horse; which was done accordingly.

The next day, about eight of the clock, Marshal Turenne gave orders to break avenues on both the lines, that the army might march out in battalia. Major-general Morgan set his soldiers to break avenues for their marching out in battalia likewise. Several officers being with him, as he was looking on his soldiers at work, Ambassador Lockhart comes up, with a white cap on his head, and said to Major-general Morgan, 'You see what a condition I am in,

I am not able to give you any assistance this day; you are the older soldier, and the greatest part of the work of this day must lie upon your soldiers.' Upon which the officers smiled; and so he bid 'God be with us,' and went away with the lieutenant-general of the horse, that was upon our left wing; from which time we never saw him, till we were in pursuit of the enemy. When the avenues were cleared, both the French and English army marched out of the lines towards the enemy. We were forced to march up in four lines (for we had not room enough to wing, for the canal between Furnes and Dunkirk, and the sea) till we had marched above half a mile; then we came to a halt on rising hills of sand, and, having more room, took in two of our lines.

Major-general Morgan, seeing the enemy plain in battalia, said, before the head of the army, 'See! yonder are the gentlemen you have to trade withal.' Upon which the whole brigade of English gave a shout of rejoicing, that made a roaring eccho betwixt the sea and the canal. Thereupon, the Marshal Turenne came up, with above an hundred noblemen, to know what was the matter and reason of that great shout. Major-general Morgan told him, 'It was an usual custom of the red-coats, when they saw the enemy, to rejoice.'

Marshal Turenne answered, 'They were men of brave resolution and courage.' After which, Marshal Turenne returning to the head of his army, we put on to our march again. At the second halt, the whole brigade of English gave a shout, and cast up their caps into the air, saying, 'They would have better hats before night.' Marshal Turenne, upon that shout, came up again, with several noblemen and officers of the army, admiring the resolution of the English, at which time we were within three quarters of a mile of the enemy in battalia. Marshal Turenne desired Major-general Morgan, that, at the next halt, he would keep even front with the French, 'For, says he, I do intend to halt at some distance, that we may see how the enemy is drawn up, and take our advantage accordingly.' Major-general Morgan demanded of his excellency, 'Whether he would shock the whole army at one dash, or try one wing first?' Marshal Turenne's reply was, 'That as to that question, he could not resolve him yet, till he came nearer the enemy.' Major-general Morgan desired the Marshal, not to let him languish for orders, saying, 'That oftentimes opportunities are lost, for want of orders in due time.' Marshal Turenne said, 'he would either come himself and give orders, or send a lieutenant-general;' and so Marshal Turenne parted, and went to the head of his army. In the mean time, Major-general Morgan gave orders to the colonels and leading officers, to have a special care, that, when the French came to a halt, they keep even front with them; and farther told them, if they could not observe the French, they should take notice when he lifted up his hat (for he marched still above threescore before the center of the bodies): But, when the French came to a halt, it so happened, that the English pressed upon their leading officers, so that they came up under the shot of the enemy. But, when they saw that Major-

general Morgan was in a passion, they put themselves to a stand. Major-general Morgan could soon have remedied their forwardness, but he was resolved he would not lose one foot of ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were so near the enemy, the soldiers fell into great friendship, one asking, 'Is such an officer in your army;' another, 'Is such a soldier in yours;' and this passed on both sides. Major-general Morgan endured this friendship for a little while, and then came up to the center of the bodies, and demanded, 'How long that friendship would continue; and told them further, that, for any thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's throats, within a minute of an hour.' The whole brigade answered, 'Their friendship should continue no longer than he pleased.' Then Major-general Morgan bid them tell the enemy, 'No more friendship: Prepare your buff-coats and scarfs, for we will be with you sooner than you expect us.' Immediately after the friendship was broke, the enemy poured a volley of shot into one of our battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The Major-general immediately sent the Adjutant-general to Marshal Turenne for orders, 'Whether he should charge the enemy's right wing, or whether Marshal Turenne would engage the enemy's left wing,' and advised the Adjutant-general not to stay, but to acquaint Marshal Turenne, that we were under the enemy's shot, and had received some prejudice already; but there was no return of the Adjutant-general, nor orders. By and by the enemy poured in another volley of shot, into another of our battalions, and wounded two or three. Major-general Morgan, observing the enemy mending faults, and opening the intervals of the foot, to bring horse in, which would have made our work more difficult, called all the colonels and officers of the field together, before the center of the bodies, and told them, he had sent the Adjutant-general for orders, but, when he saw there was no hope of orders, he told them, 'If they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the enemy's right wing:' Their answer was, 'They were ready whenever he gave orders.' He told them, 'He would try the right wing with the blue regiment, and the four-hundred firelocks, which were in the interval of the French horse; and wished all the field-officers to be ready at their several posts.' Major-general Morgan gave orders, that the other five regiments should not move from their ground, except they saw the blue regiment, the white, and the four-hundred firelocks shocked the enemy's right wing off of their ground, and farther, shewed the several colonels what colours they were to charge, and told them moreover, 'That, if he was not knocked on the head, he would come to them.' In like manner, as fast as he could, he admonished the whole brigade, and told them, 'They were to look in the face of an enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away their reputation, and that they had no other way, but to fight it out to the last man, or to be killed, taken prisoners, or drowned; and farther, that the honour of England did depend much upon their gallantry and resolution that day.'

The enemy's wing was posted on a sandy hill, and had cast the sand breast-high before them: Then Major-general Morgan did order the blue regiment, and the four-hundred firelocks, to advance to the charge. In the mean time Major-general Morgan, knowing the enemy would all bend upon them that did advance, removed the white regiment more to the right, that it might be in the flank of them, by that time the blue regiment was got within push of pike.

His royal highness the Duke of York, with a select party of horse, had got into the blue regiment, by that time the white came in, and exposed his person to great danger. But we knew no body at that time. Immediately the enemy were clear shocked off of their ground, and the English colours flying over their heads, the strongest officers and soldiers clubbing them down. Major-general Morgan, when he saw this opportunity, stepped to the other five regiments, which were within six score of him, and ordered them to advance, and charge immediately: But, when they came within ten pikes length, the enemy, perceiving they were not able to endure our charge, shaked their hats, held up their handkerchiefs, and called for quarter; but the red-coats cried aloud, 'They had no leisure for quarter.' Whereupon the enemy faced about, and would not endure our charge, but fell to run, having the English colours over their heads, and the strongest soldiers and officers clubbing them down, so that the six-thousand English carried ten or twelve thousand horse and foot before them. The French army was about musquet-shot in the rear of us, where they came to halt, and never moved off of their ground. The rest of the Spanish army, seeing the right wing carried away, and the English colours flying over their heads, wheeled about in as good order as they could, so that we had the whole Spanish army before us; and Major-general Morgan called out the colonels, 'To the right as much as you can, that so we might have all the enemy's army under the English colours. The six-thousand English carried all the Spanish army, so far as Westminster-abby to Paul's Church-yard, before ever a Frenchman came in, on either wing of us; but then at last we could perceive the French horse come pouring on each wing, with much gallantry: but they never struck one stroke, only carried prisoners back to the camp. Neither did we ever see the Ambassador Lockhart, till we were in pursuit of the enemy; and then we could see him amongst us very brisk, without his white cap on his head, and neither troubled with gravel or stone. When we were at the end of the pursuit, Marshal Turenne and above a hundred officers of the army came up to us, quitted their horses, embraced the officers, and said, 'They never saw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had no power to move, or do any thing. And this high compliment we had for our pains. In a word, the French army did not strike one stroke in the battle of Dunkirk, only the six-thousand English. After we had done pursuing the enemy, Major-general Morgan rallied his forces, and marched over the sands

where he had shocked them at first, to see what slaughter there was made. But ambassador Lockhart went into the camp as fast as he could, to write his letters to England, for what great service he had done, which was just nothing. Marshal Turenne and Major-general Morgan brought the armies close to invest Dunkirk again, and to carry on the approaches. The Marquis de Leda happened to be in the counterscarp, and received an accidental shot, whereof he died; and the whole garison being discouraged at his death, came to capitulate in few days; so the town was surrendered, and ambassador Lockhart marched into it with two regiments of English for a garison; but Major-general Morgan kept the field, with Marshal Turenne, with his other four regiments of English.

The next siege was Bergen St. Winock, six miles from Dunkirk, which Marshal Turenne beleaguered with the French army, and the four regiments of English; and, in four or five days siege, Bergen St. Winock was taken upon capitulation. Marshal Turennne did rest the army for two days after, and then resolved to march through the heart of Flanders, and take what towns he could, that campaign.

The next town we took was Furnes, the next Menin, after that Oudenard; and, in a word, eight towns, besides Dunkirk and Ypres; for, so soon as the red-coats came near the counterscarp, there was nothing but a capitulation, and a surrender presently. All the towns we took were towns of strength.

The last siege we made was before the city of Ypres, where the Prince de Ligny had cast himself in before, for the defence of that city, with two thousand five-hundred horse and dragoons: Besides, there were in the city four-thousand burghers, all proper young men, under their arms, so that the garison did consist of six-thousand five-hundred men. Marshal Turenne sent in a summons, which was answered with a defiance: Then Marshal Turenne broke ground, and carried on two approaches towards the counterscarp: Major-general Morgan went into the approaches every night, for fear of any miscarriage by the English, and came out of the approaches at sun-rising to take his rest, for then the soldiers had done working. The fourth morning, Major-general Morgan went to take his rest in his tent, but, within half an hour afterwards, Marshal Turenne sent a nobleman to him, to desire him to come to speak with him. When the Major-general came, there were above a hundred noblemen and officers of the army walking about his tent. And his gentlemen had decked a room for his excellency with his sumpter-cloaths, in which homely place there were about twenty officers of the army with him; but, as soon as Major-general Morgan came, Marshal Turenne desired all of them to retire, for he had something to communicate to the Major-general. The room was immediately cleared, and Marshal Turenne turned the gentlemen of his chamber out, and shut the door himself. When this was done, he desired the Major-general to sit down by him, and the first news that he spake of, was, that he had certain intelligence, that the Prince of Conde and Don John of

Austria were at the head of eleven-thousand horse, and four-thousand foot, within three leagues of his camp, and resolved to break through one of our quarters, to relieve the city of Ypres; and therefore he desired Major-general Morgan, to have all the English under their arms every night at sun-set, and the French army should be so likewise. Major-general Morgan replied, and said, 'That the Prince of Conde and Don John of Austria were great captains, and that they might dodge with Marshal Turenne to fatigue his army.' The Major-general farther said, 'That, if he did keep the army three nights to that hard shift, they would not care who did knock them on the head.' Marshal Turenne replied, 'We must do it, and surmount all difficulty.' The Major-general desired to know of his excellency, 'Whether he was certain the enemy was so near him;' he answered, 'He had two spies came just from them.' Then Major-general Morgan told him, 'His condition was somewhat desperate, and said, that a desperate disease must have a desperate cure.' His Excellency asked, 'What he meant?' Major-general Morgan did offer him, to attempt the counterscarp upon an assault, and so put all things out of doubt with expedition. The Major-general had no sooner said this, but Marshal Turenne joined his hands, and looked up thro' the boards towards the heavens, and said, 'Did ever my master, the King of France, or the King of Spain, attempt a counterscarp upon an assault, where there were three half-moons covered with cannon, and the ramparts of the town playing point-blank into the counterscarp:' Farther he said, 'What will the King my master think of me, if I expose his army to these hazards?' And he rose up, and fell into a passion, stamping with his feet, and shaking his locks, grinning with his teeth; he said, Major-general Morgan had made him mad. But, by degrees, he cooled, and asked the Major-general, whether he would stay to dinner with him: But the Major-general begged his pardon, for he had appointed some of the officers to eat a piece of beef at his tent that day. His Excellency asked him, 'If he would meet him at two of the clock, at the opening of the approaches?' The Major-general said, 'He would be punctual; but desired he would bring none of *his* train with him (for it was usually a hundred noblemen with their feathers and ribbands) because, if he did, he would have no opportunity, to take a view of the counterscarp; for the enemy would discover them, and fire incessantly. His Excellency said, 'He would bring none, but two or three of the lieutenant-generals. Major-general Morgan was at the place appointed a quarter of an hour before his Excellency, and then his Excellency came, with eight noblemen, and three lieutenant-generals, and took a place to view the counterscarp: After he had looked a considerable time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the noblemen and lieutenant-generals, and said, 'I do not know what to say to you, here is Major-general Morgan has put me out of my wits, for he would have me attempt yonder counterscarp upon an assault.' None of the noblemen or lieutenants made any reply to him, but Count Schomberg, saying,

'My lord, I think Major-general Morgan would offer nothing to your lordship but what he thinks feasible, and he knows he has good fighting men.' Upon this, Marshal Turenne asked Major-general Morgan, 'How many English he would venture?' The Major-general said, 'That he would venture six-hundred common men, besides officers, and fifty pioneers.' Marshal Turenne said, 'That six-hundred of Monsieur la Ferte's army, and fifty pioneers, and six-hundred of his own army, and fifty pioneers more, would make better than two-thousand men:' Major-general Morgan replied, 'They were abundance to carry it, with God's assistance.' Then his Excellency said, 'he would acquaint the King and his Eminence, that Major-general Morgan had put him upon that desperate design;' Major-general Morgan desired his pardon, for it was in his power to attempt it, or not to attempt it:' But, in the close, Marshal Turenne said to the Major-general, 'That he must fall into Monsieur la Ferte's approaches, and that he should take the one half of Monsieur la Ferte's men, and that he would take the other half into his own approaches.' Major-general Morgan begged his pardon, and said, 'He desired to fall on with the English intire by themselves, without intermingling them.' Marshal Turenne replied, 'He must fall on, and cut off one of the approaches:' The Major-general replied, 'That he would fall on in the plain between both approaches.' His Excellency said, 'That he would never be able to endure their firing, but that they would kill half his men, before he could come to the counterscarp;' the Major-general said, 'That he had an invention, that the enemy should not perceive him, till he had his hands upon the stockadoes.' Next, his Excellency said, 'For the signal, there shall be a captain of Monsieur la Ferte's, with twenty firelocks, shall leap upon the point, and cry, *Sa sa vive le Roy de France;* and, upon that noise, all were to fall on together.' But Major-general Morgan opposed that signal, saying, 'The enemy would thereby be alarmed, and then he should hardly endure their firing.' His Excellency replied then 'That he would give no signal at all, but the Major-general should give it,' and he would not be persuaded otherwise. Then the Major-general desired his Exellency, that he would give orders to them in the approaches, to keep themselves in readiness against sun-set, for, at the shutting of the night, he would fall on:' He likewise desired his Excellency, 'That he would order a major out of his own approaches, and another out of Monsieur la Ferte's approaches, to stand by him; and, when he should be ready to fall on, he would dispatch the two Majors into each of the approaches, that they might be ready to leap out, when the Major-general passed between the two approaches, with the commanded English.' Just at sun-set, Marshal Turenne came himself, and told the Major-general, 'He might fall on when he saw his own time.' The Major-general replied, 'He would fall on just at the setting of the night, and when the dusk of the evening came on.' The Major-general made the English stand to their arms, and divided them into bodies; a captain at the head of the pioneers, and the Major-general and a colonel, at the head of the two battalions. He ordered

the two battalions, and the pioneers, each man to take up a long fascine upon their musquets and pikes, and then they were three small groves of wood. Immediately the Major-general commanded the two majors to go to their approaches, and that they should leap out, so soon as they should see the Major-general march between their approaches. The Major-general did order the two battalions, when they came within threescore-of the stockadoes, to slip their fascines, and fall on. But so it happened, that the French never moved out of their approaches, till such time as Major-general Morgan had overpowered the enemy. When the pioneers came within sight of the stockadoes, they slipped the fascines down, and fell on; the Major-general and the other two battalions were close to them, and when the soldiers began to lay their hands on the stockadoes, they tore them down for the length of six score, and leaped pell-mell into the counterscarp amongst the enemy. Abundance of the enemy were drowned in the moat, and many taken prisoners, with two German princes, and the counterscarp cleared. The French were in their approaches all this time. Then the English fell on upon the half-moons, and immediately the red-coats were on the top of them, throwing the enemy into the moat, and turning the cannon upon the town; thus the two half-moons were speedily taken. After the manning of the half-moons, he did rally all the English, with intention to lodge them upon the counterscarp, that he might be free of the enemy's shot the next morning; and they left the other half-moon for Marshal Turenne's party, which was even before their approaches.

Then the French fell on upon the other half-moon, but were beaten off. The Major-general considered, that that half-moon would gall him in the day-time, and therefore did speak to the officers and soldiers, that it was best to give them a little help; the red-coats cried, 'Shall we fall on in order, or happy-go-lucky?' The Major-general said, 'In the name of God, at it happy-go-lucky;' and immediately the red-coats fell on, and were on the top of it, knocking the enemy down, and casting them into the moat. When this work was done, the Major-general lodged the English on the counterscarp; they were no sooner lodged, but Marshal Turenne scrambled over the ditches, to find out the Major-general; and, when he met with him, he was much troubled the French did no better, for indeed they did just nothing. Then his Excellency asked the Major-general, to go to his approaches to refresh himself; but the Major-general begged his pardon, and said, 'He would not stir from his post, till he heard a drum beat a parley, and saw a white flag over the walls.' Upon that, Marshal Turenne laughed and smiled, and said, 'They would not be at that pass in six days, and then went to his approaches, and sent the Major-general three or four dozen bottles of rare wine, with several dishes of cold meats and sweet-meats. Within two hours after sun-rising, a drum beat a parley, and a white flag was seen over the walls. The Major-general ordered a lieutenant with a file of musquetiers, to go and receive the drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him straight to Marshal Turenne in his approaches. Marshal

Turenne came immediately with the drummer's message to the Major-general, and was much troubled he would not receive the message before it came to him. The Major-general replied, 'That that was very improper, his Excellency being upon the place.' The message was to this effect, 'That, whereas his Excellency had offered them honourable terms in his summons, they were now willing to accept of them, provided they might have their charter, and the privileges of the city preserved: That they had appointed four of their commissioners, to treat farther with four commissioners from his Excellency.' Marshal Turenne was pleased to ask the Major-general, whether he would be one of the commissioners; but the Major-general begged his pardon, and desired that he might abide at his post, till such time as the city was surrendered up. Immediately then his Excellency sent for Count Schomberg, and three other commissioners, and gave them instructions how to treat with the four commissioners from the enemy. Just as Marshal Turenne was giving the commissioners instructions, Major-general Morgan said, 'That the enemy were hungry, so that they would eat any meat they could have;' whereupon his Excellency smiled, and shortened their instructions, and sent them away. Within half an hour, the commissioners had concluded, 'That they should have the city charter preserved, and that they were to receive a French garison in, and the Prince de Ligny was to march out with all his forces next morning, at nine of the clock, with one piece of cannon, colours flying, bullet in mouth, and a match lighted at both ends, and to have a convoy to conduct him into his own territories. Marshal Turenne was, in the morning betimes, with several noblemen and officers of the army, and Major-general Morgan attending near the gate for the Prince de Ligny's coming out. The Prince having notice that Marshal Turenne was there, came out of his coach. Marshal Turenne, being alighted off from his horse, and the Major-general Morgan, at both their meeting there was a great acclamation, and embracing one another. After a little time, Marshal Turenne told the Prince, 'He very much admired, that he would expose his person to a garison before a conquering army:' The Prince de Ligny replied, 'That, if Marshal Turenne had left his English in England, he durst have exposed his person into the weakest garison the King of Spain had in Flanders;' and so they parted, and his Excellency marched into the town with a French garison, and the Major-general with him. So soon as the garison was settled, Marshal Turenne writ his letters to the French King, and his Eminence the Cardinal, how that the city of Ypres was reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, and that he was possessed of it; and that Major-general Morgan was instrumental in that service, and that the English did wonders; and sent the intendant of the army with his letters to the king and cardinal. Monsieur Tallon, the intendant, returned back from the King and Cardinal to the army within eight days, and brought a compliment to Major-general Morgan, that the King and his Eminence the Cardinal did expect to see him at Paris, when he came to his winter

quarters, where there would be a cupboard of plate to attend him. Major-general Morgan, instead of going for his cupboard of plate, went for England, and his Majesty of France had never the kindness to send him his cupboard of plate: so that this is the reward that Major-general Morgan hath had from the French King for all his services in France and Flanders.

Killed at the battle of Dunkirk,

Lieutenant-colonel Fenwick, two captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two serjeants, thirty-two soldiers; and about twenty wounded.

Killed at the storming of Ypres,

One captain, one serjeant, eight private soldiers, about twenty-five officers of thirty-five; and about six soldiers slightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the counterscarp; Sir Thomas Morgan himself slightly hurt, by a shot in the calf of his leg.

For Cowper, &c. tried at Hertford, see Vol. II. p. 250 (where, by an accidental Error of a Figure, it is misplaced.)

AN ACCOUNT OF ST. SEBASTIANS,

IN RELATION TO ITS SITUATION, FORTIFICATIONS, GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMS, AND TRADE.

BY ONE LATELY COME FROM THENCE.

[From twenty-two Pages in Quarto, printed at London, 1700.]

ST. Sebastians, in the province of Guiposcoa, in the kingdom of Castile, is a free town, in manner of a republick; subject to the crown of Castile, on conditions approved on by the kings of Spain. And in all their writings they stile it,

The Most Noble and Most Loyal City of St. Sebastians.

The kings of Spain have given them this title for the services they did the crown, in their wars against the French and kings of Navarre.

The province of Guiposcoa enjoys great privileges, and does not obey the king's orders, when that, which is required of them, is contrary to the privileges and liberties of the province, which is governed thus:

Every year there is a convocation or assembly, whither every town does send their deputies to concert affairs relating to their

county or province. Their meeting is in four different places by turns, and they are called,

St. Sebastians, Tolosa, Aspeitia, and Ascoitia.

The head, or chief of such as are chosen for the governing this province, is a judge, called Corrigidor *, who is as Lord Lieutenant of a county, or intendant of a province. It is to him the king sends his orders to be executed in the county. Besides this Corrigidor, there is chosen, for the governing the said province, a deputation, so called by the Spaniards, consisting of several representatives of the several places in the said province, who have power of refusing the king's orders served to them by the Corrigidor, if any such orders, or commission, presented them, are against the rights of the deputation, or places whom they represent; but if the king's commission, or orders to the Corrigidor, do not contradict the rights of the deputation, they let him put them in execution to the full. For example,

When the king asks of the said province to supply him with a certain number of men, either landmen or seamen, the Corrigidor serves the king's orders to the province, and acquaints the deputation; they tell him they are a free people, and that they cannot oblige any inhabitant to leave his family to serve the king; but, when they find that the demand is not against their liberties and rights, they are so civil to give the king leave to order a drum to be beat, and they will not oppose it; otherwise they do as in the case of the Corrigidor, Duke Corsano, a few years ago, who requiring of this province of Guiposcoa, and in particular of the city of St. Sebastians, some things contrary to their privileges (which I shall not mention) they presented their Leij secundo, or charter, in one hand, and a sword in the other, with orders to him in four hours to leave the province; the Duke was fain to scowr for it.

The government of the city of St. Sebastians, whose magistrates are chosen once a year, about a week before Christmas, is thus:

There are about an hundred electors, who must be qualified as you will hear hereafter, for no body can be of the government of St. Sebastians, nor of the province, nor indeed of the least village, till he has proved his higuidalquir, viz. that he is noble.

Their magistrates are chosen thus:

There is a great silver bowl, into which are put, confusedly, all the electors names; the first eight, which a boy (like one of our blue-coat boys) takes out, are those who are to be Alcaijde, Subalcaijde, and Syndect, i. e. magistrates and jurates for the following year.

These eight name, every one of them, one to be Alcaijde and Subalcaijde; the first two of these eight, the boy takes out, are Alcaijde and Subalcaijde; the first Alcaijde, the second Subal-

* i. e. Judge or Sheriff.

caijde, and so after the same manner of the Syndect and other officers.

Notwithstanding this fair way of chusing their magistrates, there is faction and interest made to get in their friends into the magistracy. They are generally very poor, despising industry and arts; and when they come to govern, or to be Alcaijde, have opportunities of exacting even upon their own people as well as strangers, and which they make no scruple of doing in the face of the world. I could relate several particulars to my knowledge, but that I should expose them too much; and, indeed, it would hardly be believed that such tricks and little things were practised in Spain, where every one, from the highest to the lowest, value themselves on their families, nobility, and punctilio's of honour.

In order to be thus qualified to get into the government (as I said before)

They must be noble.

Their nobility is thus, not to have had any of their kindred a Jew, Moor, Turk, or Heretick.

And, to prove this, the person, that would be of the government, presents a request to the province of Guiposcoa, in which is explained his intention, and asks to be a Cavallero Dillegenzero *, viz. that his birth and estate may be enquired into, in order to his being made a nobleman.

The province or town orders their Syndect, whose business it is to enquire into his family (and for which he has a pistole a day) to go to the place of his birth along with him, and there take both private as well as publick informations of his family, which afterwards he reports to the province or magistrates of the place, where such a one would be of the government. If the report is allowed, the Cavallero Dillegenzero is declared noble.

Besides these qualifications already mentioned,

There is one yet very remarkable, and without it, if they were descended from Cæsar's or Achilles's race, they cannot be noble, viz.

If they live, or are to live in town, they must have a house of their own, or else they must have land enough in the province whereon they have two thousand apple-trees, or whereon they may raise two thousand apple-trees, and then the Cavallero Dilligenzero is admitted, or made capable of being admitted into the government. No man can be noble by his wife, or by her estate.

The town of St. Sebastians is seated on the south side, and at the bottom of a high hill of free-stone, in a square form; the town is hid by the hill, as you make towards the land, and is not to be seen, till you are in the road.

There are two gates, that of the Peer, and the other that is called the Passage-Gate, from which, goes a road to Passage, a

* A candidate for an honourable employment.

noble harbour. There is a horn-work with a ravelin before it, that covers the Passage-Gate, and but very ordinary, and in ill repair, and out of all due proportion.

The castle upon the top of the hill stands prettily, a noble prospect from it all along that part of the Bay of Biscay, from Cape Martinchauco to Arkason and Cape Britton in France. The going up, or access to this castle, is difficult, which adds to the strength of it, and, I think, all that can be said justly of this castle is this. Although the Spaniards are extreme proud of it, and quote you Charlequin, who said in praise of it (if you will believe them) that, if he should lose all Spain, and had only the castle of St. Sebastians, he would recover it.

The castle was blown up by the magazine's taking fire, but is now rebuilt, and in good repair. All the water in the castle is rain-water, which is conveighed into a well by leaden pipes from the roof of the guard-room, and barracks, which are indeed very fine, and capable of lodging two thousand men conveniently.

The garison at present consists of a serjeant and six men, which by detachment from the main guard (which does not consist of above twelve, besides a governor, captain, lieutenant, and ensign) is relieved every day by the like number, and by sometimes a lesser. The soldiers are all beggars, and, if a stranger refuses to give them something, they contrive to do him mischief.

There are two platforms mounted with guns, I suppose designed to secure the harbour, and play on ships that would force themselves into the road. They are too high to be of any use to them, as well as the castle for this purpose.

In the mouth of the harbour there is a hill called St. Claire, where there was, three months ago, a hermit of the order of St. Francis, who tells twenty legends and stories, and helps to fill the casks with wine. As he must live by begging, so the poor old fellow will be every day as drunk as a beggar; for this reason, they say, they turned him out of his cell, but it is rather believed it was to make room for one that is now there, a gentleman of a considerable estate in the kingdom of Castile. For reasons, he has his estate taken from him, and is confined to this island as a hermit, to beg his bread for fourteen years, and then returns to his estate again: the church and clergy enjoy his estate in the mean time.

All that die hereticks are buried here; when the corpse is carried out of town to be wafted over to this island to be buried, the mob of men and women follow, insulting over the corpse, crying aloud, 'He goes to Hell.' The hermit has the benefit of the ground on his island, and sells it as he thinks fit.

To give the clergy their due, they are not so troublesome to strangers when they are sick and dying, although hereticks, with their extreme unction and wafers, as in France.

The coming into the road, and over the Bar of St. Sebastians, is difficult, unless with a leading wind, a great rock lying under water in the middle of the Bar.

But, to run no hazard, the pilots will force themselves on board of you; which is commendable enough, if it was not on design to impose upon you, and make one pay what they please, and no help for it, nor no justice done, if you complain. The consul and merchant strangers, residing at St. Sebastians, have brought them to some better reason, and to composition, but, for all that, it is still as they please. Every fisherman looks upon himself as good as Signior Alcaijde himself: so that a man must sit down under all affronts and hardships, and be quiet.

Their way of living at St. Sebastians.

People that are of the better sort, and distinguishable, after having enjoyed the musick of serenading a little before day, they get up and drink chocolate, without which they will not stir abroad if their house was on fire; then they take, both men and women, a great deal of pains with their hair, dress themselves, and go to church; they and their priests understand what they pray to God for much alike, for not one in twenty of their clergy understands Latin.

After mass the men go to the Peer, where they tarry till eleven of the clock; then they go to the middle of the town, called the Four Corners, where they stay till twelve; after it has struck, if it was to save the town, they would not stay a minute longer, and oftentimes break off in the middle of a story or sentence, to go home to their Olio. The first thing presented at their tables is a chocolate cup of soop, or the gravy of meat boiled, and bread crumbled into it, served upon earthen platters; then comes the roast meat, then the boiled, and at last the desert.

They give this reason for bringing the roast meat before the boiled (which seems plausible enough). The best of the boiled meat, say they, is in the broth, and there is more substance and nourishment in the roast than the boiled; for that reason, this would pass, if they did not spoil their roast meat and fowl, by over-doing of them, and roasting them dry as they do their boiled meat, by boiling it to pieces.

But most people think it is rather in opposition to the rest of the world, for they shew it almost in every little thing else. Cyder they have cheap, and abundance of sweet apples, very large, all round the country. The corn of the country is Indian corn, and no other. With wheat they are supplied from the Sound, and sometimes from Barbary, and often from England. They have been so hard put to it this last year, that they have been forced to make bread of chesnuts, which is the reason they are prohibited to be exported. They have extraordinary good rabbits of Navarre, and wild-fowl plenty; their pigeons are much esteemed, and their red partridges of Arragon are excellent and large.

Fish they have plenty, and of good sorts, if they will be at the pains to catch it; and if the sea (which with a north-west blowing wind flies high on the Bar, and even up almost to the top of the island St. Claire, about six hundred feet) will permit. The sea often-

times in the harbour flies to the top of the walls forty feet high and more.

When the fishermen come from sea with their boats, their wives are sitting on the Peer with their husbands clokes and long spada's, or long rapiers. The husband walks in state into the town, and his wife carries the basket of fish on her head to the market-place and sells them. Billingsgate language and noise is nothing to what the fishermen and apple-women make at St. Sebastians; they are always quarrelling, and will cuff heartily, and will not be friends under a week. Their common language is Basque, which is as much different from Spanish as Welch from English.

Their houses are lofty and stately, only covered with pan-tiles; and because of great unexpected squalls of wind, which happen here often, they lay great stones on the pan-tiles to keep them fast. Sometimes both stones and pan-tiles are fetched down by storms of wind, and, their streets being narrow, it is dangerous then to walk in them. Their rooms are large, and there is only one chimney in a house of five rooms of a floor, and four or five stories high, and that at the top of the house. They live all winter in the upper stories, to enjoy the benefit of the sun, and in the lower rooms in summer. It is very hot here; the reflexion of the sun from the castle-hill on one hand, and from the sand in the vale on the other, is the cause that it is hotter here than in many places of a more southern latitude. Their beds are finely carved and gilt, but very hard to lie on; their curtains are of linnen laced at every half-yard broad, but not wide enough to draw round the bed; they have few or no glass windows, only lattices, their beds stand all in alcoves.

Merchant strangers, unless married with a Spanish woman, have not the liberty to hire houses, but must get one of the town to hire them, and live in it with him, and they generally go snacks with the merchants in their profits.

From dinner they go to sleep till two or three, and then go out of town between the Horn-work and the Town-wall. There they tarry all the afternoon, either playing, or looking on those that play at tennis and ninepins: their tennis-court is in the open air, and rough paved, yet they are very expert in tossing the ball.

In the winter they pass their time till eight of the clock at night in private houses, or at an assembly, where every one, that comes in, pays sixpence. He may either pick up a party to play at cards, or sit and see others play and talk, and call for three or four glasses of wine. If they stay beyond eight, the mayor sends his algosins, and makes money of the company, as well as of him that entertains them after such an hour. Sometimes the clock strikes eight, when it is but seven, if the mayor wants a little money.

The men are very tight in their Spanish garb, their long spada's, their silk stockings and slashed shoes. The women, modestly and odly attired, all of them go vailed, their vails being very large, gathered at the bottom in such a manner, that, as they walk, their vails sit as full blown about them, as the sails of a ship, before the wind. Their petticoats are proportionable, and the ladies, who

generally all sit on the ground or floor, have such an address, when they sit down to fling their petticoats out in a round, that, modestly speaking, they take up more room than any milstone in England does in circumference, and the wind gathered under their coats, by the turn they make, is so long getting out, that, by degrees, as their coats fall, they find a cool breese that is very refreshing to them, in so hot a climate. They seldom stir abroad, the better sort, but to church, and even not then without a great deal of jealousy of an ill-natured husband; they have pretty faces, black eyes, and would look about them, as women do, in other countries, if they durst.

The priests are the only happy men that enjoy the ladies company, who are about eighty in all. Their revenue is but small; they live merry lives; eat and drink of the best, in private houses, where they are always welcome; few or none of them, but have three or four children, and no reflexion on them.

When a priest would lie with a woman, he absolves her from the great scruple, women make of whoredom's being a great sin. He tells her, he will take that sin to himself. As for the other scruple, that women have of losing their reputation and spoiling their fortunes, there is no such thing amongst them; for, if a man gets a woman with child, that does not pass for a prostitute, he is only to keep the child, and give the wench a portion (if she has nothing of her own), who marries and is not a bit the worse looked upon.

Women have another advantage in this country; for, after they are contracted and all matters settled, and the day of marriage agreed on, she has the liberty to desire her bridegroom to come and shew himself a man: and if she does not find him to her satisfaction, the contract is void, and she is a good maid still.

They bring up some of their young women to play on the Spanish harp; for which they let their nails grow so long, that it looks strangely.

They do not allow of any bawdy-houses; but every street, in a dark night, serves their turn, and he must look to himself that disturbs them, or spoils sport.

Every Sunday and holiday, the ordinary sort of them have a dance on the market-place, thus:

There are three drums and pipes; the drum-major who has the biggest drum, which is about the bigness of a child's drum, is the common hangman. There they whistle with one hand, and beat their drums with the other, till there is a ring made, when one of the nimblest of the fellows goes into the middle of the ring, shews his activity, takes out of the ring a wench, she her mate, and so it goes round; the first fellow leads the brandle, and all dance and shew their parts for an hour. The coopers, who are numerous here, on St. Andrew's-Day, their patron, go a maskquerading all day, and play twenty tricks ridiculous enough, and would not work that day for any reward, but they make it up at other times, for they are at work before day.

The country all round abounds with oak, proper for the staves,

and chesnut trees, of which they make the hoops for casks; there is also a great number of casks made in the country, and at Passage, and brought to St. Sebastians empty on mules.

There is, near to the town, the convent of St. Austin, a nunnery of women, where there is to be seen the corpse of a woman dead hundreds of years ago. Her arms, legs, and face appear as full, as if she had been buried but yesterday; she looks tawny, and I believe has been served mummy-like. When they were digging the foundation of this monastery, they found this corpse, which they pray to.

The chief trade of the town is iron, wine, and oil.

Their iron-mills are near to the town, and their iron bars are brought to the town on horses or mules, on crooksaddles, to the publick magazine, which is under the town hall; where constant attendance is given for receiving them out of the country, and delivering and weighing them to the buyer. Our tin-men in Cornwall are here supplied with their stamps, and other utensils for the carrying on their work.

All other merchandises, except iron, are drawn on sledges, by two oxen, in and out of the town.

They deal somewhat in train-oil and whale-bone. They have some ships that go to the northward a whale-fishing; besides, they catch some in sight of the castle; and in order to this, some months in the year, they hire a man that looks out continually from the top of the hill, betwixt St. Sebastians and Passage, who, when he sees a whale or bottle-nose, makes a sign to the castle; the centinel, from the castle, advertises, by his bell, the town; immediately the fishermen upon that go forth to the prey. There was a bottle-nose about the bigness of that which was brought up to Greenwich, brought into St. Sebastians in November last, out of whom they got a great quantity of that which they call sperma ceti; the flesh was boiled to oil.

They have also some trade to Newfoundland, but with that sort of fish, Cabelau they call it, they are better supplied from other nations than by their own ships.

The great quantity of pilchards, caught on the coast of Galicia, is a mighty help to this part of Spain; of which they are great lovers, and are in more esteem with them than herrings.

But the more remarkable trade of the town at present, and that which brings most money to the town, is the wine trade.

The late war with France, from whence we were supplied with their excellent Grave Medoc and Pontack wines, occasioned our Parliament to put such a great duty on French wines, and other liquors of the growth of France, that merchants have looked out how to be supplied otherwise, that they may pay easier duties; and, luckily, they have light upon a spot of ground, called the Spanish Navarre, of which Pampelone, Ablitas, and Villa Franca are the chief towns, that afford us as good wines as any French wines; and the Spaniards of late both at St. Sebastians, Passage, Fontarabia, and Guitaria, finding such a demand for wines, and considerable profit by them, have improved their vineyards to so great

a degree, both in quantity as well as quality of good wines, that their improvement equals, if not exceeds that of Portugal; which, before the war, was not able to furnish us with above three or four hundred pipes in a year, and now there are above ten thousand pipes a year imported from thence, which appears from the custom-house books.

This will not be allowed by some, but it is very true: One shall see at St. Sebastians mules by hundreds, loaden with wine in hog-skins; three skins upon a mule, containing ten gallons each, come every day into town, Sunday not excepted. All this is unloaden in the magazines and sorted, and next day put into casks; the mules carry away the empty skins into the country for more.

This is not only done at St. Sebastians, but also at Fontarabia, Passage, and Guitaria. From these places they come to St. Sebastians in barques and barcelongo's, because of the conveniency of sea-carriage, in casks, and are lodged in merchants cellars ready for the buyer.

The truth of all this is so well known in England, from the care the commissioners of the customs took, in sending over two of their officers to examine into the truth of it, and from some tryals at the Exchequer bar, that it cannot be further questioned.

Besides, for all wines shipped off from St. Sebastians, the masters of ships are obliged to take certificates from the mayor and consul, as a sufficient testimony that their wines are of the growth of Navarre, in his Catholick Majesty's dominions, given under the great seal of the

Most noble and Most Loyal City of St. Sebastians.

And undersigned by their sworn master cooper, Signior Nicola and his assistants, that the very casks are made by them.

A LIST OF THE

MONASTERIES, NUNNERIES, AND COLLEGES,

BELONGING TO THE ENGLISH PAPISTS IN SEVERAL POPISH COUNTRIES BEYOND SEA.

Published to inform the People of England, of the Measures taken by the Popish Party for the re-establishing of Popery in these Nations. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament. [From eight Pages Quarto, London; printed in 1700.]

SIR,

I FIND that your honourable House is fully sensible of the dangerous consequence of the numbers of Papists amongst us by

your present proceedings; and to add what I can to your knowledge concerning Papists, I have here sent you a list of the seminaries and religious houses abroad, maintained at the charge of the English Papists. I cannot assure you the list is perfect, believing there are many more that have slipped my knowledge, but what I here send you is known to be true.

Lisbon.

1. Here is a college of secular English priests, in number about forty.
2. Here is also a monastery of English nuns*, of the order of St. Bridget; their community thirty.
3. Also a convent of Irish Dominican friars, in number sixteen †.
4. Also Dominican nuns ‡ of the same country.
5. With a college of secular Irish priests, under the government of Portuguese Jesuits, in number about thirteen.

Valladolid in Spain.

Twelve secular priests, under the government of Spanish Jesuits. An English Jesuit is the minister § in the house, and is next to the rector.

Madrid.

1. An English college, under the government of Spanish Jesuits. An Englishman is the minister in the house, in number eight.
2. A Scots and Irish college.

Sevil.

An English college, under the government of Spanish Jesuits.

St. Lucar.

A small college || of English, called, St. George's.

Bilboa.

A house whereof father Anthony is chief.

Paris.

1. In the Feaubourge St. Jacques, is a convent of English Benedictine monks, they are in number twenty-four.
2. A monastery of visitation nuns, otherwise Blue Nuns, number twenty.
3. A monastery of nuns of the order of St. Augustine. The nuns are in number sixty, the pensioners as many more.
4. A monastery of Benedictine nuns, in number thirty.
5. A college of Irish secular priests, called Montacute College.
6. A college of Scots secular priests.

* These nuns call their nunnery, Sion-House, and pretend to be originally transported from the ancient monastery of Bridgettan nuns, at Sion-House, near Richmond in Surrey. To which they lay claim, when time shall serve.

† Now increased to double the number.

‡ These nuns are situated at Bethlem, about three miles from Lisbon.

§ Confessor.

|| This was originally an hospital belonging to the English factory, and afterwards turned into a college, but now it has only one priest in it.

7. Near Paris a convent of English discalced, alias bare-legged, Carmelite friars.

Dowsy.

1. A college of secular priests and students, in number about one hundred and fifty.
2. A convent of Benedictine monks, in number twenty-five.
3. A college in the convent of English youths, they have been known to be fifty-nine.
4. A convent of Franciscan friars, in number sixty.
5. A Scots college of Jesuits.

Blois in France.

A nunnery.

Pontois in France.

A monastery of Benedictine nuns, under the direction of the Jesuits *.

Dunkirk.

1. A monastery of Benedictine nuns, commonly called the rich Dames, under the direction of the Jesuits.
2. A monastery of poor Clares.

Gravelin.

A monastery of English poor Clares.

Flanders.

A monastery of discalced, alias bare-legged, Carmelite nuns.
Two other monasteries of Augustine nuns.

At Burnham near Brussels.

A convent of Dominican friars, founded by Cardinal Howard.

Near that,

A monastery of English Dominican nuns.

Near that,

A convent of Carmelite friars.

Ares in Flanders.

A monastery of poor Clares.

Lovaine.

1. A college of Dominican friars.
2. A college of Irish Capuchins.

Nieuport in Flanders.

A convent of Carthusian monks †, in number twelve.

Cambray.

A monastery of Benedictine nuns, under direction of the monks of the same order, in number thirty.

* Viz. Having Jesuits for their confessors, &c.
† Who pretend a title to the Charter-House, London, and all its estates, when ever they can lay hold of a Popish government in England.

Liege.

1. A monastery of Canonesses Regulars of the order of St. Austin.
2. A college of English Jesuits, consisting of one hundred and eighty.

Ghent.

1. A college of Jesuits, in number six.
2. A nunnery.

Bridges.

1. A monastery of nuns of the third order of St. Francis, in number thirty.
2. A monastery of Augustine nuns.

St. Omers.

A college of Jesuits about thirty *, with one hundred and eighty English scholars.

Lanspring in Germany.

An abbey of Benedictine monks, with a lord abbot, in number thirty.

Deiulward in Lorrain.

A convent of Benedictine monks, in number sixteen.

Rome.

1. A college of secular priests under the government of the English Jesuits †.
2. A Scots college.

By this account it appears that there are fifty-one religious houses maintained at the charge of the English Papists, which carries vast sums of money yearly out of the nation, and returns nothing in lieu thereof, but a sort of vermin, that are a common nusance to church and state. The methods, how to prevent this growing evil, are left to the great wisdom of your honourable house.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

* Upon the establishment of the house.
† This college has flourished very much of late years.

A DISCOURSE OF SEA-PORTS*;

PRINCIPALLY OF THE PORT AND HAVEN OF DOVER:

WRITTEN BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

AND ADDRESSED TO QUEEN ELISABETH.

With useful Remarks, &c. on that Subject, by Command of his late Majesty King Charles the Second. Never before made publick. Printed in 1700. Quarto, containing twenty Pages.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Rumney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, &c.

MY LORD,

THE publisher of this discourse has no other motive of his address to your Lordship, than that the design may receive protection from some powerful hand, by which, being sheltered in its infancy from the blasts of malevolence (which will blow from more corners than one) it may have leave to strike root, and grow to strength enough to be able to stand alone. The subject matter seems to belong to your Lordship, in propriety, as you are Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; and the patronage of so noble and national a project could be claimed no where so rightfully as from your Lordship, who being equally great by birth, power, the favour of your prince, and the love of your country, I could not withstand the justice of making this oblation of my duty and good wishes to your Lordship, by thus tendering it to your election to be the father and protector of so needful and magnificent a work, abounding in publick honour, safety, and emolument, whereby you may consign your name to posterity, by a monument more durable, and of greater dignity than the records and patents of your ancestors, or the statues of antiquity.

The manuscript fell casually into my hands during the last session of Parliament, which being relished by such worthy members of that honourable body as I had an opportunity to impart it to, I thought I could not do a more grateful office to my country, than to be the means of its publication, for which freedom I ask the author's pardon, as I do your Lordship's for the presumption of this dedication; who am,

Your Lordship's most humble and dutiful servant.

A brief Discourse, declaring how honourable and profitable to your most Excellent Majesty, and how necessary and commodious for your Realm, the making of Dover Haven shall be, and in what sort,

* This is the 69th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

what least Charges in greatest Perfection the same may be accomplished.

THERE is no one thing, most renowned sovereign, of greater necessity to maintain the honour and safety of this your Majesty's realm, than by all convenient means to increase navigation, shipping, and mariners, these being a strength in time of war; and in time of peace, members most profitable and commodious.

But this can neither be had, increased, nor maintained, if, first, sure harbours be not provided, as a safe receptacle to receive and guard them from storms, enemies, &c.

This hath moved that industrious nation of the Low Countries in Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, where, by reason of their sandy coast, though God hath scarcely in any place allowed them any good havens natural, yet, seeing the necessity and commodity of harbours, they have, without regard of any charges or travel, with infinite expences, made many havens artificial, even in such places as nature denied them all the hopes of help; whereby we see they have drawn such intercourse and traffick, both of foreign nations for merchandise, and also by their industry for fishing, that in few years (almost in our age) they have been able to build a number of most sumptuous, rich, and beautiful cities, furnished the coast with a great number of ships and mariners, and are become the most populous and rich nation the sun did ever shine on; and not only the sea coasts, but also the inland countries, by quick vent of their commodities, do participate of the same benefit and felicity: and such their charges, on havens and harbours bestowed, do yield them the fruit of riches, wealth, and commodity most plentiful throughout their whole dominion.

But contrary-wise, with us this last Parliament, lamentable relation hath been made of the great decay of mariners and fishermen, to the number of many hundred sail upon our coast of England, even in this age, and within memory; and also of the present poverty, and desolate habitations of many frontier towns.

Whereby it plainly appeareth, that as the excessive expence of the Low Countries, bestowed on havens, hath not impoverished, but the clean contrary, greatly inriched them by incomparable wealth and treasure, with numbers of rich, fair, and populous towns; so our sparing mind, or rather greedy getting, gaining, and inriching land from your majesty's havens, and navigable channels, hath utterly destroyed and spoiled many good havens by nature left us, and thereby wrought very beggary, misery, and desolation in these your frontier towns.

And, if we search the very cause of the flourishing state of London, which almost alone in quantity, people, and wealth in this age is so increased; and, contrary-wise of the poverty, or rather beggary and decay of Winchelsea, Rye, Rumney, Hide, Cover, and many other poor towns, we shall find the decay of these havens, and preservation of the Thames, the only or chief occasion.

Hereby sufficiently appeareth how incomparable jewels havens and sure harbours are for gaining, maintaining, and increasing people, wealth, and commodity in any realm.

And no lesser strength and security do they bring in time of war, as well by the multitude of mariners (a most serviceable people) and shipping, which they breed, as also the inhabitation of the frontiers.

But, in the whole circuit of your Majesty's famous island, there is not any one either in respect of security and defence, or of traffick or intercourse, more convenient, needful, or rather of necessity to be regarded than this of Dover, situate on a promontory next fronting a puissant foreign king, and in the very streight passage and intercourse of almost all the shipping of Christendom.

And, if that our renowned king, your Majesty's father, of famous memory, Henry the Eighth in his time, found how necessary it was to make a haven at Dover (when Sandwich, Rye, Camber, and others were good havens, and Calais also then in his possession) and yet spared not to bestow, of his own treasure, so great a mass in building of that pier, which then secured a probable mean to perform the same: how much more is the same now needful, or rather of necessity (those good havens being extremely decayed) no safe harbour being left in all the coast almost between Portsmouth and Yarmouth; seeing the same also may be performed without the expence of your Majesty's private treasure, the present gift of Parliament considered, and their ready wills so plainly discovered, to supply whatever charge shall be needful, whensoever by your gracious providence they shall see the realm armed with such a shield, and endowed with so great a jewel.

The commodities that thereby both to your Majesty and realm shall ensue, are,

First, a place of refuge and sure safeguard to all merchants, your majesty's subjects, who passing from London, and all other the east and north parts of England, to France, Spain, Barbary, the Levant, the islands, or other parts south, or west of the world, for want of harbour at Dover, either going forth or returning, shall be inforced to ride it out in open road, to their great peril; or, in time of war, for want of such succour, to throw themselves on the contrary coast into the arms of their enemies.

For all other strangers, your Majesty's friends, that pass the sea from Hamburgh, Dantzick, Lubeck, Embden, Scotland, Denmark, or any parts of the Low Countries, to any parts of the world, south and south west (whereof there are daily great numbers) or of Spain, Portugal, France, or Italy, bound northward, either to London, or any of the northern provinces, both passing and repassing, they must of necessity touch, as it were, upon this promontory; and, upon any change of wind, or fear of the enemy, for sure refuge, will most willingly and thankfully embrace so sweet and safe a sanctuary.

No promontory, town, or haven of Christendom, is so placed

by nature and situation, both to gratify friends and annoy enemies, as this your Majesty's town of Dover.

No place or town of Christendom is so settled to receive and deliver intelligence for all matters and actions in Europe, from time to time.

No town of all the Low Countries, though by their industry they have a great number excessive populous, fair, and rich, is by nature so settled, either to allure intercourse by sea, or train inhabitants by land, to make it great, fair, rich, and populous.

For alluring intercourse by sea, there is already sufficient said.

By land, it hath better air and water, two chief elements, than all the rich towns in Holland and Zealand.

For fire, the country round about is far better wooded than theirs, and the whole shire wherein it standeth, and round about the town itself, the soil is so well sorted for arable and pasture of all sorts, for marsh and meadows sufficiently furnished, as heart of man cannot wish or desire it better.

A quarry of stone at hand sufficient to build both town and haven in a most sufficient, large, and beautiful manner. There wanteth nothing by land, sea, or air that can be wished. And, if those industrious people of the Low Countries had in all their provinces such a seat with like commodities, they would make it a spectacle to the world without respect of charge whatsoever.

There wanteth nothing but a harbour, which when compassed, all other parts of peopling, wealth, and strength will follow of itself.

A marvellous number of poor people both by this work, till the haven is made, and after by the shipping, fishing, &c. will be employed, who now for want of work are whipped, marked, and hanged.

The quick uttering of commodities, which always followeth by increase of intercourse, will cause all the coast and shire to be notably manured and peopled, not with poor, idle, but painful, industrious, and rich persons, a great ornament and commodity in peace, and sure defence in war, the same being the frontier nearest coast to a most dangerous, puissant, active, and aspiring neighbour.

The increase of navigation, fishing, and traffick that hereby will grow, and the great wealth and commodity thereof arising, will not be contained in one shire alone, but poured forth into all parts of the realm, to the great relief of the poor, and contentation of all degrees, increasing of arts and occupations, a pattern whereof we may behold even in our next neighbours the Low-Countries; not feigned in imagination, but actually by them put in execution; and great shame it were for us, to despair attaining that, which we see others our neighbours have atchieved before us.

As the whole realm in general, so your Majesty also in respect of your particular revenue shall reap great profit by increase of subsidies, which always will grow greater, together with the wealth of the land, besides the increase of customs, and such other

revenues as shall be there made of the soil there gained from the seas.

The shire of Kent, being within few years grown marvellous industrious in tilling and manuring their grounds, when they shall see so convenient a port to vend their superfluous commodities, will not only increase in wealth and people, but also yield to your Majesty's coffers, for transportation of their excise in wheat, barley, and beer, great increase of revenues; and all other shires, taking example by them, will likewise grow in labour, industry, wealth, and people.

There can be no pitch, tar, masts, cables, or other tackle for shipping, passed from Dantzick, Denmark, or other northern parts to France, Spain, or Italy, but your Majesty, having a strong hand of shipping at Dover, may command for money the choice thereof before any king in Christendom in time of peace; and in time of war thereby also disable enemies and content friends; besides the infinite commodity that may happily grow to the whole nation in general, and to your Majesty's coffers also by a staple, that, in time, with good policy may be erected there, to serve both south and north countries with their mutual commodities.

In time of war, how dangerous attempts may be made with small frigates of fire, or otherwise, to indanger your Majesty's navy where it now lieth, with hope sufficient to escape and return again, before any shipping can be made out of the Thames to rescue or revenge, the expertest soldiers and seamen best know. But this harbour being made and furnished with good shipping, as always it will be, no such attempt will ever be made, the enemy being assured, however the wind blows, upon any alarm either from London or Dover, to be surprised, and no hope left to escape.

Your Majesty, having shipping at Dover, may also upon all suddenness, with lesser charge, set forth to scour the seas of pirates, whereby your navy of merchants will marvellously increase and flourish, both in the great strength and wealth of the realm, and to the great increase of your Majesty's customs.

In like sort, your fishing-navies may be maintained and protected from pilfering pirates, or other violence of strangers, and thereby reap the benefit of your seas; whereby our strength by sea will marvellously increase, and great number of poor people be employed, as well on land, in knitting nets, and making and mending both ships and tackle, as also in getting of fish, a food greatly to relieve the poverty o' the realm, and excessively to increase your Majesty's revenue, by custom of such commodities, as shall be brought in abundantly for exchanging of those our fish.

The fishing-navies being, by this means, both protected and greatly increased, all laws for punishment, and taxes for relieving idle and poor people, will then cease; for there shall be no person, for age or sickness, almost so impotent, but shall find hereby some trade, whereby to get their living; as, by example of the Low-Countries, we may plainly behold.

What greater honour to your Majesty, than, like as you are, in right of inheritance, lady of the narrow seas, so to be able indeed to maintain that seigniory, and to put the same in execution at all times, so far forth as your Highness shall find convenient?

What greater honour to your Majesty, than to be the founder of so notable a monument, lying in the eye of almost all the shipping of Europe? A thing, to which your Majesty's father aspired, with the expence of so great a mass of his own treasure.

What greater honour, than to be able, in time of peace, or war, to protect friends, and offend enemies, more than any other prince in Europe?

Seeing, then, it hath pleased God to leave unto this realm such a situation for a port and town, as all Christendom hath not the like; and endowed the same with all commodities by land and sea, that can be wished to make the harbour allure intercourse, and maintain inhabitants; and that the same, once performed (in all probable discourse of reason) shall bring such increase of commodity, not only for augmentation of your Majesty's particular revenues, but also of welfare and riches to the whole realm in general, the same also being a thing so needful, or rather of necessity, as well for succouring and protecting friends, as annoying and offending enemies, both in war and peace; and that it hath pleased God, in his providence, to reserve the same, as an ornament of your time, to be now performed by your Majesty, and left, as an honourable monument of your happy reign, to all posterity: Methinks, there remaineth no other deliberation in this case, but how most sufficiently, and with greatest perfection possible, most speedily the same may be accomplished.

And, in discharge of some part of my bounden duty to the advancement of your Majesty's service, having not only heard, by the examination of the most ancient and skilful mariners and inhabitants in Dover, the true estate of all alterations there, for these forty years past; but also myself seen and sounded all the channels, shelves, and roads there, and set them down exactly in plat: Having also conferred the sundry opinions of strangers, and also of our own nation, for the repairing, or making a new haven there; and comparing the same with what myself have seen put in execution, in sundry places of the Low-Countries, for making havens artificial, I have, in the end, resolved upon one form of plat, which, of all others (as well for the use and commodity, when it is finished, as for the possibility, or rather for the facility in making; for the probability, or rather assured certainty of continuance; for avoiding great waste of timber, and saving a great mass of treasure) I find and judge of most perfection. And, albeit the Flemish plat, in former conference of commissioners, was adjudged, of all others then offered, the most probable; yet, upon due consideration, this plat, I presume, will appear in all respects more commodious, more feisable, more assured to continue, of far less cost in maintenance, and at least twenty-thousand pounds lesser charge in making, as by the articles of explanation and charges

more evidently may appear. This, which I humbly present to your Majesty's gracious consideration, as a matter of great moment, both in peace and war, for your Highness's service; for the great comfort of all the navy of your realm; and a monument most honourable, and none of the least, to all posterity, of your Majesty's most gracious, prosperous, and happy reign.

The foregoing discourse was part of a memorial, drawn up either by Sir Walter Raleigh, or Sir Dudley Diggs, which I found among the rubbish of old papers, while I had the honour to serve in the office of the ordnance, and was searching after light into the ancient history and services of Dover; to which curiosity I had divers motives, viz. I had made several essays to awaken his late Majesty, King Charles, out of the lethargy he seemed to me to be under, upon the French King's so loudly alarming us by the profuse expence, he had been at, in fortifying his coast, making artificial ports, and sparing no cost, where he had the least prospect of compassing harbour and defence for shipping, and improving his naval strength and projects; which, to me, appeared as so many comets, whose malevolence was calculated, and could not fail, one time or other, to fall on us. I had, in those days, frequent occasions of privacy with the King in his closet, where I improved every opportunity to warm his jealousy of the growing naval power of France; and albeit he gave me many a gracious hearing, and seemed to take pleasure in my discourse on that subject, and would often himself reason, with great sagacity, on naval matters; yet I grew at length convinced, that I laboured in vain, and had been all the while blowing a dead coal, as by this short following account may appear.

In the year 1682, waiting one day on the King in his closet, after some general discourse, his Majesty was pleased to tell me, 'That I had often hinted to him, how busy the French King was on his coast, and what vast designs he had conceived for the improvement of his naval power; which was visible by his fortifying of Dunkirk in a most expensive manner, and projecting extraordinary works there; making piers, channels, basons, and every provision that art can suggest, and money compass, to render that place easy of access, and make it a safe, capacious, and commodious harbour for shipping.' I told his Majesty, 'That not only at Dunkirk, Brest, and other places, where nature and situation had given them some help and encouragement to prosecute their maritime projects; but even every where else upon his coast, in every creek, cove, or inlet, where they can make depth of water, and give the least harbour and retreat for shipping, they are, and have been, on that article, equally industrious; which, as I had often told his Majesty, seemed to me to have a very evil aspect on all the maritime states of Europe, but more especially his Majesty: That nothing (humanly speaking) could prevent and defeat the mighty purposes of that ambitious monarch, so much as his want of natural aid towards the increase of his naval

strength, his coast not yielding him one good port, on all that frontier which regards us; which he, most providently weighing, had, from an harbourless, inhospitable shore, by art, industry, and a most lavish expence of treasure, in a very great degree repaired; insomuch that there are hardly five leagues of distance, upon that line, of their coast fronting ours, that does not yield marks of their care and application. Bars, rocks, and shelves are removed, and channels opened and deepened, to give safe and easy entrance to such small ports, as they have by nature. And, in other places, where art could be thought to avail, they have spared no pains, or treasure, to compass artificial havens, piers, and provisions of succour for shipping. They have also built fortresses, raised batteries, and planted cannons innumerable all along their coast, and performed every wise and needful work towards the attaining their ends of becoming formidable by sea; and all this against the grain, and, as it were, in despight of nature, which yields them little or no encouragement: Whilst we, on our coast, where Providence is so bountiful, have been so very little on our guard, that, though navigation be the prime jewel of the crown, and is the fountain and foundation of both our wealth and safety, and without which we should be a contemptible nation, have not only omitted to improve the tenders, which nature makes us, for the increase and cultivating of our naval power; but have, in this last age, consented to see many of our useful ports run to decay, and at length to ruin, and to become totally lost to the nation; which a very little foresight, and as little charge, might have prevented, while the evil was growing, which, at a long run, becomes incurable.' Among which ports, I instanced Sandwich, Dover, Rye, Winchelsea, &c. which were reckoned heretofore, as so many bulwarks against our ambitious neighbour. The king hereupon replied, 'That he confessed he laid a little to heart the loss of the haven of Dover, because it has fallen to decay mostly in his reign; had yielded him good service in the first Dutch war; and, in that, which was made by the Parliament with that nation, he was well assured, that we had a squadron of cruisers, which sailed out of that place, where they fitted, cleaned, and victualled, which did the enemy more damage, than any in the whole channel beside. That, therefore, if he thought that haven could be recovered by any tolerable charge, he was then, more than ever, disposed to engage in such a work, inasmuch as he was well assured, that not only all, that I had said, was true, but that the French King (to whom, though he had already signified, by his ambassador, 'That the great bustle, he had made upon the coast, had given jealousy and distaste to the nation, and was not very pleasing to him,') had nevertheless engaged very lately in a new expensive work, of the same nature with those I had mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Calais, where great numbers of men were then actually employed in fortifying the coast, and making an harbour and bason for reception of shipping, &c. which being just under his nose, he said he had so much the more reason to resent it, and which he could

not do in a better manner, than by attempting the recovery of Dover haven; wherein, if he succeeded, as it would give an occasion of ease to the people's jealousy, so it would obviate, in some measure, the danger that threatened us from so restless and projecting a neighbour.' I replied to his Majesty, with great joy, 'That I thought it would be a most acceptable instance, to the nation, of his care for their safety, and an useful proof, to the murmuring people, of his just dislike and suspicion of the French King's proceedings; and that I was in no doubt, whenever his Majesty should appear to go in earnest, about so laudable and needful a work, that the Parliament would frankly assist him towards the expence.'

His Majesty, hereupon, commanded me to make a journey to Dover, to survey the port, and enable myself, by the best means I could, to give him a true state thereof, in order to a project for the recovery of that harbour; which order I carefully executed, and, on my return, waited on his Majesty with my report, together with a plan and state of the present pier; an history of the services that place had yielded the crown; how it has fallen to decay; and how, with least charge, it might be repaired, and rendered useful again. I told his Majesty, that the bare customs and duties he had lost, by the decay of that port, which, for want of entrance into it, as had been customary (there being no other, in many leagues together, on the coast) and which were, therefore, now smuggled, and totally lost, would be, by many degrees, more than enough, when recovered (and which would most certainly accrue, upon restoring the harbour) to repay the utmost charge he could be at, for its repair and improvement; which single encouragement, I thought, was incitement enough to go about so noble, useful, and reputable a work.

I told his Majesty, that the port was, at that time, become intirely useless, the pier within being filled and choaked up with sand and mud, and the depth of water lost; that there was a bank of beach, at the mouth of the harbour, of many thousand tons, which barred up the entrance; that the town (which was wont to abound in shipping, seamen, commerce, people, and plenty of all things) was become poor, desolate, and dispeopled; which was visible every where, by their decayed buildings and habitations, where half the houses, at least, throughout the whole town, had bills on the doors: All which could be ascribed to no other reason, than the decay of their harbour; touching the true cause whereof, or the cure, the inhabitants, with whom I had frequent conference, could give me little or no light.

In this audience, I gave his Majesty an extensive account of all things relating to the subject about which he had sent me. I presented him with a draught of the then state of the port of Dover, wherein was expressed the manner of its decay, and the present ruinous condition in which it was. I endeavoured, also, to explain to him how this damage had come to pass, and by what means it had grown to that head, as to have rendered the haven now almost

lost to the publick. From the causes of the disease, I proceeded to my proposals for the remedy, wherein I had the good fortune to explain every point of my project, with evidence enough to oblige his Majesty, at that time, to say that he was so well satisfied, that he was resolved he would not defer the work a day. That, as I had made every thing plain and intelligible to him, so, above all, he was pleased with two most useful and encouraging propositions therein contained; namely, that whereas, in most great works of that kind, princes were generally obliged to psosecute and go through the whole expence, which, for the most part, was very great, before they could reap the least profit of their design, or be assured of the success; while this work, on the contrary, was so ordered and contrived by me, that he was sure to receive a present profit from every sum, be it more or less, which he should, at any time, think fit to lay out; and that the benefit would be presently seen, and gathered, in proportion to the charge he should be at, which he might limit or respite, as he pleased, without danger of damage to the work that should be done, or of losing the advantage that should be once gained, in case of discontinuing the same.

The second point that pleased his Majesty, was, that whereas all artificial ports, that ever he had heard of, which is most true, were subject to choak, and fill up with sand or sullage, and to lose, by degrees, their depth of water, without great care, and a continual charge to prevent it; and which was the cause, for the most part, of the decay and loss of such ports to the publick: That he perceived, I had plainly obviated that evil, and, by a new and very demonstrable invention, had evidently secured the depth of water for ever, which no neglect could hinder, or, towards which, any expence or annual charge was necessary.

I concluded with this general incitement to his Majesty, 'That multiplicity of ports, in a maritime kingdom, such as his, was, above all things, to be wished; which, in times of peace, was a great means of encouragement to our naval intercourse, and coasting trade, whereby our capital city became better supported, and at cheaper rates, with all things needful; that seamen were proportionably propagated, shipping, and all the incident professions of shipwrightry and navigation, increased and improved, &c. That, in time of war, shelter and defence against an enemy was, by that means, more at hand; whereby our commerce was better preserved, our frontier so much the stronger, and cruisers had more dispatch, and were better spread and disposed at sea; because, wheresoever there are ports commodiously situated, and in the road of our commerce, there, of course, will be men of war appointed, and entertained in times of hostility, where they can clean, victual, and refit; whereby great expedition, which is the life of action, would be obtained, and half the time gained, that was spent in going to remote ports, as the Thames, Chatham, Portsmouth, &c. where, if the wind hangs out of the way, ships lie long on demorage, become foul by staying for a wind, and lose many occasions of service,

which, in ports lying upon the edge of our channel, as Dover does, can never happen; where you need no pilotage, and are no sooner out of the haven, but you are at sea.'

In a word, I ended my discourse to his Majesty, with assuring him, that Dover promised every thing he could hope from such a port; was situated, the nearest of all others, to a great, dangerous, and aspiring neighbour, who had given so many instances of wisdom and foresight, in the charge he had been at on that line of his coast which confronts ours, and which, whenever his Majesty should chance to have a war with that people, would be found to turn every way, both offensively and defensively, to marvellous account.

That Dover stands on a promontory, which surveys, and might be made to command the greatest thorough-fair of navigation in the world, where no ship can pass unobserved, or escape the danger of being attacked, when there should be cause, and was of the same use by sea, as a pass is by land. And, that there was no design, his Majesty could entertain for its strength and improvement, that was not compassable by art, and that did not promise a plentiful return of profit and honour, of any the greatest sum he could spare to lay out upon it.

I departed, at that time, from his Majesty full of hopes, that what I had done and said, on this subject, would have produced the good effect of some speedy resolution; but, taking the liberty, some days after, to remind him thereof, I found him, to my great disappointment, much calmer than I had left him, and received this short answer: 'That it was a noble project indeed, but that it was too big for his present purse, and would keep cold.' Shortly after, I was dispatched to my business in a remote country, and, from that time to this, have neither said, nor heard any thing of Dover.

Now the remark I would make, on this sudden and surprising coldness of the King's, is namely this, That the long audience, I then had of his Majesty, chanced to be in a certain great lady's apartment in Whitehall, where I had no sooner began my discourse, and produced my papers, when Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, came in; who I observed to listen, with great attention, to what was debated; asking the said lady, very earnestly, many questions about the subject-matter of our conference, who I perceived to interpret to him every thing that was said on that occasion, as did the king, afterwards, in my hearing; explaining the whole project, and the contents of the several designs; expressing his great approbation of the report I had made him; whereupon, making reflexion on this occurrence, I was no longer in doubt, touching the cause of my disappointment, but that it was not the French King's interest, and, therefore, not his pleasure, that we should proceed on this work: And, that so noble a project should thus die in the birth, who would have been contented, I make no question, to have given ten times the amount of the cost, to defeat so national an undertaking, which looked with so threat-

ening an aspect on those great schemes of naval power, which he has since put in execution, and is prosecuting to this day; and, I think, it therefore becomes every hearty Englishman to conclude, that such an incident, as I have here produced, ought to superadd one new and solid argument of incitement, to those that have been urged towards some solemn deliberation, on so promising and important a subject: And if our forefathers, in those darker times of queen Elisabeth, saw a reason for their speculations on this article, then, when their views were narrow, their motives less, and the means to attain that purpose hardly to be compassed, through the limited funds of treasure in those days, and the insufficiency of undertakers to conceive, design, and prosecute works of that sort; so magnificent, so new, and out of the way of the world's practice: It may therefore be hoped for now, when our motives of danger, &c. are so visible, and so much stronger; the means of obtaining so noble an end every way more within our reach, while we behold by what arts and means, and with what profusion of treasure, a neighbouring prince pursues his maritime projects; and since we have seen and felt with what effect he has succeeded in his aims, to rival us by sea, and, in a word, while we know he must naturally ever be more than our match by land; and that nothing, at this day, can insure our safety, but a demonstrable superiority of naval strength. What greater wisdom and precaution can we manifest, or how can we more laudably publish our attention to the publick welfare, than by seasonably obviating the evils that seem to threaten us, by the growing naval power of France, towards which, no one step, we can make, promises better fruit, than this proposal of recovering and improving the haven of Dover, which is, by nature, situated to our wish, and, in my humble opinion, is capable of being made, by art, so useful to ourselves and friends, and so effectual to bridle, prevent, and annoy our enemies; that, were the argument duly weighed, I am persuaded, we should think no sum too great to be so employed.

REASONS* HUMBLY OFFERED

FOR A

LAW TO ENACT THE CASTRATION OF POPISH ECCLESIASTICKS,

AS THE BEST WAY TO PREVENT THE GROWTH OF POPERY IN ENGLAND.

London; printed in 1700. Quarto, containing twenty-six Pages.

THE honourable House of Commons having been pleased to take into their consideration the unaccountable growth of popery

* This is the 190th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian library.

among us of late, and to appoint a committee to consider of ways and means for preventing the same: it is thought fit, among the croud of proposals for that end, to publish what follows:

We may, without intrenching upon the province of divines, make bold to assert, that when the church of Rome is called in the sacred Scriptures, The Mother of Harlots, and of the abominations of the earth; there is something else meant by it than a mere religious impurity, or going a whoring after false gods, as their saints and angels, and multitudes of mediators between God and men, undoubtedly are. We need but cast our eye upon Platina's Lives of the Popes, and turn over a few leaves of the histories of most nations of Europe, to be convinced that the Romish clergy have, ever since the Pope's usurpation, been branded with uncleanness. The wanton observation made by Henry the Fourth of France, as he passed one day betwixt a friary and a nunnery, that the latter was the barn, and the former were the threshers, was found to have too much of truth in it, in all those countries, where monasteries were overturned or searched upon the Reformation. The vast heaps of children's bones that were found in draw-wells, and other places about them, were speaking, though not living monuments of the horrid impurity, as well as barbarous cruelty of those pretended religious communities. To insist any more upon this, were to accuse the age of inexcusable ignorance in history, and therefore we shall conclude this introduction with an observation from Fox's Acts and Monuments, that before the Reformation the priests alone were computed to have one hundred thousand whores in this kingdom; which must be understood of what the dialect of those times called Lemmans, from the French L'amante, that is, in the modern phrase, kept misses; besides their promiscuous whoredoms with the women they confessed, &c.

This horrid uncleanness of the Romish clergy cannot appear incredible to those who consider, that besides their being judicially given up of God to work all manner of uncleanness with greediness, their vow of chastity, and being forbidden to marry, lays them under a temptation peculiar to their order.

It will yet appear less strange if we consider their way of living and opportunity: they eat and drink of the best, are caressed in all families of their way; have an advantage of knowing the inclinations, and of private converse with women by their auricular confession, and by their pretended power to give pardon; have a door open to persuade the committing of one sin for expiating another, and accordingly improve it.

This is so far from being a calumny, that the Popish laity themselves in all ages and countries have been sensible of it; and therefore most of the Popish kingdoms sollicited the council of Trent to allow priests marriage. But the Pope, for reasons we shall touch anon, did not think fit to grant it; though Æneas Sylvius himself, afterwards Pope, was so fully convinced of the necessity of it, that

he said, 'Though priests were forbidden to marry for very good reasons, yet there were better reasons to allow it.'

They that have travelled in Popish countries, and observed their priests and monks, know, that generally speaking, they carry about them no marks of that austerity and mortification, which they pretend to. They look as fat, and generally fatter than other men; which is an infallible token that they fare as well, if not better, than others do. You shall see as white and plump a hand under a monk's hood, as in any family of quality; and a foot as clean and neat many times in a sandal, as is to be found under a Spanish leather shoe, and silk stocking: nor is it any secret, that in the neighbourhood of convents there is as good diet prepared for the use of monks and nuns, as comes to gentlemen's tables. Nay, those very places of retirement, with their large gardens, adorned with walks and shades, and many times watered by pleasant fountains or murmuring streams, together with their idle way of living, seem to be accommodated to inspire them with amorous sentiments, against which their vows of chastity, and the rules of their order, are so far from being preservatives, that they only add fewel to their flames, and make them commit sin with the higher relish. So that, when they go abroad from their monasteries, they are like so many fed horses neighing, as the Scripture expresses it of the lustful Jews, after every woman they see; and, if they have not opportunity of giving vent to their lusts that way, they many times do it by other methods, which nature as well as religion forbids to name. This we may justly suppose to have been the motive that induced Emanuel de Saa in his Aphorisms to maintain that fornication, adultery, and sodomy did not make a priest irregular, whereas marriage did.

If besides their being forbidden to marry, we consider that they are provided for by the sweat of other men's faces, have no families to take care of, have no hard labour to mortify and keep them low, and are under no obligation to study hard, we shall find that there is no reason to wonder if they be more inclinable to venery than any other men whatsoever; and since by experience it is found to be so, forbidding them marriage may well be called a doctrine of devils, both as to its original and effects. That it comes from the devil, the father of lyes, and by consequence the author of every false doctrine, is not to be controverted, since the law of God and nature commands us to increase and multiply, and fits us for it; and that it might be in a regular way, God himself instituted marriage in Paradise, and the Apostle tells us, that marriage is honourable in all; and that this doctrine is devilish in its effects, is evident from the horrid impurity of the Romish clergy above mentioned, and the mischiefs they do by it to particular persons, families, kingdoms, and commonwealths.

We come next to take a view of the cause, why the court of Rome does so stifly insist on the celibacy of their clergy, which will further demonstrate the reasonableness of gelding them, to prevent their infesting this nation.

Though Rome pretends to have changed her religion, and hath actually changed her form of government, by taking an ecclesiastical instead of a temporal head; yet it is visible she hath abated nothing of her ambition, to be mistress of the universe, and did in a great measure effect it by her papacy, to which so great a part of those, called Christian nations, submitted before the Reformation. So as Catiline, when Rome was heathen, thought it necessary to debauch the women, and then to carry on his conspiracy against the government by their interest, because of the influence lewd women had upon the loose rabble, and that they could either murder their husbands, or bring them over to his party. Rome, since it became antichristian, hath injoined celibacy upon their clergy, that they might be rendered the more apt to debauch women, and to make use of their interest, in order to deprive the civil magistrates of their right, and to usurp the temporal, as well as the spiritual sword.

1. Because they know that, nature having inclined all men to propagate their species, their priests so, and so circumstantiated, as before mentioned, could not possibly refrain from the act, though they were not allowed to do it in a regular way; and therefore so many women as they debauch, which they knew by their circumstances and opportunity must needs be innumerable, so many proselytes they were sure of.

2. Because they knew that their clergy, being pampered and restrained from the use of the marriage-bed, must needs be more inclinable to venery than other men, and consequently more pleasing companions to insatiable women, and therefore the better fitted for the practice of creeping into houses, and leading captive silly women, laden with divers lusts, as the Apostle expresses it.

3. Because they knew that their clergy by this means having an opportunity of bringing to their lure a buxom wife, who perhaps has a sickly, weak, or absent husband, a green-sickness daughter, or a wanton maid; they would by the same means become masters in a manner of all that belonged to the family, have the command of their purses, know all their secrets, and improve all to the advantage of the see of Rome, which indulged them thus with a Mahomet's Paradise.

4. By restraining their clergy from marriage, they knew it would make them the more impetuous to satisfy their desires; and that they might have the better opportunity of doing it, they are injoined by their directory in confessing women to examine them most as to the sins of the flesh, which they tell them they must discover on pain of damnation. This being a ready method to inflame them mutually, attended with secrecy, and the priests pretended power of giving a pardon, they knew it could not miss of the designed effect; they knew also that, so many of those silly women as they captivated, so many champions and advocates for their religion they should have in families, courts, or elsewhere; for they might assure themselves that such women would not easily

part with a religion that did so much gratify their depraved appetites, by allowing them as many men, though not husbands, as they have priests or confessors. And therefore many of the wise Popish laicks have been of opinion themselves, that no man ought to confess a wife but her husband, and that a daughter ought to be confessed by none but her father.

5. Another, and that none of the least reasons why they forbid marriage to their ecclesiasticks, is, that, if they had wives or families, they could not so easily be sent on missions, and encompass sea and land to make proselytes. They would not be so ready, nor so fit, to engage in assassinations, conspiracies, and rebellions, against princes and states, at the commands of their superior; nor could they, by their whoredoms, so much propagate the interest of the great harlot, for then their wives would be so many checks and spies upon them.

From all which it seems reasonable to infer, that the best way to rid this kingdom of Popish priests, and to prevent the growth of popery, is to make a law, that all of them who shall be discovered in England, except such as are thought fit to be allowed to foreign ambassadors, shall be gelded, as they are in Sweden; where, since the same was enacted into a law, and practised upon a few of them, that kingdom hath never been infested with Popish clergy, or plots, nor their women reproached with want of chastity.

This will appear the more reasonable, if we consider, that the havock, they are allowed to make of women's chastity, is one of the principal things that induces lustful fellows to take Romish orders upon them, and to engage in desperate designs, to promote the interest of that church. This any man may easily be convinced of, that will give himself leave to consider, what dangers other men of better principles, and who may have opportunities of satisfying nature by lawful marriage, do many times expose themselves to, for the satisfaction of their brutish passions; and how they frequently sacrifice honour, interest, and estate, with the peace of their families, and consciences, to their irregular appetites of that sort.

The case then being thus, let us consider what a deluge of uncleanness may be poured out upon this nation by one thousand, or two thousand, supposing there were no more of those Popish ecclesiasticks in England at a time; especially since they look upon it to be their interest to debauch the nation, as one of the best expedients to advance popery, as was evident from the practice of the late reigns; and, therefore, it seems to be the natural way of obviating the growth of popery, to make the Romish ecclesiasticks uncapable of promoting it by that method which they like best, and find most successful.

It will still appear to be more reasonable, because they have vowed chastity, and, by their own confession, have no occasion for those seminary vessels; therefore, if they resolved to live as they have sworn to do, they would willingly unman themselves, as Origen

did; so far would they be from having any reason to complain, if others should do it for them.

It can no ways be reckoned cruel, since it may be done without hazard of life, as common experience shews, both in man and beast, and, by consequence, less to be complained of, than those laws which condemn them to the gallows. There have been more priests put to death in England, than ever were gelded in Sweden; yet experience teaches us, it hath not had near so good an effect. This is demonstrable from the many conspiracies against our princes and nation, that the priests have formed since the enacting of those laws, and from the great progress their idolatry makes among us at this very day; whereas Sweden, since the enacting of that law, hath been liable to none of these misfortunes. This law of castration occasioned a pleasant raillery upon the Jesuits at Brussels, by Queen Christina of Sweden. When those fathers came to congratulate her there upon her conversion, they entertained her, among other things, with the wonderful effects of their missions in the Indies, and other remote parts: that princess applauded their zeal, but, at the same time, rebuked their indifference for her country of Sweden, where their endeavours were so much needed: she pleasantly told them, 'That, though the law of castration was a bar in their way, they ought not to prefer the keeping of those things, of which they stood not in need, and of which she hoped they made no use, to the advancement of the Catholick faith.' But this, though the severest proof in the world, has never been able to bring the Romish clergy to so much sense of their duty, as to renew their attempts of converting Sweden. This may serve to confirm the story told us of an old capuchin in the Menagiana, the works of the Abbot Menage, that he rejected the advice of his physicians to be cut for the stone, for fear it should make him impotent, though he was then eighty years of age.

Namque ad vivendum castrari valde recusat,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causam.

The Romish clergy have so much accustomed themselves to those impure pleasures, that they will be sure to avoid those countries where they must be rendered incapable of enjoying them.

If it be thought that the laws, already made, will be more effectual against them, there is no need of repealing them, though a new one of castration be added. Since that hath so good an effect in Sweden, we have no reason to despair of the like here. It is generally concluded, that our English women are as tempting as any in Europe, and are, therefore, as likely to prevail on a Romish priest to venture hanging, to enjoy their favours, as any others: but, if they be rendered incapable of it, the temptation will have no force; and so the priests will save their lives, our women will preserve their chastity, and our religion and liberty will be freed from their attacks.

The only objection of weight, that can be made against it, is,

that it may provoke our Popish allies, and other Popish princes, to treat Protestant ministers in the like manner. To which we answer, that, admitting it should be so, it is not half so bad, as to have them broke on the wheel, hanged, or sent to the gallies. In the next place, there is not the like reason for treating Protestant ministers in that manner, for they generally marry; or, if they be guilty of uncleanness, are thrust from the ministry. And, in the last place, there is no reason why we should have any more regard to our allies, or other popish princes, than they have to us. We hear, every day, of the cruel persecution in France and Germany, notwithstanding our mildness to the Papists here; so that our enacting a law of castration cannot possibly make them persecute the Protestants more severely than they do, but may rather put a stop to it.

And, indeed, it is to be wondered at, that the Protestants should be so much wanting in their zeal, and so little sensible of their own interest, when we have so warlike and zealous a Protestant prince upon the throne of Great Britain, as not to agree on methods for obliging the Papists to forbear that barbarous persecution of their brethren. Endeavours, of that nature, were used in some of those reigns, when popery had so much interest at court, that it seemed to have a share of the throne; therefore, it is strange, if nothing should be attempted towards it in this reign. To effect this, would, humanly speaking, seem to be no difficult work, since the naval strength of Europe is in the hands of the Protestants; and that the strength of Great Britain, and Holland, is now under the command of one prince, who is the hero of his age.

This our own safety seems to require, and charity and compassion to our brethren beyond sea does loudly call for; but if for reasons of state, or otherwise, it be found impracticable for us to interpose in behalf of persecuted Protestants abroad, there is nothing can hinder us, if we be willing, to secure ourselves against popery at home, by putting the old laws in execution, or enacting new ones.

This seems to be absolutely necessary, if we consider, either the state of the Protestants beyond sea, or our own condition at home.

If we look abroad, we shall find the Protestant interest, which was once so considerable in France, quite ruined; and one of the chief causes of its being so, was the neglect of our English governments since Queen Elisabeth's time. We have done nothing effectual for them since then, which was a mighty oversight, both in respect of duty and interest. That it was our duty, will scarcely be denied by any man, that has any true impressions of the Protestant religion. That it was our interest, is demonstrable, because, had the Protestants of France been supported by our mediation and assistance, they would never have concurred in any ambitious design of their monarchs against the Protestant interest, or this nation; and, perhaps, the fears of that court, that they might prove a curb upon their designs of that nature, was none of the least causes of their having ruined them by the most ungrate-

ful, as well as the most barbarous persecution that ever was known. From all which it will naturally result, that it is the interest of England to save, if possible, the remnant of the Protestants in France, by some effectual interposition.

If we look a little farther into the state of the Protestants of the vallies of Piedmont, we shall find that antient church almost totally ruined and dispersed. If we turn our eyes towards Hungary, Transilvania, and Poland, the reformed interest is almost quite exterminated in those countries, as it is totally ruined in Bohemia. What danger it is liable to in the neighbouring country of Saxony, is known to every one, since that country, whose prince was the first that embraced the Reformation, is now under a popish government; and, if we come nearer home, to the Palatinate, there we shall also find a Protestant church, once the most flourishing, and best reformed in all Germany, under an unreasonable and cruel persecution. If we consider the treaty of Ryswick, by that we shall find the German Protestants despoiled of eight or nine hundred churches: the once famous Protestant city of Strasburgh delivered in prey to the church of Rome; and the Protestants in Alsace, and the neighbouring principalities on each side, as the duchy of Montbelliard, county of Veldents, &c. subject to popish incroachments. In a word, if we look throughout the whole empire, and take a view of the dyet at Ratisbon, we shall find the popish interest every where rampant, and incroaching upon the Reformation, contrary to the fundamental laws, and most solemn treaties of the empire. If we cast an eye upon Swisserland, the little republick of Geneva, and the principality of Neufchatel, there also we shall find the Protestant interest threatened and languishing.

If we look northward, there we find the Protestant kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark ready to engage in a war with one another, and that the quarrels betwixt them are fomented by those who carry on an interest, which is destructive both to the Protestant religion and the civil liberties of Europe. This is sufficient to discover the bad state of the Protestant interest abroad.

If we consider the posture of affairs at home, it is evident from a late printed letter, said to be wrote by a worthy bishop, and dedicated to a member of Parliament, that popery comes in upon us like a flood. It is not to be denied that there is a party in the three nations, who favour the title of an abdicated popish prince, and his pretended succession, against the present government, and the succession established by law. It is not to be forgot, that their interest was so strong as to advance a popish king to our throne; and though they could not keep him there, because he dismounted himself by a furious career, yet they have endangered us since by repeated plots against his present Majesty's life, and endeavouring to bring in a French invasion upon us. It is also known, that there are mighty discontents fomented and nourished in all the three nations, in relation to trade, parties, and different pretensions; and that this gives the popish clergy an opportunity of

adding fuel to our flames, which makes it likewise evident that the Protestant interest is in danger at home.

This is further demonstrable from the trouble the Papists have from time to time given, and continue to give our government and parliaments: what is the meaning else of those proclamations formerly and lately emitted, commanding Papists to retire from London? &c. What else is the meaning of those bills brought in to prevent their disinheriting their Protestant heirs, and to hinder their sending children abroad to foreign seminaries, to be bred up in idolatry, or made priests, monks, and nuns? This, besides the danger that accrues thereby to our religion and liberties, takes vast sums of money out of the kingdom yearly. They likewise give trouble to our parliaments, by bringing in bills for discovering estates and money given to superstitious uses, which is every way mighty prejudicial to the kingdom, and enables the Papists to breed vipers in our bowels, in order to rend us in pieces.

Then, since it is undeniable that we are in danger from the Papists, whether we consider the state of affairs at home or abroad, and that the laws hitherto enacted have not been able to prevent the recourse of Popish priests, &c. nor the growth of popery in this kingdom; what should hinder us from trying new methods, and particularly this law of castration?

It would certainly be a punishment very proper for them, and might make them read their sin in their judgment; since it is evident, that by their own personal villainy, and their loose doctrine of pardons, &c. which encourages people in licentiousness, they make more proselytes than by any other method.

Those, who perhaps would scruple to be any ways instrumental in taking these priests, when the penalty inflicted upon them by law is death, would not have reason to be so scrupulous to take and discover them, when the punishment is only castration, and therefore would be more diligent to put the laws in execution upon them.

It must also be reckoned a deserved punishment, since, under the seal of confession, they commit uncleanness with those they have the trust of as ghostly fathers, so that it is a sort of spiritual incest, and a destroying people with arms that make no report; both which crimes are capital in all well governed states, and therefore the punishment of castration, in such a case, must needs be accounted mild.

If it be objected, that, though some of the Romish clergy be guilty of incontinence, yet all of them are not so, and therefore such only are to be punished in that manner as are convicted of the crime: it is easy to answer, that it is equally true, that all of them are not guilty of conspiring against the government, nor is it possible to convict all of them of perverting the subjects; yet the 27th of Elisabeth makes it treason for any Popish priest, bred up beyond sea, to be here, or to return into England, without submitting to the government, and taking the oath of supremacy. And indeed it is but reasonable it should be so, for their being here

supposes their design; and therefore there is as much reason to punish them, though we cannot prove the overt acts upon them, as there is to punish thieves for coming into our houses in an illegal manner, though we cannot prove that they have robbed us, or stole any thing. If we find a wolf, or other beast of prey, among our flocks, we take their design of destroying them for granted, and treat them accordingly, though we do not see the limbs of our cattle in their mouths. And therefore, since the practices and principles of the Romish clergy are so well known, their being found in the nation ought to be sufficient conviction.

It still remains a question, how they shall be discovered? But the answer is at hand. Let a competent and certain reward be proposed for such as shall do it, and the like reward, and a pardon to any of their own number that shall discover the rest; or let provision be made for some of every English seminary beyond sea that turn Protestants, and plant some of them in the several ports of the kingdom; and let some of each of those seminaries be likewise constantly in London to assist in searches, and view those that are taken up on suspicion: and, at the same time, let provision be made for such as will inform of all the Popish clergy that haunt the great families of that opinion in England, and we need not doubt of an effectual discovery in a little time: for, besides the influence that the hopes of a reward will have, those goatish fellows, the Romish clergy, do many times disoblige families of their own way, by attempting to debauch their wives, children, or servants, some of whom have so much virtue as to reject the temptation, and to hate the tempters; and many times their blind zeal occasions them likewise to take indiscreet methods to pervert Protestant servants, who would not be wanting, in case of such provision, as above mentioned, to discover those dangerous fellows.

To inflict this punishment of castration upon them, is so much the less to be thought cruel or unreasonable, since it is so ordinary in Italy, and other Popish countries, for the meaner sort of people to geld their own sons, that they make the better market of them for singing boys, and musicians, or to be catamites to cardinals, and other dignitaries of the Romish church. In those hot countries the Roman clergy are much addicted to that damnable and unnatural crime; and such of them, as are not, keep lewd women almost avowedly; they are indeed more upon the reserve, and live according to the maxim of Cautè, though not Castè, in such countries where the government is reformed, or where the Protestants are numerous; but then they are under the greater temptation to perpetrate their villainies, on the pretext of confessing women; therefore there is the more reason to enact a law of castration against them in this kingdom.

We have the more ground to think, that such a law duly executed would have a good effect, because the lust of the flesh is so bewitching and natural to the greatest part of mankind, and continues to have a predominancy in them for so great a part of their lives, that it hath occasioned, and does occasion more disorders,

and is apter to engage men, over whom it obtains the ascendant, in more desperate undertakings than any other passion whatever. Histories are full of examples of princes and great men, that have ruined themselves and their countries in the pursuit of their irregular amours. We have no need to turn over foreign stories, or to go out of our own nation for proofs of this. It is not so long ago to be forgot, since we had the chief affairs of state managed, and parliaments dissolved, &c. at the beck of courtesans. The interest of popery and tyranny, in the late reigns, was chiefly advanced by such.

Do we not find, even in private persons of all ranks, that where that passion is not kept in due bounds, or cured by the proper remedies of a suitable match, honour, health, and estate, nay, life itself is many times sacrificed to the pleasure of the flesh; and therefore the Apostle had reason, as well as revelation on his side, when he ranked all, that is in the world, under the three heads of 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life,' and gave that of the flesh the preference. It is plain, from experience, that the other two are made generally subservient to it, as is visible every day from that excess in jewels, apparel, and houshold furniture, and the vast expence, which the gallants of both sexes put themselves to, in one or all of these, in order to obtain the favour of their paramours.

From all which we may make this inference, that, if the Romish clergy were made incapable, by a law, of enjoying that which they account the greatest pleasure of life, they would avoid those countries, where such laws are put in execution, as they would avoid the plague. It would be happy, if, by this means, we could deliver our posterity from those conspiracies, civil wars, dreadful fires, massacres, assassinations of princes, and other mischiefs, which these kingdoms have been liable to from the Papists, and against which all our other laws have hitherto signified but little to preserve us.

We have also found, by sad experience, that they have had so much influence, as to get the ascendant over some of our princes, by tempting them, as they have done the French king, with the hopes of an absolute sway, and we know not what visionary empires. By this means they prevailed with them to overthrow our laws, the recovery of which hath cost the nation so much blood and treasure, that after-ages are like to feel the smart of it; though they have run one of our princes off the stage, and have well nigh ruined their great champion beyond sea, as they did formerly the Spanish monarchy, by spurring on those princes to persecute Protestants, and establish despotical government. They will never give over that game, but inspire all princes, to whom they can have access, either by themselves or others, with one or both of those designs; and therefore it is the interest of England to use all possible means to secure the nation against those Romish clergymen, for which castration is humbly conceived to be the properest method, and is so far from being cruelty, that it may well be reckoned

as great a piece of clemency to Romish priests, as transportation is, instead of the gallows, to other condemned criminals.

In short, it will be so far from being a real diskindness to the Popish laicks of this nation, that it will be the greatest piece of friendship to them imaginable. This, we hope, they will be the more readily convinced of, if their wives, daughters, and maid-servants cry out against this law, for then, to be sure, they have some particular concern in the matter.

We hope, that our Popish laicks in England are men of as good observation as those in other countries, and particularly in France and Italy, where their very proverbs are sufficient to demonstrate, that they have no great opinion of their clergymen's chastity. It is not possible to expose those goatish fellows with more severity and contempt, than the Italians do by saying 'Fate Lui Coronna,' by way of sarcasm, of a stallion, that they do not think performs his part; alluding to the priests shaven crowns, as if that sacerdotal character were sufficient even to invigorate a horse. Their other proverb of 'Fate lo Prete,' let us make him a priest, when they have any ungovernable wanton in a family, that over-runs all their females, is a-kin to the other; and their covering their stone-horses with a monk's frock, when they find them indifferent for a mare in season, is a scandalous reproof of those brutish clergymen. Answerable to these is the French proverb:

Qui veut tenir nette maison
Qu'il n'y souffre ni pretre ni moin ni pigeon.

Comparing the Popish clergy to the pigeons, for their venereous inclinations; and may be Englished thus:

They, that would keep their houses chaste and neat,
From thence must priests, monks, nuns, and pigeons beat.

As all proverbs of that sort are founded upon something universally known, or conceived to be true, it is not at all for the honour of the Popish clergy, that their chastity should be thus reflected upon, in countries where they are the sole directors of conscience, and have their religion established by law.

But that, which fixes it yet more upon them, is, that, in the Pope's chancery, the tax for eating eggs in Lent is greater than that for sodomy; and the penalty upon a priest, that marries, is greater, than upon those that commit that monstrous and unnatural villainy just now mentioned. From all which it is manifest, that they did not speak at random, who informed us, that the celibacy of such an innumerable multitude of Popish ecclesiasticks is the *maximum arcanum dominationis Papalis*, and that 'the priests testicles are the greatest promoters of the Pope's empire.' This will appear yet more plain, that it is of the highest importance to them, since the church of Rome maintains, that marriage is a sacrament, and that all sacraments confer grace, and yet denies it to her clergy: a

manifest indication, that they have their graceless designs to promote by it; especially since, at the same time, the want of those parts, which they will not allow them to make use of in a regular way, renders them incapable of being priests, according to their canons; but yet they are so kind to their gelded martyrs, as to allow it to be sufficient, if they have them about them in powder, or any other way.

These things confirm, in a literal sense, the odious characters given the church of Rome, in the Revelations, chap. xvii, xviii. &c. as, 'the great whore, with whom the kings and inhabitants of the earth have committed fornication; the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations, and of the filthiness of her fornications,' &c. Then, since, by the testimony of God and man, the Romish clergy is such an impure and lascivious crew, it makes a law of castration a just and adequate punishment for them.

To conclude: since our King and Parliament have both testified their zeal and forwardness to suppress immorality and profaneness, it follows naturally, that such a law as this deserves their serious thoughts; for it is impossible to suppress reigning vice, so long as those goatish fellows are suffered to swarm among us. They not only corrupt the morals of people themselves, by such practices and principles as above mentioned, but bring over and encourage others to do it, particularly those Italians, &c. who sell and print Aretin's Postures; and, in order to debauch the minds of women, and to make them guilty of unnatural crimes, invent and sell them such things, as modesty forbids to name. It is evident, that, as popery advanced upon us in the late reigns, debauchery gained ground at the same time, for they naturally make way for one another; and therefore we can never suppress immorality, without securing ourselves effectually against popery. If this should be attempted by a law of castration against Romish priests, it must be owned, that it would be more charitable and humane to save ourselves from popish superstition, and all its mischievous consequences, by that method alone, than to practise it, together with other punishments, upon such of those wretches as come to the gibbet for treason. The cutting off their privities in such cases, and throwing them into the fire, just before they be totally bereft of life, can be of no manner of use; whereas castration alone, before hand, might have saved us from the danger of their plots, and prevented themselves from coming to the gallows.

LABOUR IN VAIN;

OR,

WHAT SIGNIFIES LITTLE OR NOTHING? Viz.

I. The Poor Man's Petitioning at Court.
II. Expectation of Benefit from a covetous Man in his Life-time.
III. The Marriage of an Old Man to a Young Woman.
IV. Endeavours to regulate Men's Manners by Preaching or Writing.
V. Being a Jacobite.
VI. Confining an Insolvent Debtor.
VII. Promise of Secrecy in a Conspiracy.
VIII. An Enquiry after a Place.

London: Printed and sold by most Booksellers in London and Westminster, 1700. Quarto, containing thirty-two Pages.

A Dialogue between the Author and the Printer.

Printer. WHAT title do you design to give this book?

Author. Labour in Vain: or, What signifies Little or Nothing?

Printer. Then I am like to make a very hopeful bargain this morning; and grow rich like a Jacobite, that would part with his property, for a speculative bubble.

Author. Be not angry; for the same estimate and epithet the greatest divines give to the whole world.

Printer. I do not like their characters, or epithets; for I believe there is a real value in our coin; and I know little of their spiritual notions, neither will I puzzle my head about what they tell me, I cannot rightly understand.

Author. I could convince you, that you are in the wrong; in being so indifferent about enquiring into the cause, nature, and value of things.

Printer. I am, in this point, a quaker; and will not by reason be convinced. Pray, Sir, tell me, Am I to buy a shop full of empty pasteboard-boxes, or not?

Author. Sir, they are full.

Printer, Why, then do you put over the door, that the goods Signify Little, or Nothing? It is a strange sort of information, to expect to get customers by.

Author. I had several reasons that induced me to put this title to my book; and, not to keep you longer upon the fret, I will tell you some of them: first, the natural inquisitive humour, that reigns in all mankind, after novelty; for no sooner will the title be

read, or cried, but the reader, or hearer, will query what it is about, conclude it some maggot or other, and, to be satisfied, will buy it; so, you will gain by his curiosity. Then I have known many dull books, that have sold well, by the help of an ingenious, or whimsical title. 'Puffe me, Puffe mo, Puffe cannot stay, Colle molle Puff;' the odness and maggot of that cry has sold the fellow many a tart; for many persons, who only out of curiosity have peeped into his basket, have found something or other that pleased them. Besides the title is *apropo*, because the subjects I write about, though they make a great bustle in the world, yet their conclusions, or produce, are very frivolous, insignificant, and answer not the end designed.

Printer. To what purpose, did you spend your time in writing on such subjects? And why should I be at the labour of printing, or charge of paper?

Author. Print it by all means; it may employ some to add to it the history of the printer.

Printer. What, that my pains was labour in vain, and charge signified little or nothing? I am mightily obliged to you, for the method you have taken, to expose me to laughter: but let it prove as it will, if I buy the devil, I will try to sell him. But, if your whim does not take, I will never buy goods again, before I have looked over the parcel.

The Poor Man's Petitioning at Court.

HOW fruitless and empty the requests of the poor have returned at court, whether they have been for justice or mercy, is apparent from a thousand instances: and one I will relate to you, without a peevish design of reflecting upon any particular court, for the pauper's petition is alike neglected, by what I have seen, heard, or read, in every court. A gentleman, fitly qualified, who by permission had purchased an employ for life, under a king, and to his successors, upon a successor's coming to the crown (though he had taken oaths of allegiance, and done what was requisite, according to law, for qualification) to feed the avarice, or gratify the wicked bounty of a certain person, to whose care the managery was intrusted, was turned out, with only the madman's humorous reason, *Sic jubeo, sic volo.* By which unjust, at least, unkind usage, he had very little left to maintain himself, wife, and four children.

> At once, his quondam friends sounded retreat,
> Would scarce afford good words, and much less meat:
> To see his face, they'd never after care,
> As if his very looks infectious were:
> Like careful bees, to their own hives, they flew,
> As he from fortune, they from him withdrew.

I cannot forbear, in this place, putting the epithet *wicked*, to that generous virtue, bounty; since here it was a powerful robbery

committed upon one man's right, to seem bounteous in a bequest to another. The deprived man, hurt, complained with all the respect, a supplicant should use; but his prayer was answered with a negative. Afterwards he served that king without pay in his army abroad, and, upon the death of the possessor of his employ, he again prayed to be restored; upon which prayer, he had an order for the next vacancy, which when happened, a certain gentleman, who but a short time before had presented the deprived man to the king, in the army, and had given it under his hand, that he had been turned out, without cause, and that he served as a volunteer; gave it again under his hand, that the poor petitioner's alledging to have served in the army, was a mistake; and his last act (the former, in good manners, I will believe, being forgot) was credited; so order and petition were both dismissed, to the ruin of the man, and his family.

Observation.

By this true relation, is evident the little success, that is to be expected from the poor unhappy man's petitioning against a man in power; for, when he pleases, he blackens and misrepresents an underling; and what a favourite says is easily believed.

Then tell me how the poor shall find relief,
Or gain a cure for undeserved grief,
Their fate depending on a king's belief.

In such a case, a prince is the easiest man in the world to be imposed on, considering the vast multitude of affairs, that center in his ordering and manage, the particular cognisance of all which it is impossible for him to take; for, upon a kind of necessity, he is obliged to have his knowledge of several affairs, from the report that those about him are pleased to make; and what man will tell a story to his own disadvantage? And who can tell it but the favourite, whilst the poor petitioner is debarred access?

Before a fav'rite, none shall be believ'd,
And 'gainst the rich, 'tis hard to be reliev'd:
In vain you offer up an empty prayer,
Which fattens not the courtier, or his heir;
Something that's solid, and of real good
(At least for such by worldlings understood)
Must be presented, if you'd favour find,
Which rarely warms th' endowments of the mind:
But to the fortunate, and rich, are kind.
Since money weighs down justice and desert,
The poor's desires don't signify a fart.

Expectations of Benefit from a covetous Man, in his Life-time.

QUIS Pauper? Avarus: an admirable and proper answer to the question; because the covetous man wanteth that which he hath,

as well as that which he hath not; as proves true, by the following relation. A friend of mine, if a covetous man can be so, of genteel extraction, and suitable education, having a competent estate of four hundred pounds per annum, and a thousand pounds in money, left him; which revenue as far exceeding his desire of living, as it came short of his desire of acquiring; for he no sooner had the possession, but he retrenched the usual expences of the family; he saved charge, by putting away the mouths that caused it; and the only servant that he kept lived almost like a bear in Greenland, on the nourishment he had got in the summer of the father's life-time. In short, no anchorite lived more sparing than he, unless it were upon another's cost, and then it was a covetous humour made him eat and drink like a glutton and a drunkard. In all his actions he was base; he would steal his own goods, to make his servant pay for them. By such sordid ways his wealth was accumulated; he sold the mansion-house, because the purchase money would yield a greater profit, than the rent amounted to; and retired from a great house (not from plenty and abundance) to a less, that he could not rent out. By such niggardly methods, in process of time, he had heaped up a very great treasure.

There was a young hopeful gentleman, his nephew, who expected to reap the fruits of his covetousness, that often came to visit him, and was always complaisant, soothed, and commended every humour, which I take to be the right way of pleasing; for certain (at least, during the time of prevailing fancy, or action) every man is pleased with his own sentiments, or doings; so consequently loves to have them approved and applauded.

He gratified the miser's appetite at his own expence, his pantry and his cellar were always ready to gratify his least motion of desire, his coach and horses attended his occasions. He baulked his own humour, neglected his pleasant and facetious companions, and confined himself to oblige his sordid temper. Though, it must be confessed, self interest moved him, yet it pleased the wretch, when he advised him to secure his treasure, that no Rachel, or other, might steal his god. He christened his son of the Jew's name; he did, what not? to oblige him. He defended him from robbers, at the peril of his own life: nay more, he justified his base principles, contrary to his conscience; but all the returns, that were paid to these services, were mountain promises, whilst in his cups; but mole hills, or no performances, when sober.

Afterwards this obliging gentleman fell by misfortune into straits and necessities, so that his family wanted convenient subsistence; yet the other, pitiless, and unconcerned, returned no good nature, no charity, no grateful act, for all his generous obligations; not so much as even common humanity would, out of mercy, oblige a very Jew to shew to a stranger in misery. After the miser had bought what he had left, for half the value, he forbid him his house, and, whenever he met him, he passed by him as a stranger. At last, intestate the miserable rascal dies; for the very thought of disposing of his riches would have been as mortal as a cannon-shot:

So volens nolens, what he left, fell to this gentleman. But I had almost forgot to tell you, that his jealous temper, which must accompany the covetous, let their avarice be fixed on what it will, made him bury a great part of his money and writings; so that a great deal was lost for want of the knowledge of the concealments.

Observation.

A covetous desire is properly applicable to self, for, even when I seem to desire the advantage of another, there is something of self in the matter; and it must be allowed, that he, I wish well, is my friend; though another's being my enemy only makes him so; so, by my desire, I gratify my own inclination, in my friend's advantage, or please my anger, in my enemy's disadvantage. A covetous man's thoughts center in his own profit, and what good goes besides him, he counts by Providence wrong applied; then it is idle to expect, that he, that covets all, should frustrate his vast design, by giving me a part; as covetousness is a selfish humour, it is impossible it should be diffusive.

The miser's wish is of a vast extent,
And would engross, beneath the firmament,
All that it likes; still covetous, to try
To merchandize with spirits of the sky.
His wishes only to advantage tend,
From self's their origin, in self they end;
So cannot be diffusive to a friend.
In vain a favour you expect from such,
You may as well expect a favour from the D——.

The Marriage of an old Man to a young Woman.

THE mutual disappointments, that commonly thwart, and hinder the happiness expected by the marriage of an old man to a young woman, the following story sets forth. An ancient gentleman, whose head age had powdered like a beau's, who in his sprightly youth could at sight answer the expectations of the most lascivious female, as Doctor's-commons, and parish-books could witness; he had lived a libertine life, and had never thoughts of marriage, till he was threescore and ten, when he happened into the company of a beautiful young woman, whose charms and behaviour blew away the ashes that covered the fire that remained in the brand's end; so that it made a faint blaze, which (of late unaccustomed) warmth made the (willing to be deceived) senior fancy that there was yet a great stock of vigour in his veins, that would answer the ends of marriage. Thus, when lechery had left his tail, and, agitated only by desire, he fancied mighty performances in his lustful brain, he courts this lady for his bride, who had not the charms to renew an old Æson's age; sensible that his expiring flame could not long last, he was impatient of delay. So, by con-

tinual courtship, he tried to watch his mistress, like a hawk, into compliance. But it was persuasive money that made her consent to endure a Lenten penance, in expectation of an happy Easter after his death. In short, she for filthy lucre married him, and submitted herself to his feeble threescore and ten years attempts. After his fluttering all the wedding-day, they were put to bed (I think that word suitable to his age) and after sack-posset eat, and stocken thrown, the company withdrew, and left them to themselves. When he failed in performance, she was frustrated in her expectation, so that their marriage signified little or nothing.

Observation.

The answer I make, to those that will say, 'Every body knew this story before,' is, 'That, though I pretend to write novels, I do not novelties, but to dress up something that for one meal may be pleasing, and of grateful gust; and, perhaps, some observation may be made from this story worthy self-application:' But, though the reader do not, I will, to continue the method I first designed.

To attempt any thing, which nothing but (almost) a miracle can make successful, is folly and madness; and little less can move a man of threescore years and ten to do——to any purpose. An old man's marrying a young woman is like laying down a good joint of meat, to an almost consumed fire, which will blaze a while, but by the sudden decay, for want of fuel, will make it but lukewarm. He is counted a blockhead that pretends to set up a trade, when he is past labour, unless he takes an able journeyman; and I believe, in this case, no man will willingly admit of a journeyman to manage his commodity, and without one (by effects may be judged) the marriage will signify little towards procreation. Disappointments must happen to the man from natural consequence, notwithstanding the mighty belief of his abilities. I have known, from powerful fancy, when a child has been tired with walking, yet, imagining he rode when he had a switch between his legs, would imitate the trot and gallop, for a small while, without complaining; but presently the weakness and imbecillity of his feet made him sensible his natural strength (though agitated by desire) could not carry him to his desired home: So the old, whose vigorous heat is spent, may imagine, if he get a cock-horse, how furiously he will ride; but, like the tired child, his natural decay will appear.

The man being deceived, by consequence the woman must; and what sad effects do such disappointments cause, are evident from the future carriage of both man and woman. He grows jealous, unwilling another should feed, tho' he himself cannot make use of the dainties; then the poor abused woman is watched, perhaps confined, and her whole life made uneasy.

Like a poor man (cajolled by mighty promises) transported to the West Indies; when he comes there, finding himself a slave to the beck and rod of an imperious patron, being fast bound by con-

tract, has no hopes of liberty, but from the expiration of time: Such is the condition of a young woman, who, flattered with the belief of fond doating dalliance, and plenty, is betrayed into the slavery of marriage, with an old fellow, she has no hopes of deliverance from, but by the expiration of her disagreeable husband's life; her youthful heat, meeting with the icy coldness of his age, causes thunder in the house: Continual jars forbid all hopes of peace.

When waves swoln high by force of mighty wind,
They fiercely meet, and are in battle join'd;
The frothy salt, with motion, 's set on fire;
But, wash'd with native water, soon expire:
So toss'd by billows of remaining lust,
Which shuffles up and down the aged dust,
Salt sparks are blown into a sudden flame,
But age's moisture soon does quench the same.
The old man's boasting promises, in love,
Do little signify, as women prove;
'Tis vapour all, and limber as my glove.
In vain the aged man hopes to receive
Blessings, which only sprightly youth can give;
In vain a woman does expect a trade,
From one whom stingy age has bankrupt made;
Such disappointments happen to them both,
Which makes the marriage prove of little worth.

The reverse of this story, which is an old woman's marrying to a young fellow, is to the full as ridiculous, and signifies as little to a mutual content.

Endeavours to regulate Men's Manners by Preaching or Writing.

THE present age is not so very virtuous, but that we may meet with examples in almost every company and conversation, that demonstrates the little efficacy the well designed writings and publick teaching of good men have had, towards reformation of manners, and the practice of virtue. But not being willing to expose particularly the insensibility that appears either in my own life, by not amending, and correcting my reproved actions, or in the general practice of my fellow countrymen; I have pitched upon the history of Socrates, so far as it agrees with my design; that is, to shew how little the good documents he taught signified to the reform or benefit of the Athenians, and the odium they caused from those he endeavoured to amend.

Socrates, who was born in a small village called Halopex, under the Athenian jnrisdiction, is commonly called the Athenian, to distinguish him from several others, of that name, one of which wrote the history of Argos; another was a Bithynian, &c. This Socrates, the Athenian, was taught philosophy under Anaxagoras;

he was a man of great temperance, of a strong constitution, one who inquired into the nature of sublime things, studied humanity, practised and publickly preached, to poor and rich, virtue and good manners; to be silent, and not reprove wicked men, he counted a crime against the gods; to discourse of virtue, he esteemed as a great happiness; and, employing himself almost constantly in instructing of the citizens, he neglected mightily his private affairs, so that he was poor, and told the Athenians, that he ought to be maintained out of the Prytaneum, or publick storehouse; that he ought to be rewarded more than a victor, for the conqueror could but make them appear to be happy, when, by his instructions in virtue, if practised, they would really be so, not only from present serenity of mind, but in *futuro;* for he believed an immortality of the soul, and, the very day he died, he employed in discoursing of, and, by convincive arguments to his friends, proved the soul's indivisibility, and, consequently, immortality. He taught, as he believed, that nothing of evil could happen to a good man, his concerns being taken care of by the gods; but, notwithstanding his eloquent persuasive speeches upon so noble a subject, as virtue, which, for its own sake, ought to attract men's inclinations and affections, the Athenians were so far from reforming from their accustomed immoralities, that Miletus, Anytus, and others, accused him, as guilty of a capital crime, for instructing the people in the ways of virtue, and for reproving them, when they acted contrary to morality and good manners. They were so exasperated against him for his good endeavours to introduce honesty and piety, inconsistent with their practice, that, without a confronting witness, they condemned him to death; which sentence was put in execution by a draught of poison. By which barbarous usage, it is apparent, that all his teaching signified little towards the reformation of the lives of his fellow citizens.

Observation.

Though licentiousness is more agreeable and facile to the depraved nature of mankind, yet almost every age hath produced a preaching experienced Solomon, a Socrates, a Plato, or some such good men, who have endeavoured, by writing and teaching, backed with the inducing reasons of a present serenity of mind, that must, upon necessity, accompany virtuous actions, or the glorious prospect of an unconceivable reward hereafter; to persuade men by arguments, conducing to self-interest (which, in all other cases, is prevalent) to practise piety, honesty, and civility. Yet, what poor crops have the stony soil produced, every age, against itself, is witness. The libertinism of an heathen I do not so much wonder at, because he has no thoughts of futurity to check his mad career; but that men who are daily taught, and instructed in piety and morality, and who, upon a self query, will own that they really believe to do good is for their advantage, should act directly contrary to their belief, is an extravagant madness not to be paralleled. Is there no remedy for so great and contagious an evil to be found?

Yes, an Heathen teaches me one, *Trahimur exemplis plus quam præceptis;* for, if those in power and greatness practised virtue, the underlings would imitate; if it was customary, every one would be in the fashion. But, whilst vice and immorality are countenanced by the great, orders for keeping the sabbath, and against profaneness, are of little efficacy; for, when the great fish break the net, the little ones will go out at the rent. Though arguing for virtue, and good manners, is highly to be commended, yet the little reformation we find shews, that hitherto it has signified little or nothing.

He that would bar me of a coming joy,
And by strict rules my liberty destroy,
In trammels makes me pace away my life,
'Twixt nature and his rules is constant strife;
So irksome and uneasy I must be,
By reason of their great antipathy;
This is the language of th' unthinking man,
Who, led by custom, loves to be profane;
And will not change his road, whate'er you teach,
Scarce, tho' a Jonah once again should preach:
But still that monkey, man, would imitate,
And virtue practise, copy'd from the great.
Examples, wanting precepts, are but vain;
And moving arguments, in florid strain,
Won't make the blockish croud from ill refrain.

Being a Jacobite.

ONE, whom, out of good manners, I must stile a gentleman, because he justly claims that title from his ancestors; and it must be allowed him now, even in his adversity, since his accounted crimes of omission, in not actually complying to the laws in force, proceed from the dictates of his conscience, and not from an obstinate spirit of contradiction; for, though this gentleman's opinion will not permit him to comply in the active part, yet, out of submission to the laws of his country, without refractoriness, he is obedient in the passive. This gentleman, as many others, is at this time termed a Jacobite, as being the title customarily used, in opposition to Williamite; concluding, 'that he, that is not for me, is against me.'

Upon the revolution, in the year 1688 (which, by unfathomed Providence was brought about, so contrary to rational appearance, that after ages will hesitate at the belief of the heroick attempts of the present king, and the unaccountable manage of the last) this man was turned out of several considerable employs; or, rather, he turned himself out, for it cannot be expected, that any will be master, unless by power, to those that will not serve them. Stripped of his incomes, he, for a while, handsomely subsisted. But, feeding constantly upon last year's crops, without sowing for another

harvest, his granary was emptied without hopes of replenishing, without a miracle. Reduced, he herded with those of his own opinion, that, by the benevolence of fortune, were able to relieve him, and did, generously, for a time; but, continual dependence made him sensible of the bitterness of the curse. The undervaluing slights, the tiring attendance, often refusals, beggarly loans, reprimands, advice too late given, all which, with appearing patience, by force he was obliged, if he would eat, to undergo, made him almost distracted in his thoughts. The impending misery of want, by its near approach, appearing dreadful and affrighting, put him upon the studious thoughts, how to subsist for the future. He considered the many reasons drawn from self-interest, and other powerful motives, for conforming to the present government; the general consent, and practice of many, whose learning and integrity he could not call in question, unless he should contradict his own experience, made him bring his manage into examination, and his rational arguments made him often waver, and query the prudence of his opinion; so far, that he had some thoughts of conforming to what the representatives of the nation had agreed; but, having so long stood out, he could have no hopes of being received with that favour, so as to be trusted in any considerable employ, either civil, military, or ecclesiastical. He was too poor, and of too little interest, to expect an honourable title; too illiterate to be made a dean; too well known to be trusted with the managing of a secret in national affairs; so he stuck to his old principles, though he reaped no advantage by them, for poverty, like ivy, twines to the Jacobite, and spoils his growth. His opinion contradicting, in general, the sentiments of the greatest part of the nation, was so far from being any ways advantageous to him, that it exposed him to want, and debarred him from the hopes of repairing his ruined fortunes.

Observation.

This story is equally applicable to Jacobite, Williamite, Whig, Tory, or what other name of distinction is given to any man, who rows not with the common stream that the river of his country runs; he tugs against the tide, and makes very little progress. To oppose the general sentiments of a country, is drawing up hill by choice, and gives just cause for people to call a man's judgment in question, since there is a nearer and down-hill beaten path at hand. It is something like going in the Strand, towards the Horse-guard, on a Sunday in the evening, when one has the trouble of meeting the current of the city-gentry going from the Park. He that complies not to the practice of a nation, appears like one in a sad-coloured coat bearing arms amongst the guard at Whitehall, he is stared at; and, if observed by a superior, will be punished.

Relating to a man's compliance, or non-compliance, it ought to be considered, 'Whether what is required be consonant to justice and self-preservation, argued *pro* and *con* in reference to spiritual and temporal affairs, the last not contradicting the former's positive

commands. And sure I am, or must appear to be, to rational men, much wiser, or more blockish than the rest of the nation, in a general council consenting, if I oppose, or refuse conformity to its agreement. Parallel examples ought to be searched for, and the method of proceedings that have been commonly taken by others, approved of by future allowance to have been just, and fitting to be done, ought to guide, and mightily sway me to concord to such approved precedents; for, if a man disagrees out of a particular opinion, or interest, he, as far as in him lies, calls the discretion of a great many in question, and battles a number with his opiniated reason. From such proceeding, one can expect no benefit or reputation. No advantage, because none will trust another (in any thing of weight) that is of a contrary persuasion; because it is reasonable to believe, that every man is inclinable to act what suits best to his fancy, and most conduces to bring to effect his desired aim: So, instead of serving that interest by which intrusted, to gratify his real sentiments, he will betray the secrets to him committed.

What is in vogue carries a present reputation; then being a Jacobite, must consequently cause an undervaluing, and so signify little or nothing.

Allow sentiments offer'd, right or wrong,
If judge and jury too join with the throng;
In contradiction to the present thought,
My sole opinion signifieth nought.
'Tis over-rul'd, and I am surely cast,
Which proves the fate of separists at last;
For to oppose the torrent of a stream,
Resist a greater power, is like my dream,
Which fancies mighty riches, mighty power,
But, poor and weak, I meet the waking hour;
With a *probatum est* some sadly tell,
What once they were, to what they now are fell.

Confining an Insolvent Debtor.

A GRAVE citizen, an alderman's fellow, by losses and crosses, and God knows what, was reduced to the necessity of leaving his house, and moving himself and effects into the sanctuary for bankrupts, White-friars; where for a while he confined himself to his chamber, and, when he went out, the company seasoned to the place, who were no proud men, but would quickly be acquainted without ceremony, made him ashamed, and blush like a young sinner, the curtains undrawn. With care he soon cast up his books, and, subtracting his debtors from his creditors, he found a greater balance due, than he was able to pay; but, willing (as it is natural for all creatures) to be at liberty, he summoned his creditors, and offered them ten shillings for every pound, reserving for himself but a small pittance to subsist on, or lay a new foundation for fresh credit. But some (Jews in practice) refused a compliance to any

abatement, and resolved to make dice of his bones. Their cruelty grieved and afflicted him so much, that his sorrow and concern was apparent in his face, and, being asked the reason, he told, 'That his creditors non-compliance was the cause of it:' Upon which, a doctor in the civil laws, of the place, took him to task; told him his security there; brought examples and precedents, how Tom such an one and Sir John such an one had used their creditors, and brought them to compliance: Unmerciful rogues! What, refuse to take ten shillings in the pound? If I might advise you, they should not have above half a crown, I intend to give mine but eighteen pence; sure you are not such a fool to part with all, and suffer yourself and family to want. Such company, such examples, such documents have washed away the honest first intents of many a man, but, it could not float his; for he still designed, to his power, to satisfy every body; but unwilling to be caged in a closer prison, he there lived, and, spending upon the main stock constantly, it wasted so fast, that, at his next proposal to his creditors, he could offer but five shillings; which was also rejected: And some time after, not being watchful of his ways, the catchpoles seized him, at the suit of an old protesting friend of his, a neighbour, for whom he would have sent, hoping mercy from their former intimate acquaintance; but, the officers telling him it would be to no purpose, since that warrant, which they named to him, was but one amongst twenty they had against him; so, after squeezing him out of twenty shillings for dinner, ale, and brandy, they lodged him in the Compter; where his fellow-prisoners flocked about him, some pulling this way, some that, like watermen at turn of ebb at Billingsgate, all calling for garnish; which clamorous demand never ceased, till he had paid it. The want of liberty made him value it more than ever, and, desiring next to life his liberty, he, with prayers, intreated his creditors to accept of all that he had; but they refused it, and would not believe that he gave a true or just account, though he offered to make oath of it. So, by lying there, the poor man, for necessaries, consumed what merciful men would have been contented with; when the Parliament, out of consideration of the misery, that many (not able to pay their debts) in prison endured, ordered a discharge upon such and such conditions, under the which he was comprehended, and consequently discharged without paying one farthing; whereas, if the creditors had formerly complied, they might have had half their debts, and the man his liberty; so their confining him proved their detriment. And the like happens to others, when the insolvent die in custody; for, where it is not to be had, the king must lose his right.

Observation.

Such has been the fate of many insolvent debtors, and such has proved the return to many uncharitable and cruel creditors; and, I believe, all merciful men will think the last deserved it. Expectation to recover debts by confining an insolvent man, whereby he is debarred of opportunity to acquire wherewithal to pay his debts, is

an Egyptian proposal, to make brick without straw; *quod ultra posse non est esse.*

It is a very good law in the seigniory of Biscay, 'That no native Biscayner shall be imprisoned for debt above forty-eight hours; but the creditor, in that time, shall have judgment against whatsoever effects shall be found to be his, or what afterwards he, either by labour, art, or otherwise, shall acquire, yet, upon giving security not to depart the seigniory, he shall be discharged out of custody, to get his livelihood.

I have heard, that, in Holland, no creditor shall keep in prison an insolvent debtor, unless he will maintain him there, with subsistence to preserve his life; but here in England, in this point, we out-do the Dutch in cruelty, confining people to starve, contrary to humanity, mercy, or policy. One may as reasonably expect his dog should catch an hare, when chained to a post, as that a poor debtor should, in a gaol, get wherewithal to pay his debts.

Ask but the cruel man, what he would have
From his poor debtor, to his will a slave
Confin'd in prison? presently he'll say,
My money; yet acts quite contrary way
To gain his end; for, how can one expect,
Where no cause moves, there should be an effect?
What silly farmer will confine his cow
From needful herbage, for no harder low
For food? or, in reason can he believe,
By such confinment, he shall milk receive?
As silly is the hope, when you confine
A man insolvent, for to raise the coin.

Promise of Secrecy in a Conspiracy.

THOUGH I could produce variety of instances, out of ancient history, suitable to this subject, yet I have chose one, which has come to the knowledge, and is still fresh in the memory of almost every Englishman, to shew the little trust and confidence, that is to be given to the solemn promises of secrecy in a conspiracy, or wicked design.

In the year 1699, several angry discontented men clubbed to the hatching a plot or conspiracy for subverting the present government; and, for the more certainty of effecting it, designed, contrary to honour, and common humanity, to take off the present head, that the limbs might be in confusion, wanting an immediate director for their motion; so in the hurly-burly to have proclaimed one, who unhappily has too much proclaimed himself.

There is no need of mentioning their design at large, or the progress they had made, every man knowing the drift of their conspiracy, and the conspirators; so I will only take notice, that, after their plot was laid, the assassinators agreed on, and secrecy sworn to, at the Sun-tavern, and other places, some of them (false, first to

their country, then to their adherents) discovered the conspiracy. I wish it were done out of a repentant principle, and believing a promise to do evil ought not to be kept; but their covetous soliciting for rewards induces me to believe, that the principle of self-interest was the chief motive of their discovery; but, let it proceed from what cause soever, it is apparent, that the obligations, under which they were engaged, were not of force to keep the secret undiscovered. The like discoveries have been made at Venice, at Rome, at Genoa, and in almost all the kingdoms on the earth, tho' the greatest cautions and securities that self-preservation, or aspiring ambition could invent, to tie up the confessing tongue, have been made use of. He that will be a villain, in attempting a great evil, is not to be trusted; for it is probable he would be so in a lesser, especially if he expects to reap advantage by it.

Observation.

Seldom any resolution is so fixed, but that apparent benefit, as self-preservation, or riches, will alter it, especially when the resolve is evil; for no man, though never so much prompted by ambition, avarice, lust, or revenge, but has a monitor within, which dictates to him, that his resolve and attempt is evil in itself; and, from what one's reason informs to be bad, a man is easily drawn from effecting. So we find many men who dare undauntedly look death in the face, in a just cause, will recant and appear cowards, when ill is to be attempted; from whence has proceeded many discoveries of plots and conspiracies, to the secrecy of which, men have obliged themselves by all the ties that are counted sacred and binding. Such are to be counted repentants, because they discover the design out of an odium to the evil. But some, without considering good or evil, in relation to futurity, discover the secret conspiracies with them intrusted, not for conscience, but for lucre sake; others, when their first heat is over, grow pusillanimous, and confess to save their lives; sometimes infinite wisdom confounds their counsels and devices, leads them into errors and mistakes, and, by ways unimaginable, brings to light the hidden things of darkness.

Whilst a protecting Providence does sway,
Whilst men inspired dictates do obey,
Whilst life has value, and reward has love,
Protested secrecy in ill does prove
Of small validity; the first will act
What's consonant to justice of a fact:
The second by impulsive power command,
What wo'n't man do to keep his wasting sand?
And bountiful reward makes men betray
Their dearest kin, and friendship wipes away.
Subject to power, and tempted by a bait,
Too pleasing to deny, of little weight
Proves promis'd privacy; then why should I
Meddle in plots, in hopes of secrecy?

The Progress of an Enquirer after Places.

THOUGH disappointments are, in some degree or other, most commonly the companions that attend and thwart the hopes and expectations of all mankind; yet have I not observed more disappointments generally to accompany any attempt, than I have the endeavours, and designs, to get into reputable places and employments, as by the sequel will appear.

An English gentleman, who, by hospitality amongst his country neighbours, had spent the greatest part of his estate; having very little, besides the mansion-seat of his family left, seeing himself slighted by those very men who had largely tasted of his bounty, seriously began to consider, how he should still support himself in some credible reputation; and, after he had run over several designing thoughts, and built castles in the air, he at last fixed upon the common hopes of getting a place, or employ, at London. To effect which, he presently sold the remaining part of his estate; and to London he came, to put in practice the scheme he had drawn, for raising once again his fortune. His first application was, to be sure, to one of the worthy burgesses that served for a neighbouring corporation, who, by the charms of bribery, and by virtue of his strong drink, had carried the election *nemine contradicente;* him he acquainted with his design, and desired his kind assistance, who presently promised fair for country sake tho' he was an Irishman. Upon his promise, every morning he danced attendance, at the levee of my dear joy; and, when he walked, he kept cringing on his larboard quarter, not presuming to go cheek by jowl with one of the representatives of the nation; who had the same business during the whole sessions of parliament, that he had during the term-time, two motions a day, to Westminister and back again; but finding his waiting, and the other's promises, would signify the same thing, and the senator being gone to Tunbridge, where the proverb was on his side, he bethought himself what farther methods were to be taken; and luckily finding, on a coffee-house table, a paper intituled, 'A collection for improvement of husbandry and trade, by John Houghton, F. R. S.' wherein he found, that he knew of several that wanted men so or so qualified or recommended, and several that were so and so qualified and recommended, that wanted the employments which others wanted to have officiated. At first view, he thought this paper as a pillar of light to guide him in the dark: But, upon examining the inquiries after places and employs, and those that wanted agents, found they answered one another's occasions, and that there was not one agent inquired after, but there was the same place sought for; so he despaired of success from that, seeing every one's occasion might be supplied.

Though his sleep, or rather slumbers, was unquiet and short, occasioned by the concern that hagged his thoughts about his future earthly well being, yet his lying awake was more tormenting to him, as much as impending want had then a more lively impression,

than his drowsy fancy could represent. So, trying as it were to avoid himself, he arose, slighting beauish formality, soon dressed himself, and went to Man's coffee-house; where, though it was early in the morning, he found talkative Will, a tall elderly man, with his own hair, diverting the company, sometimes in English, sometimes in French; in both languages he told stories as improbable to be true as all D. O.'s narrative. He took upon him the statesman, and told the company he knew of funds that would have raised money enough to defray the charge of the war, without being any pressure to the subject: He blamed all that he was pleased to think mismanagement in the concerns of the nation; and then gravely told them, how all might be prevented, which every blockhead can do, after the act is past; and, for the future, how he would have things managed; but mercy upon us, if affairs were to be ordered by his managery (looking upon his conduct) it may reasonably be believed, they would have been ten times worse directed. After he had railed at several particular persons, whose names he did not tell (but described them plainer than I do him) he grumbled at the bounty bestowed upon favourites. But I suppose his cousin Harry's humour then possessed him, who always rails when he is poor; but whilst a bounty is in his pocket (which never wears it out) he is as much for praisng, as when penniless in railing and reflecting. If variety be pleasing, sure Mr. William's discourse was diverting; for he run over stories (as much as the time would allow) of men and women, of all qualities, all sorts of countries, governments, languages, horses, dogs, cocks, wine, snuff, &c. as positively as if he had been an eye or ear-witness, had travelled them all over, been a privy counsellor in every one of them; a professor of languages, owned, or laid wagers, drank, tasted, or snuffed of every sort: But at last took opportunity (tho' no occasion offered) to tell how nigh he was related to, and how he was beloved and respected by a Dutch English nobleman; which at last startled my inquirer from the confusion the medley of his discourse had put him into, and brought into his thought, that this gentleman's interest might do him a kindness.

His approaching necessity having made him confident beyond his natural temper, he presently enquired the gentleman's name and lodging, and that day waited upon him, and, in short, desired his favour towards helping him to an employ fit for a gentleman, and, at the same time, promised to be grateful. Mr. William, who never wants complimental civility, told him, that he would assist him in what lay in his power, and mentioned to him several places that he might endeavour to get; but, knowing none then vacant, he desired he would meet him on the morrow, when he would bring a man (meaning his cousin Harry) whom the cobweb laws cannot confine (though in close confinement) who knew of forty to be disposed of. The next day, according to appointment, they all met, and Harry cajoled my enquirer, and fitted his humour to a t——; indeed, he must be of a very stingy temper whom he cannot please,

for he is really a very sensible gentleman. My enquirer's desires were made known to him; and Harry, who never parts with a man but he leaves him a plausible prospect of effecting his designs, laid down such assurances upon promises made in his favour, that my gentleman began to believe at such a day he might enter into pay or salary; but, before he parted, Harry had nicely examined, though at a distance, how his stock was, either to bribe or purchase, and, in a day or two, was to give my enquirer a positive answer. But I had almost forgot to tell you, that, just at parting, Harry bore up to him, and told him, that, though he would serve a gentleman gratis with his labour, yet there would be expences; to defray which, he expected he should bring him ten guineas the next morning. My enquirer, buoyed up with hopes, came the next morning with ready rhino in his pocket, had immediately admittance into a room spread with old carpets, that the man at the Three Roses had refused to stitch cards on. Presently honest Harry, who, like the hungry Jew, watched the falling manna, came in, and accosted him with, 'Sir, I have done your business, for I was with my lord last night, and, to serve you, spent my own interest, so effectually, that I had his promise on your behalf:' Upon these words the manna dropped into his hand, which Harry never kept till the following day, for fear it should turn sowre. My enquirer's moving hand having reached ten, at which number Harry's alarm stood, it immediately rung a peal in division about places, for half an hour together, 'That he that wrote the present state of England, in the year 1694, was a blockhead, compared to him; for he has not mentioned a quarter of the places and employs that Harry named to my enquirer, and gave him the choice of any of them. He, that put an advertisement for the sale of horses, cannot in a month's time name so many horses to be sold, as he pretended to know employs. My enquirer, amongst the many texts this parson quoted, pitched upon two or three which served to his liking; and, when Mr. Harry had done talking, he told him, such or such would suit his education, and agreed with his humour. 'Oh, says Harry, those are not as yet vacant, but they will be, perhaps, before the parliament rises; for they are resolved to suffer very few members of the house to be in employs, wherein any branch of the revenue is to be managed; and, since it is certain some will part with their places rather than be turned out of the house, your study must be how to get into one of those they abdicate; to effect which, you must try to ingratiate yourself with a S——— of S——, with three of the L—— of the T———, at least: And the thoughtful gentleman, who, by much labour of his brain, hammers out things in a great perfection, to be known and well-recommended to the P—— C——; for some employs must be granted in C——. Now, the fittest man upon earth, to be your sollicitor there, is W. F. who, though he is foundered in his feet, has a natural assurance to tell a story plausibly to any nobleman, though it is seldom minded; he is old dog with the ladies and boys, and their constant sollicitor:

Besides, he may be, from his own interest, very serviceable to you; for I know, the other day, he helped a footman to a place, and took but half a crown for his labour.

'It will also be requisite for you to learn decimals and guaging, and make application to the C—— of E——; or to the L—— of the A——: Or to the C—— of the C——. But you must not neglect making application to several particular persons, who always seem in a hurry, as if they had the whole concerns of the nation to manage: Amongst which there is honest Tony, who seldom gives the C—— of P———, and E———, much trouble to draw up a report; 'A. R. is not duly elected.' I must beg pardon when I say, it is hard, that so understanding a gentleman, one that knows how to take all advantages, should not be in the house, no man being fitter to caution against deceits than the——He has been serviceable to the nation by the project of packing of hay; by the manage of which, horses eat less than usual, and their bellies were taken up, without belly-cloaths, the smell did their business; yet Tony had but 3*l.* a load for what cost him 25*s.*'

His principles may be guessed by his practice, and he has declared his sentiments, how people, that would thrive, should manage themselves; and designs, if he may be believed, to instil the same principles into his children; for he told an honest gentleman, that, if he had a son, he would advise him to flatter and dissemble with all mankind, never to speak truth but when it was for his advantage. With this worthy gentleman it will be necessary to be acquainted, if you have money to purchase an employ under the M—— of the H——; for every one of them, that were in his reach, he has either sold, or been a broker in the matter. You need make no interest to him by intercession of friends; for he has no respect to persons, principles, or qualities; but, like a late deceased knight, whose wit (by mistake so called) lay in bold examinations of scripture passages, buffoonly ridiculing what was beyond his shallow capacity to understand, has regard only to the money, let it come from Williamite, Jacobite, or devil. Besides him, there is another you should be acquainted with, that is, a blinking fellow, a mere pretender to the law, who could scarce read (allowing breviations) at the Exchequer bar: He, by his pretensions, one would think had the disposal of forty considerable places; indeed, he has most of the gentry at his beck, though it is a shame to see how poor-spirited some of them are, to cringe and creep to him, whom most men avoid; though there is a broad mixture in this man of knave and fool, yet he so manages, by tricks and lyes, a certain person, in whose power it is to make you one extraordinary, that a trial ought to be made of his interest: And sure, by some of these, with my assistance (which you shall never want) a man of your birth, education, and ingenuity, cannot miss of some employ or other. Now, Sir, I have told you what is to be done, use your endeavour; and, when you have fixed upon your particular, come again to me, and I (as Mr.

Houghton says) can help. My enquirer, with his head full of this counsel, takes leave, resolving to meditate on it, and put it in practice; but, going down stairs, he saw a written paper which Harry's servant had dropped; and, being curious, took it up, and put it in his pocket to read at leisure. The first opportunity he had, he opened the paper, and found as follows: 'Answers, excuses, and observations, to be got by heart, and used, as occasion offers, by my servant Robin.'

'If a man knocks hard early in a morning, with a cane in his hand, believe him to be a creditor, and the first time answer him, that I am not well, and you dare not disturb me; to countenance which, be sure, two or three days in a month, tie a rag upon the knocker of the door. The second time, I was sent for about earnest business, to any busy nobleman you first think of. Afterwards say for me as you would have others say for you to whom you owe money; but be sure you be not catched in a lye, for people are too apt to believe that courtiers servants lye, though they speak truth, if their desires be not complied with. If it be one that wears a sword, it is ten to one but it is either some body I am in combination withal to cheat another, or that he himself is to be cheated; him presently admit, for from such, corn comes to the mill. If it be one whose company I have shunned, send him to some tavern or coffee-house out of the verge of the court, where, to be sure, I never go but on a Sunday.'

Some part of the paper had been torn off, but one may be certain, he had learned the whole lesson by the variety of shams and excuses he had constantly ready. Bless me! how was my enquirer surprised at the reading it? And began to conceive that he was fallen into the hands of a tongue-padding cheating courtier; but, finding his counsel, in some measure, ought to be followed, he was resolved to make applications as he was directed. In a short time, by friends or money, he was little or much recommended to almost all fortune's darlings, that had the disposal of any employs; one or other of them he was almost continually waiting on with the recommendation of my Lord such an one, Sir such an one, or honest Mr. such an one; and every one to whom he was recommended, like true courtiers, spoke him fair. One promised the next thing that fell; another promised to take care of him; a third, out of kindness, would have him qualify himself, that, upon any opportunity, he might jump in a fourth took money in part; and, a fifth invited him to dinner, which gentleman, it must be said of him, did him more kindness than all the rest; for, after he had waited half a year, he found their promises to be only air; for, when the first had power by a vacancy, to be sure he said, he was pre-engaged. The second's care was to avoid him. The third gentleman would not give him an opportunity to jump, continually selling reversions. The fourth did his business but in part, for he could never get all his money again. Thus shuffled off from one to another, by fair words and

promises, he spent a great deal of time, and all his money, to no purpose. Meeting with so many disappointments, and really wanting necessaries, and reflecting on the usage he had met withal, and dreading the poverty he saw approaching, he had fallen into despair, but that he had still the happiness to carry in his mind the thoughts of futurity, from which he resolved as much as possible to be content; and, to strengthen him in his acquaintance and resignation to a Supreme Will, he often went to church; but, one day going into St. Martin's, though early, the surly clark refused him admittance into a pew, which so mightily concerned him, that he went to his lodging, and, whilst the thought continued, he wrote the following verses.

To what extremities am I driven,
When parish-clarks bar my converse with heav'n,
As much as in the surly rascals lie?
Who, by the face, the pocket do descry,
And, *sine pence*, admittance they deny!
These under-graduate Peters of the church
Would sell to Simon the heavenly gift,
If to their avarice and humour left;
Perhaps, the men did my misfortunes know,
Afraid to trust me, who so much did owe;
Deny'd admittance, lest that I should pray
Blessings, for which they thought I'd never pay.

Having long racked his brains, and spent his money and time in vain, his peery landlord, by a writ, secured him a safe place in the Marshalsea, *durante vita*, unless a compassionate parliament release him by an act of grace.

Fed up with hope by such, his money's spent,
But has no greater prospect, than if lent
To needy noblemen, of its return,
Who seldom pay a debt, but to the urn.
Place-brokers to enquirers still speak fair,
Blow up a bubble globe, which turns to air;
Like lottery-projectors, draw a scheme,
How thousands may be got,
If, if they draw the lot;
But hit, or miss, there's profit still to them.

THE APPARENT DANGER OF AN INVASION,

BRIEFLY REPRESENTED IN A LETTER TO A MINISTER OF STATE.

BY A KENTISH GENTLEMAN. MDCCI.

SIR,

THE present posture of publick affairs abroad has such a terrible aspect upon the liberties of Europe in general, that France will have no reason to wonder, if all the princes and states of Europe, which are its neighbours, should take the alarum at her late conduct since the treaty of Reswick *. I am sure it would be a very great wonder with me, and posterity too, if, after so late and notorious a violation of a solemn treaty, we should take her word again, and trust to her engagements, unless we can oblige her to perform them †.

She has, undoubtedly, her envoys and her instruments in all countries ‡, especially here, who, with great artifice and subtle insinuations, will tempt the easy and the ignorant by colours and pretences of her good meaning, that she has no farther design than maintaining the Duke of Anjou's succession §, and all her neighbours, that will own him, shall be, if they please, her dear friends and confederates.

But what wise man can be found? Nay, one may venture to say, where can you shew me that blockhead that has brains little enough to believe her? And yet a Frenchman has so much confidence in the folly of all other nations, and in his own dexterity to play the knave, that with very great assurance he obtrudes his flattery, and expresses his friendship and esteem for you, when his own conscience gives him the lye, and he is carrying on a design at the same time to cut your throat.

Every body knows it was but in October last, that all the courts of Europe were, in show at least, earnestly sollicited to enter into the treaty of partition; and all the huffing and sneaking arguments were used by your Guis—ds and your Amel—ts, for two or three months together, to prevail upon the Italians and Germans ‖, great and little; but, in the midst of all this banter and grimace, arrives an express with the king of Spain's death and Anjou's

* The same may justly be remarked of the French behaviour since the treaty of Utrecht.

† By first reducing her to so low a condition, as to oblige her to an honourable peace, and so to watch her intrigues, and check her illegal aspirings in time of peace, as to prevent her capacity ever to become troublesome to the liberties of her neighbours any more.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 23, 24.

§ To the crown of Spain, by which union France promised herself to gain a power to give laws to all Europe, as her attempts from that time will prove.

‖ Was not this the very method taken by France, to deprive the empire of its liberties, and to ruin the house of Austria, before this war broke out?

succession, and what part does my little Franculus esuriens * act upon so sudden a change?

Why, out he sets as briskly as can be with a new memorial, fawns and hectors, *en bon Francoise*, desires your patience a little, while his master, like a true son of old Eunius, steals away half a dozen kingdoms and dukedoms; and then promises (believe him if you dare) to be a very good Musselman,———till the next opportunity †.

There is a certain very worthy gentleman ‡, and true Englishman too, who was aware of this, and gave us his advice, in very honest terms, in the year 98, but Thrift and Distrust, two wary Devils, opposed his design; and what the force of foreigners, in ten years war, could never do, the folly of a few true-born Englishmen effected in a trice; viz. subdued the hero, and ridiculed the politician.

We chose, at that time, rather to trust our good neighbour with a standing force of 150,000 foreigners, than, at the end of the war, suffer 10 or 20,000 swords and musquets to continue in the hands of our own countrymen, for fear, I suppose

That Englishmen should Englishmen subdue.

I confess they have a pretty good hand at betraying their country, but, for my part, I was for trusting them at that time, and ever shall, before any foreigners.

§. But our fleet was disarmed, and our land forces reduced, from 84 to 7000 men, that is full $\frac{11}{12}s$. And when we had stripped ourselves thus naked, and invited the Assyrians into our land, you will ask me, how it came to pass, that we have not had a second invasion from Normandy or Picardy, and that the French have not, before this, taken up their quarters within the weekly bills, and with our friends at Rochester and Sittingborn. Why truly, I must tell you, not for want of good will, and good opportunity too (we thank our masters) but they had other game in chace; the lingering sickness of the late King of Spain put Versailles in a constant alarum every post; for Spain and the Indies, ever since 1660, were decreed for usurpation §; and if your Montaltoe's and Portocarrero's had failed of their treason, the *ratio ultima regum* was at hand; viz. a good train of artillery, and an 100,000 men. When this morsel was swallowed, it would be time enough to look after England, and the out skirts of Europe: who, in the mean time, are to be hushed, if possible, with specious proposals and golden mountains, till my little master ‖ is well settled at Madrid. And then her highness the Duchess of Burgundy will put in her claim to the crown of England, and we may defend the Protestant heir or possessor if we can, when her grandfather¶ has over-run Italy and the

* Hungry Frenchman, who grasps at all power.
† To take what more he can get from you.
‡ K—'s speech.
§ By the King of France.
‖ The Duke of Anjou. ¶ The King of France.

Netherlands, and taken possession of all the ports in Holland. He has already made such quick approaches towards that unfortunate country, that the people are in the highest consternation; and, if we suffer them to be devoured, the next step he takes will be for England.

And he has so many and so considerable reasons to invade us at this very juncture, that some mysteries of state, undiscoverable at present, or a mighty infatuation alone can hinder him. The people on our coasts are so sensible of their defenceless condition, especially since the French troops entered so unexpectedly, and all at one moment, into all the frontier towns in the Spanish Flanders, that they expect every morning to hear they have put garrisons into Dover, Rye, and Shoreham, and it is almost as easy and quick a passage from Calais and Dunkirk, to Harwich, Dunwich, and Yarmouth. The passage between us and them is so short, that five or six hours is time enough to execute such a design in any part of Kent.

Julius Cæsar, who had but indifferent pilots, and vessels that were ill sailors, came over in a night: and William the Conqueror crossed a wider part of the Channel, viz. from Bologn to Pevensey, in a few hours, and both of them succeeded so well by the folly and divisions of our ancestors, that it is our good luck if our enemies do not take the advantage of our present circumstances, to make a trial of our boasted English valour, and see, how many of the fourteen hundred thousand names, contained in the Associations lodged in the Tower of London, dare shew their faces in the field against the Marshal de Bouffleurs at the head of twenty or thirty thousand veterans.

I pretend not to the skill of a marshal, and you do not mistake me, I am sure, for a conjurer in affairs of state; and yet I will venture to affirm, upon the little experience I have had in a military station, and a pretty long acquaintance with the humour of a people under a panick fear, that, were I of the interest and religion, and in pay of Monsieur at Versailles, I should no more question the success of invading England, at this time, till about a month or six weeks hence, than I do my meeting with you next year at Tunbridge Wells in the season.

And, upon peril of my head, I would undertake, as old as I am, to land with about twenty thousand foot, and two thousand dragoons on next Monday morning in any part of Kent, or Sussex, from Dover to Chichester, and with little or no opposition continue my march towards your populous city, and quarter my troops in London, Westminster, and Southwark, by Saturday next, so as to hear high mass on Sunday morning, at St. Paul's, and dissolve your Parliament the Monday following.

This you may think a little unlikely, and I wish it were morally impossible; but, I think, I can make it appear a very feasible enterprise. I will suppose then the Marshal de Boufflers at Dunkirk, or Calais, this very Saturday night, embarking his men, and setting sail at one or two in the morning, with a fresh gale at east,

what shall hinder him from crossing the Channel in five or six hours, but a tempest, or a fleet, in that very place? The first we cannot expect, and the latter we have not ready, so that, land he will in spite of our barks and our fishermen of Kent. When his troops are debarqued, we will suppose they rest them one day, and, by that time, it may be, another reinforcement arrives; what now will hinder him from bending his march directly for London, and coming thither in the time before mentioned, but a sufficient body of men to meet him by the way? And nothing but an equal force will do, for the battle of Cressy is long since forgotten, and the name of an Englishman, I will assure you, is no such bugbear to a Frenchman at this time of day.

But where are the forces we shall draw together? As for the Dutch, Hannibal is at their gates, and they cannot spare a single battalion, and, if they could twenty, Monsieur Boufflers may march to York, before they can all embark, for they do not lie ready quartered in their ports, as the French do in theirs. And for our handful of 7000 standing forces, if you fill all the northern and western garrisons with our militia, it will be a fortnight, at least, before they can meet in a body on Hounslow Heath, which will be too late. And then for our militia of London and Westminster, which may make a body of ten or twelve thousand men, and can soonest assemble themselves; do you imagine, they will march towards Dover, and with the assistance of a little mob, venture to give battle to disciplined troops? If they should have so much courage, and so little discretion, I expect little more from such an attempt, than what was done by eight or ten thousand club-men, who rose in the late civil war in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, and Dorset, and were dispersed by half a dozen troops of the Parliament horse. The City militia, I believe, is our best; but what discipline can men have, who appear in arms but once a year, march into the Artillery-ground, and there wisely spend the day in eating, drinking, and smoaking; in storming half a score sir-loins of beef and venison-pasties; and, having given their officers a volley or two, and, like so many idle boys with snow-balls, fooled away a little gunpowder, return home again as ignorant as they went out, and as fit to fight the French at Blackheath, as one of our little yatchts is to engage the Britannia.

And, besides this, which I have not represented to the worst disadvantage, there are other prodigious difficulties that would perplex us upon such an invasion. We have so many Cataline's and Portocarrero's amongst us, that would not fail to betray us; so many religious bigots that are bewitched with a tender conscience for the right of old Pharaoh *; so many hardy villains, and desperate miscreants, that are for plunder, and a prevailing power †; and so many lukewarm heartless coxcombs, that will stand still to

* The family of the Stewarts.

† It is a general observation in all rebellions, that the mobile take part with a powerful invader, because they have nothing to lose, and hope to better their condition upon the ruin of those that maintain their religion and laws.

see themselves undone, or run away by the light of their own houses; and so very few, whatever they pretend, that will stand by the king with their lives and fortunes, and fight for their religion, laws, and liberties; in short, we are so crumbled into factions, civil and religious, so debauched from the old English virtue and valour, and so destitute of the true love to our country and real principles of honour, so ripe for a civil war at home, and so exposed to an invasion from abroad; that our enemies are altogether infatuated, if they do not lay hold on this opportunity, in a week or two; and we are all utterly undone if they do, unless a miracle be wrought to save us.

England is now the only nation in Europe, that hath any remains of substantial liberties; for arbitrary power, like a mighty deluge, has in a manner overspread the face of the whole earth, and is ready to break in upon us* with an irresistible fury, unless we make ready to withstand it. Holland stands now exposed to military execution, and so do the counties of Kent and Surrey, who have forty or fifty thousand men ready to land upon them at a day or two's warning from Boulogne, Calais, Gravelin, Dunkirk, Newport, and Ostend†; there is but a hair's breadth betwixt us and ruin.

We have been so long fitting ourselves by our vices and our treachery for conquest and slavery, that I fear you have scarce ten thousand men left in city and country, that have spirit and bravery enough to march to our assistance, whenever we have occasion. You will be sure to have as early notice, as is possible, for our fears make us as watchful, as we hope you are indefatigable to provide for our security.

We cannot forget how the French troops treated the inhabitants of the Palatinate, in 1688‡, when they intirely ruined a country on both sides the Rhine, as large as Kent and Sussex; burnt down to the ground above two hundred burghs, and the three famous and populous cities of Worms, Spires, and Heidelburg; put the people to the sword in divers towns, and spared not the Popish temples and cathedrals, and this without provocation from the people or their prince. What sort of usage think you then may we expect at Dover and Winchelsea, &c. and you too in London, who are Englishmen, rebels, and hereticks, as bad as we. Our enemies have a particular eye upon your factious city, and the wealth of the Bank and Lombard Street, which the hungry priests and soldiers frequently talk of at Calais and Dunkirk with great indignation, but with some kind of assurance of late, that England will shortly receive her old master§ and the Popish religion again.

Which I heartily wish may be prevented by the wisdom and prudence of the King and present Parliament.

Mo—ds, Febr. 14, 1700. I am, Sir,

* If overcome by the French invasion.
† All which ports were then in the power of the French.
‡ See the Emperor's letter to King James II. at St. Germains, in Vol. I. Page 23.
§ A Popish prince, then King James II.

THE RIGHTS

OF THE

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

TO THE

SPANISH SUCCESSION.

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THE most illustrious and potent Prince, Charles the Second, King of Spain, had scarce given up his last breath, when all Europe, which was already very attentive on this sad event, found that Spain, for the future, was to embrace the ways and customs of France. And that, by an uncommon trick of state, a forged will was produced, which invited to the succession of all the kingdoms, dutchies, and principalities of Spain, not an indisputable relation, and withal the eldest of the family, but an ally of sixteen years, descended from a woman excluded from all manner of pretension to those dominions, and this contrary to oaths and treaties; contrary to a former disposition of the father and grandfather, and to the rights of birth in such a degree, as, according to the laws of Spain, was to succeed whenever the line male was extinct; contrary to the nearest affinity by the female side; and, which seems to be most considerable, contrary to the quiet and happiness of all Europe: which proves, as well in general as particular, that the crown of Spain should not have fallen to Philip of Bourbon, Duke of Anjou *, but to Leopold † of Austria, Emperor of the Romans.

To make this clear, let us take a view of affairs as they have past. Philip the First, as every one knows, lived above two ages ago, and was the son of the Emperor Maximilian, the happy offspring of the family of Austria. He had two sons, viz. Charles, who was the elder, born at Ghent in Flanders; and Ferdinand, who was the younger, born at Medina in Spain: the latter was the first Emperor of his name; and the former was the fifth of his name as Emperor, but the first as King of Spain. The partition, which was made of those dominions between the two brothers at Worms, in the year 1521, was such, that Charles, who was the eldest, was to have Spain, together with Burgundy and all Flanders; and that Ferdinand, who was the younger, and almost a child, should have the territories that are in Germany. Ferdinand rested content with his brother's happy lot, who was already be-

* The present King of Spain, a Frenchman.
† Grandfather to the present Queen of Hungary and Bohemia.

come Emperor; and he was the more easily inclined so to do at that time, because that, though his share was but small, there was no reason or power which could do any thing in prejudice of his other rights, which he was willing to suspend for a time out of pure respect to his elder brother: that is to say, that he always reserved to himself and successors a power to take possession of that large inheritance, if the elder branch should happen to fail.

Under the favourable influences of this solid rule of life and death, Ferdinand has transmitted his posterity, by his son who was likewise called Charles, and by his grandson, and great grandson, viz. Ferdinand the Second and the Third, in a right line down to Leopold the present Emperor: and to the end he might maintain the union of the family, and follow the sense of the agreement at Worms, he appointed that the branch of Spain, excluding the females, should succeed to his sons. To Charles the Fifth, or First, according to the Spaniards, and, after Philips the First, the Second, the Third, and the Fourth, succeeded the lately deceased Charles of happy memory.

He had for his mother Mary-Anna of Austria, daughter to the said Ferdinand the Third, and sister to Leopold, so that he was doubly related to the Emperor, as well by the mother's side, and by the line of his predecessors of the house of Austria.

These reasons, and several others, which regard the common constitutions of kingdoms, and particularly that of Spain, did incline Philip IV. father of the lately deceased Charles, not to suffer that Maria Teresa his eldest daughter, married to Lewis the XIV. King of France*, should be admitted directly or indirectly to succeed to the kingdoms and provinces of Spain, but that both she and her posterity, of what sex or quality soever, should be for ever excluded. Besides, he made a will†, in the year 1665, by which he expresly invites the collateral branch of Austria to the succession of Spain, upon the failing of the Spanish line.

The peace of Westphalia, which was signed in 1648, did not hinder, but that a cruel war did break out between Spain and France, attended with several calamities, which continued for some years, and seemed to have been in a way to continue much longer, to the great prejudice of both nations, as well by reason of the preparations, as of the alliances, which were made on both sides. Wherefore all pains was taken to put a stop to the violence of so implacable a hatred, by settling a good understanding between them; and, nothing seeming so much to contribute to this as a marriage, the chief endeavours were directed this way.

The French King at first had an eye upon Margaret of Savoy; and it was thought that he had so much love for her, as to incline him to marry her; but it was no hard matter to make this prince's first flames abate, by proposing to him a much more advantageous alliance in the person of the Infanta of Spain.

* From whom Philip of Bourbon, the present King of Spain, is descended.
† Which it becomes every honest man to have by him, when disputes arise about Spain, and the house of Austria.

Some reasons of importance made the French very much desire this marriage; and Christina, the King's own aunt, a lady of great solidity and judgment, having gone from Turin with Margaret her daughter, she came to Lyons, where she met the King her nephew; and generously exhorted him not to think of marrying her daughter, but rather to make choice of the Infanta of Spain, as well for the common good of Christendom, as for the advantage of so many states, which were brought to ruin, by so long a war.

What this prudent lady would have persuaded the King her nephew to, generally preferring the publick good to her own private interest, was a business full of very considerable difficulties. The Spaniards had, a long time before, testified an insuperable aversion to this alliance, especially when they reflected on the fatal confusions that persons of a temper very contrary to theirs would cause in a government, if the issue of this marriage should happen to aspire to the succession of the kingdoms of Spain, under the specious pretext of relation by the mother's side. This difficulty seemed, and that too upon good grounds, of such consequence, that it was firmly resolved not to give way to it, unless that the Infanta would prefer the friendship of so considerable a husband to considerations, which otherwise perhaps might be of weight. Maria Teresa then must renounce not only for herself, in case of widowhood with offspring, but also for her children of both sexes, that so the posterity of France might not have the least hopes of sharing in the succession of Spain*.

This did not in the least trouble the Infanta, who, according to the way of the world, did look to the present, without vexing her head with the uneasy thoughts of uncertain futurity. She easily renounced, both for herself and posterity for ever, all hopes of the Spanish inheritance, that she might have a present share in the flourishing crown of France; considering that, if she should have children, they might be abundantly happy, though they were as far from the crown of Spain, as from the humour of the Spaniards. King Philip her father, and Lewis her husband, were not averse from this free consent of the Infanta.

It is true, that King Philip was under a prudent fear, that, if the renunciation was not made in plain and clear terms, the ministers of France, who were always inclined to captious interpretations, would take occasion to do the same in this juncture, to attain to their designs, which then prevailed by force. And that his fear was not groundless, experience has but too much shewn: for, though the matter and sense of treaties be never so clear, yet, the letter being more obscure, they wrest it into a wrong sense by force of arms, as far as their interest and power will allow.

For which reason, Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis Mendez de Haro, both chief ministers of two Kings, and their plenipotentiaries, after they had endeavoured very much, at the Pyrenean

* It was from this marriage, that the present French King of Spain laid his claim, and in defiance to this renunciation, which was a condition of the marriage, and articled therein, supports the same by force of arms, under the protection of France.

treaty, to agree about the peace; and after they had, with extraordinary care, treated of the form of the renunciation, they agreed at length with joy upon a most ample one, containing most express clauses, which was to serve as a law, for the future*.

The most Christian King had cloathed his ambassador with a full power to agree to this renunciation: the same having likewise been done by the Emperor, with respect to his ambassador. And since, as Titus Livius says, 'That the law of nations prevails in things which are transacted by faith, by alliance, by treaties and oaths; and that there is a great difference between the publick faith and the private faith; that the publick faith owes its force to the dignity, and the private to the form of the agreement;' nobody doubted but that what was done, with respect to the renunciation, should have been more religiously observed, since both its dignity and form, in the treaty made about it, did equally contribute to give it power and force.

It was upon this foundation truly worthy of the majesty-royal, that so solemn an agreement, and the first and most noble part of the Pyrenean peace, was built.

It was impossible to find out words more strong, or more effectual, than those the Infanta and the King her husband made use of; the one to express her renunciation, the other to express his consent. There, in the most ample manner, you find a renunciation of all and every one of the rights, titles, laws, customs, constitutions, dispositions, remedies and pretexts by which the Infanta (unless she happened to be a widow without any offspring) or her children of either sex, born of that marriage, could at any time pretend to the succession of the Spanish dominions. Thus, the offspring of France were altogether excluded from the crown of Spain: nay, the Pope too was intreated to give his apostolical benediction to an agreement made with so much deliberation, and so unanimously, for the quiet of both kingdoms, and for the peace of all Christendom, subscribed with the Pyrenean treaty, November 7, 1659; and signed in a numerous assembly of the ministers of both princes with mutual applauses, and established on both sides, with a most prudent foresight.

Let any one who is disinterested, and free from passion, but read the fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs of the Contract of Marriage, and without much enquiry he shall clearly see, that no disposition or order could be made, nor any pretext found, by which a male child of France could aspire to the crown of Spain, since he is excluded from all hopes thereto, by sentences so clear, words so express, and clauses so derogatory and declaratory. There is here no need of school-shifts and subterfuges to obscure the clearest terms. God, who is the searcher of hearts, and who was called upon as a witness in these conventions, does not allow of ambiguous explications: the cross of Christ; the holiness of the

* Viz. The form of the Infanta's renunciation, which has never been regarded by her French successors, though the French King pretended to agree to it in due form, as well as by the treaty concerning the same.

gospel; the canon of the mass, and the royal honour; by all which, both parties were to swear in the form of the Pyrenean peace, cannot admit or suffer that the words should say one thing, and the sense another.

The meaning and intention of those that contracted, and the perpetual exclusion of the line of France, are clearly to be seen by the publick reasons, and by the treaty confirmed and ratified by the French King.

The same Catholick King, Philip IV. who must be allowed to have understood the sense of this agreement, repeats it plainly in his will, made the fourteenth of December, 1665.

That King appoints several and different things in his will concerning the succession of Spain; he also relates several things about the danger that threatened Spain and all Christendom, by reason of the marriages made with the royal family of France, unless there was a bar put to hinder the accession of any, that was or should be born of them, to the crown of Spain*. He gives a full account of all the care and precautions which he was obliged to use with his sister Anna, with Maria Teresa his daughter, and with his own wife Elisabeth of Bourbon, to the end that no child of France, whether male or female, should by any manner of way, or on any occasion, come to enjoy the states and dominions of Spain. He mentions word by word the articles that had been lately made to avoid all occasions, which might give even the most remote grounds to fear, that the crown of Spain should be united to that of France. He particularises some lines of succession †; and though he knew very well that his daughter could not fail to have a numerous issue by King Lewis, his son-in-law, since she was fruitful, and had already brought forth the Dauphin and two daughters; yet, not forgetting the Pyrenean peace and agreements ‡, he excludes the posterity of France from coming, in any manner of way, to the possession of the Spanish dominions; not only the males, in whose persons both kingdoms might be united, but also the females, who, by reason of the Salique Law, could not be allowed to reign in France, and consequently could not unite Spain to it, though they were admitted to that succession. But he rather turns himself to his own family of Austria, and invites the children of his sister Mary, who had died in 1646, after having had several children by the Emperor Ferdinand the Third; and among others, the most august Leopold §. Nay, he goes farther, and, that the French line might be absolutely excluded from the kingdoms and dominions of Spain, he appoints, that, in case the house of Austria came to be extinct, the succession should fall to the posterity of Catharine of Savoy, his aunt, who had died in 1597.

* Is not this truly verified by the present intrigues between France and the French King of Spain? Has not France managed all the councils of Spain, since Philip's reign, to the service of France; and to assist her in the ruin of all neighbouring states, and the acquiring universal monarchy.

† See the will.

‡ Viz. The renunciation of the infanta Maria Teresa, and the treaty that confirmed the same.

§ Grandfather of the present Queen of Hungary, &c.

All which is a clear and certain proof of the exclusion of the French line, and of the undoubted right of the house of Austria.

The lately deceased King Charles* was not a stranger to so authentick testimonies of the truth; the perpetual renunciation of his sister, and of her posterity, was notorious. The will of his father Philip did particularly nominate a successor of the house of Austria. Charles himself honoured the Emperor Leopold, and considered him as his relation by the father's side, as his uncle by the mother's side, as the eldest of the house of Austria as to both branches, and as apparent successor, by virtue of the will of his father; as bountiful and kind by reason of the part he had lately given him in the kingdom of Hungary; not to mention several other reasons that he had to honour and esteem him; yea, being yet alive, he gave him a very ample power over the forces of Spain.

Nevertheless, according to the revolutions and turns of the world, some of the Spanish ministers, won by the brightness of a certain neighbour's † gold, used all means to incline the weak and languishing King ‡ another way, to take him off from his own family, and wheedle him over to the French side, which he formerly looked upon with great aversion. They || themselves acknowledged and supposed the validity of the Infanta Maria Teresa's renunciation, and of King Philip's will, with all things which had been done for excluding of the heirs of France; but the reason of all they make to be this, viz. the fear of the union of both crowns; which fear now ceasing, and the union being hindered, there should be way made for the accession of the children of France to the crown of Spain.

Then they forge a will, which, by the help of some lawyers, they put into form, in favour of the Duke of Anjou ||||; and press the dying King to sign it, when his heart was parched and consumed, and his brain dissolved into phlegm; a fine piece of work this; which will raise the wonder of future ages, both in schools and courts; especially if one would but consider the sequel and coherence of the whole affair, which is in other places sufficiently notorious, as well as those circumstances already related.

By the former will of Philip IV. the case is clear, certain, and without limitation for an heir of the house of Austria; in the late will of Charles the Second, they feign a limitation, which is inconsistent with it both in words and sense. The son claims in the last a power to make a will, which they, that forged the second, endeavour to take away from the father.

The renouncing of the sister and the aunt contains an universal, unlimited, and direct exclusion; but the pretended will of Charles will needs say, that it has an oblique restriction in it, directly contrary to those terms and intentions above alledged. The former solemn acts declare for the house of Austria, and, in order to their greater force and certainty, they are established as fundamental

* The Second of Spain.
† French. ‡ Charles the Second of Spain. || The French Ministry.
|| The present King of Spain.

laws. But is it to love the house of Austria, and to strengthen its security, the depriving it of the kingdoms already so renowned for the name of Austria, in the grandfather's time, and the nominating French successors? Reason therefore thoroughly concurs with the letter, for a total exclusion of the French posterity; and it is not true, that in the treaties of contracts between Spain and France, no more than in the testament of Philip, the union of crowns was the sole and only reason.

For why should it else have been necessary to give it away to the females or younger family? When in France it goes to the eldest, and the females are for ever excluded the crown of France; this would be in vain to fear the union of the two crowns, in a person which is absolutely uncapable of either.

The Duke of Orleans, one of the sons of Anne of Austria, was heretofore passed by in silence, and, by virtue of his mother's contract of marriage, has always been neglected; which, in the mean time, would be contrary to all this, if regard was had only to the fear of uniting the two crowns.

And, in the last place, the crafty inventor of the late will has been so bold, as to do a manifest injury to the most serene daughters of the Emperor Leopold; inasmuch as he endeavours to exclude all and every of them from the pretended will, although he has not the least ground to fear in them the throne of France and Spain uniting by inheritance.

It is, therefore, evident, that the predecessors of the late King of Spain have had some other motive, than that of the sole fear of the union; they having bent 'their whole care to prevent any Prince of France from coming to the throne of Spain, upon the account of the publick tranquillity, and for the particular benefit of the house of Austria.'

And, if we examine the danger of the said union, what is there to assure the present Spaniards against the union, which they never cease exclaiming against? Is it the faith of France so often given, and so often broken? Is it the gravity of the Spaniards, which by the arts of its enemies is grown as fickle and as variable as a weather-cock, tossed by frequent and sudden whirlwinds? Is it the trouble or the contempt of a crown, in the vacancy of a neighbouring one, which lies perpetually at catch against the neighbouring states, till they are reduced into provinces?

But these last things are of a private concern, whereas the other things mentioned before are of a publick, and may be of pernicious consequence for the future, whatever way we consider them here. The force of peace, treaties, religion, and the very laws of Spain lie at the stake, and are called in question.

The French writers themselves cannot deny this, not even the Archbishop of Ambrun, who has made himself famous among them, by a libel heretofore published, under the title of 'A Defence of the Right * of the most Christian Queen.'

* Of Maria Teresa, which she, with the consent and approbation of her intended consort, had renounced before marriage.

That author writing in the said work with great care against the Spaniards, in favour of the French army, which then invaded Flanders, and not thinking it fit that he should be thought to reflect upon the Pragmatick * Sanction of Spain, he endeavours to elude it by all possible means, and magisterially to instruct the Spaniards in what was hurtful or profitable to them. The said sanction, with the other laws of Spain, are in a book, intituled, Nueva Recepilation, or A new Collection printed at Madrid, 1640. This sanction, in most express terms, excludes the French from the succession of Spain, so that it leaves no power to Lewis the Fourteenth, and his brother, nor to any of their children, to succeed to the kingdom of Spain, or any of the states depending thereon.

The said Archbishop acknowledges very well the express terms of that law, and puts himself to a deal of pains to overthrow so strong a bulwark. He repeats the quirks and shifts of some lawyers, which the Flemish † and Spaniards had already answered so fully, that the French might be ashamed to mention them again; and, that he might seem to say something of his own, he endeavours, in whole chapters, and at the end of his libel, to disprove the reasons of the usefulness of that law drawn from the publick interest of Europe; saying, that it wanted the authority of a legislator, and the solemnity of a publication; as if the publick was only concerned in increasing the power of France, without any regard to the house of Austria, and the quiet of Europe; whence it would follow, that 'no monarch could establish any constitutions without the approbation of France,' though they were never so conform to the most ancient customs of former ages. It is enough that, in that sanction of Spain, the friendship and honour of the house of Austria did prevail, after they had before been confirmed by agreements, which the French had made and swore to. It is enough that the said pragmatick sanction has been made and published by a wise and prudent King, on the request and by the advice of the states of the kingdom, according to the custom of their ancestors, as also according to other laws of a later date.

This author forgets himself, and condemns the Salique Law, and the authority of his own Kings, if he denies the force of this sanction, in the form and matter of which, all the former customs have wholly ceased.

The aversion of the French to the female sex has not always been so strong, as to exclude them with their children and relations from the succession; and nevertheless what the Salique Law, brought in by process of time, has forbid, is as clear as the sun.

The French authors are not ignorant of the solemn act which has been made not many ages since, which forbids to admit the daughters of France, who are in the appenage of a royal brother, to the succession after his death, though till then they had some part in it.

* You see that the house of Austria has been deluded before now by a Pragmatick Sanction, thro' the policy and power of France.

† Under the Spanish yoke.

In the first family of the Kings of France, the younger brothers had also their part in the crown so far, that even bastards were not excluded. Thus Clovis, who was the first Christian King, being dead, his four sons divided the kingdom in as many parts. Childebert had that of Paris; Clodomer that of Orleans; Clotarius that of Soison; and Theodorick their natural brother had that of Metz. At length, these four kingdoms being united in Clotarius, by the death of the rest, his four sons made a like division of it, each of them retaining the title of King of France.

This way of division continued likewise in the second family of the Kings of France almost to its end, and all the children of the Kings of France were called Kings. Yet none can say, that those things have been unjustly changed afterwards, and that they ought not to have been altered.

Hugh Capet, who brought the sceptre to the third family, was the first that made the law, and gave place to Appenages, as may be seen by an act of 1282, pronounced only in the presence of thirty nobles; yet the female heirs did not think themselves excluded by the act, until the reign of Philip le Bel, who expresly declared against their succession.

It were easy to remark several like changes touching the form of laws in ancient times, in the history of France. Now, what Frenchman dare accuse these changes of injustice, or declare them null? Or, who will accuse their kings of want of natural affection in excluding their daughters, even against their will, and without having renounced their right to it? Who dare declare the present laws of no force, because they differ from the ancient ones? Not to speak of those shadows of power in modern Parliaments, which make it clearly appear, that it were ridiculous in France to make the ancient laws the standard of the present ones.

Wherefore the Archbishop of Ambrun does but beat the air, when he speaks in a florid, but empty stile, against the aforesaid sanction; prostituting, by that means, the royal sincerity, and the sacredness of oaths, in the opinion of all those who are not blinded with partiality. But the evidence and the reasonableness of that law appears to all the world.

Kings should have but one tongue, and one pen, and there is nothing that shines more brightly in a prince than honesty and sincerity. Things that are promised, agreed upon, and sworn to, if ever they ought to be observed, they should be so, without doubt, by those whom we reverence, and esteem, as gods on earth. It is not lawful that what proceeds out of their lips should not take effect. The contracts of kings are not liable to school disputes, they despise the sophisms of the rabble; and they require an observation so much the more sincere, by how much they are agreeable to the matter of renunciations, to the laws of nations, to the decrees of the common law, and to the statutes of ecclesiastical canons.

The French, Flemish, and Spanish lawyers, and some of other nations, do teach, 'That stipulations made of the inheritance of a

person in life, particularly with respect to a marriage that is concluded, are approved by universal custom. That the example of almost all the world is for the validity of renunciations; and that too, though no oath should intervene, even notwithstanding the minority of the person, when they are made by a general consent, and for the publick good: that, in the oaths made by heirs, there is implied a solemn consent of their fathers, and an imprecation against them; so that they are as much obliged in conscience to see the thing performed, as those who formerly swore and promised it. That succession is conveighed to children by a certain instinct of nature, and not by any law of nature. That some things are founded on some natural reasons, yet not so as they cannot be changed, altered, or revoked. That one civil law may be abolished by another. That laws are arbitrary to those, in favour of whom they were made, &c.'

Should one be at the pains to read all the books that have been writ these thirty years*, he shall find that the French have been fickle and inconstant, and that they have no regard to treaties, laws, or latter wills, when they find it their advantage to break or oppose them. And this certainly should excite all the powers of Europe, who have any regard to their own welfare, in the present juncture of affairs, to take just measures in favour of the house of Austria, against the power and avarice of France.

The French put a malicious gloss upon the prudent and wise constitution, which is to be seen in the canon law, touching renunciations confirmed by oath, *Cap. Quamvis de Pactis;* as if the author of the said constitution, either out of vain glory, or out of a design to strengthen the papal authority, had made that exorbitant decretal, and had endeavoured, by a new law, to confirm that dignity to which the see of Rome has attained, by cunning and deceit.

The Pyrenean treaty, which was so prodigal of the Spanish dominions to the French, and the sacredness of repeated oaths, by which France has more than once renounced all claim to the succession of Spain, now complain of being maltreated and trampled under foot, and of being quite altered and deformed by law quirks and school quibbles.

The present Pope ought to resent the contempt that is thrown on his predecessor, and on the see of Rome; since the contract of marriage, which is now thought null, had the apostolical benediction to give it the more force, and make it more solemn and sacred.

The French violate treaties, deny kings the power of making laws, slight wills and testaments, and, in a word, overturn all those things upon which the peace and security of society and government is founded. They have no regard to the publick good of Europe, and, provided they can but raise the glory and power of France, they do not care if the whole universe besides should perish.

* Anno 1701.

The way to the universal monarchy is now more open to the King of France than ever, and it cannot be thought he will stop in his career which he has begun with so much craft and success, unless all the rest of Europe, sensible of the injuries done them by France, do stir up themselves, and, without losing time, examine what they are obliged to do in favour of the house of Austria, lest it should be deprived of its ancient patrimony, and lest Italy, England, Portugal, the United Provinces, and the rest of Germany, be robbed of their beloved liberties, and of their riches and glory.

We heartily condole the fate of Spain, that it has been so villainously seduced to act after such a mean and sordid way, as it has done of late. That Spain, which has so long discovered the snares, and resisted the cruel designs of France, should now basely submit to it, yield herself a slave, and quite lose her former greatness and glory; which she must certainly do, if she do not suddenly and vigorously assist the house of Austria.

We do not in the least doubt, but that the evident danger, which the dominions and trade of other nations are in, will persuade them to act with all their might, in favour of the just cause of the house of Austria, and make them join together for their own safety and tranquillity.

Neither can we doubt, but that his holiness, according to his great prudence, does perceive the little regard the French have for keeping of peace, or observing of covenants and oaths; how much they profane the name of God and the holy gospel; how haughty they are in their threats; how insupportable their government is; how treacherously active they are in foreign courts; and what they are capable to undertake, if the Spaniards, who so long nobly resisted them, continue ingloriously to submit to them, and keep their neck under that intolerable yoke.

We deplore the scandal that must follow thereupon; we foresee the approaching danger of our neighbours, and severe calamities, which threaten some remote nations.

The Emperor Leopold, who was always peaceable, and a lover of justice, is enemy to none but the Turks, and that too only when they provoke him. He is the avenger of the Christian dignity, and a religious observer of laws, treaties, and oaths. But what should he do now, when he is robbed of his patrimonial right, which, upon many accounts, belongs to the house of Austria, and so insolently invade the fiefs of the empire? The other princes of Europe, who have been injured by France, must certainly see that there is no more effectual way to secure their peace and prosperity, than by bringing France down, and opposing of it with all their force.

For my part I stop here, and advise them only upon the account of the dangers with which they are threatened, and upon account of their safety, which is now in a very tottering condition, to remember what has been said of old, 'To make use of the present time.' Time runs away with rapidity and swiftness, and when men neglect the first opportunity, they scarce ever find such a one again.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN THE

CITIES OF LONDON AND PARIS,

In Relation to the present Posture of Affairs, rendered into Verse, and made applicable to the Disturbances which now seem to threaten the Peace of Europe. Written by a Person who has no Money to pay Taxes in Case of a War. [From a Folio Edition, containing thirteen Pages, printed in London, 1701.]

THE PREFACE.

PREFACES have formerly been made use of to clear up some obscurities which have crept into the body of the books they belonged to, and let the reader into the author's design. But as there is no occasion for such a plea, either to vindicate my present intentions, or illustrate what is so obvious to every man's understanding, that has any knowledge from the news-papers of the publick transactions, I shall forbear making comments in prose, upon that which is no otherwise clouded with verse, than the common performances that run about the town so merrily, as pieces of scandal have of late.

I ought, indeed, to account for my making cities speak, when their inhabitants have tongues loud and capable enough of expressing their dissatisfactions at some proceedings, which are like to embroil them in a new war, and be very burthensome to their pockets, which they, probably, might wish to have loaden with more agreeable things than taxes, which are the likeliest methods imaginable to make them too light for those whom they belong to. But since Chaucer's birds and beasts have lately been talkative, and spoke their minds with a sort of assurance and freedom, I presume I may take the liberty to give stones the same privilege, which is altogether as poetical. But as some expressions, probably, may give occasion to some people who are subjects for satyre, and make them very ready to run down and decry them, so I must let them know something of my sentiments, and acquaint them, that its two combatants business to try which can cut deepest, and it has been the custom of every Roman gladiator, to take care, *Ne parma caderet*, that he should not drop his guard, and lay himself open to his enemy's attacks. This, I hope, will excuse the freedom one city takes with another; and since he, who has set them together by the ears, has taken care, like a true-born Englishman, to state the case so, as to make his own countryman's side the strongest, it is hoped, the English reader will give the design his favourable interpretation.

especially since the author has as little to get by a war (being no military man) as he has hitherto got by the peace.

London.

THOU City, whose aspiring turrets rise,
And next to mine are nearest to the skies,
Tell me from whence our mutual discord flows,
And two so near ally'd * must act like foes?

Paris.

Ah! sister, while we two divided stand,
And diff'rently support a diff'rent land,
While Holland's quarrels England's treasures drain,
And France remits her Louis d'Ors to Spain,
What hopes are left of seeing peace restor'd,
Or that our rival Kings will sheathe the sword?

London.

Our Kings will surely do as sov'reigns shou'd,
That earnestly advance their subjects good;
Not seek for measures to perplex the throne,
And for another's quiet lose their own.
Suppose two distant countries can't agree,
What are their private feuds to you or me?
E'en let 'em by themselves maintain the fight,
And each with arms in hand assert its right;
We, that are neighbours, should like neighbours prove,
And study commerce, as we practise love.

Paris.

But ties of blood, and friendship's laws, enjoin
Those that are Philip's † en'mies should be mine;
Here the young Prince first suck'd the vital air,
Ordain'd from hence to fill the regal chair,
And ought, from hence, to be with aid supply'd,
Since justice, birth, and merit take his side.
Yonder 's a land ‡, from whence your monarch drew
His infant breath, and is that land untrue?
What e'er he speaks or acts has their applause,
And life and fortune wait upon his cause;
While he for arbiter of fate is own'd,
And reigns a sov'reign || where he 's not inthron'd.
Why should not my affection be the same,
Since there is no distinction in their claim,
As I a native's right with zeal pursue,
And practise what should be perform'd by you?

* In situation and greatness.
† Philip, Duke of Anjou, now King of Spain.
‡ Holland. || Stadtholder.

London.

'Tis own'd that natives should for natives stand,
Where nature pleads, and justice binds a land;
But when a prince, by mean clandestine ways,
Ascends a royal throne, and scepter sways;
When vows and oaths are reckon'd things of course,
And a forg'd will * is valid and of force,
Your bonds and obligations are as void,
As if a foreigner the throne enjoy'd;
Since what's unjust deserves an equal scorn,
From those in France, as those without it born;
If perjury 's the same in diff'rent climes,
And Paris should abhor Parisian's † crimes.
Such is thy Philip———when my William's name
Fills ev'ry tongue and swells the voice of fame.
Bold is his soul, yet peaceful is his mind,
Forgetful of himself for human kind;
Ready for war, when honour sounds alarms,
But, for his subjects ease, averse to arms,
Unless their safety wings him to the field,
And king d oms skreen themselves behind his shiel.
As Lewis grasps at the terrestrial ball ‡,
And's not content to rise, unless we fall.

Paris.

Presumptuous wretch, thy base reflexions spare,
Monarchs, like mine, are heav'n's peculiar care,
As heav'n's vicegerents they its image bear.
Born to be kings by God's own act ‖ they reign,
And from their high descent their scepters gain:
Not call'd to govern by the people's choice,
Or holding crowns precarious from their voice:
Survey my prince, if thou can'st bear the sight
Of lineaments, so awful and so bright,
And stand amaz'd at features that surprise
The most audacious looks and daring eyes,
And vindicate their kindred to the skies.
Is there a line ignoble in his face,
Or what's degenerate from Bourbon's race?
Is there a thought admitted to his soul,
That prompts him to commit a deed that's foul?
Or can a mind so prodigally good,
That has for other's rights so bravely stood;

* See this well explained in the Rights of the House of Austria to the Spanish succession, beginning on page 483, in this volume.
† Alluding to the bloody Bartholomew massacre of the Protestants at Paris, at a time when all seemed to live in peace.
‡ Universal monarchy.
‖ This is the doctrine of absolute monarchs, who pretend to an hereditary right, not only to the crown, but to the liberties and properties of their subjects, by divine right, or that they are commissioned by God to inslave their subjects.

That kings exil'd maintains within his court,
And gives thy 'abdicated prince' * support;
Submit to methods of so vile a fame,
When armies might make good his grandson's † claim,
And troops innumerable seize a crown,
Which must have been 'without a will' ‡ his own?
He swore, indeed, exclusive of his right,
And promis'd France and Spain should ne'er unite;
And still he keeps religious to his oath,
Since there are different kings that govern both,
And in their separate thrones distinctly shine,
Though both proceed from one illustrious line.

London.

Not that I'd wrongfully crown'd heads abuse,
Or due respect to regal titles lose,
But, when fictitious births, as true, are feign'd,
And Bourbon's blood with Mazarine's is stain'd.
When a Queen's fame a just suspicion brings,
And lustful priests beget lascivious Kings,
I stand excus'd, and guiltless are my thoughts,
If I affirm a certain King has faults,
And fall off from the deference he might claim,
Did not the father's birth the mother's shame;
As the lewd statesman § took his master's place,
And dash'd with infamy the regal race.

All must allow, as it by all is known,
That Lewis was begotten to a throne;
And from his very being was ordain'd,
To wield the scepter where he long has reign'd.

Yet all must likewise hold this maxim good,
That merit is superlative to blood;
And it's much nobler to deserve, and gain
Crowns, the rewards of hero's toils and pain,
Than idly be beholden to his birth,
And owe to nature what is due to worth.
We grant that our Nassovian hero ‖ came,
And trod unbeaten ways to purchase fame;
Through devious paths in quest of crowns appear'd:
But he deserv'd the more, the more he dar'd,
As he through joyful crouds to empire rode,
And shew'd the people's voice the voice of God;
Whilst thy inglorious monarch sat at home,
And meditated over ills to come,
Unweary'd with the mischiefs he had done.

* James. † Philip's claim to Spain. ‡ See the first note in the foregoing page.
§ Cardinal Mazarine was the supposed father.
‖ King William the Third, Prince of Orange and Nassau.

With his insatiate strumpet * by his side,
To feed his lust, and gratify his pride.
What if thy master looks austere and great,
And he seems pointed out to reign by fate?
What if his eyes majestically roul,
If no kind beams of goodness grace his soul?
If his base mind, possess'd by thoughts unclean,
Darkens the brightness of his shining mien,
And 'tis but just, that monarchs should provide
For those their wicked arts have led aside.
Two Kings, it's granted, in two kingdoms reign,
And one's inthron'd in France, and one in Spain;
Different in person, but the same in mind,
As the same principles run through the kind,
And spread their venom, and disperse their stains,
To make one's boundless pride swell t'other's veins,
While France creeps slily into Spain's esteem,
And Lewis is not KING, but Lord Supreme †.

Paris.

When threat'ning foes her provinces invade,
'Tis time to look about, and seek for aid;
And where should kindred but on kindred call,
T' avert their ruin, and prevent their fall?
If then my monarch, rous'd from peace's charms,
Has, for his grandson's sake, recourse to arms;
If he foregoes his pleasures to maintain
The sinking grandure of declining Spain,
Over their councils he may well preside,
And, as he is their safeguard, be their guide.

London.

Mistake him not; but take a nearer sight,
And lay his actions open to the light;
Find, if thou canst, amidst his earliest cares,
Ev'n but a thought not selfish in affairs;
Int'rest directs him, and ambition shows
The means by which his predecessors rose,
And climb'd the steps where empire was the prize,
Seemingly loth, but resolute to rise:
His troops are Spain's assistants in pretence,
And cover usurpation with defence;
But times will come, should German armies fail,
And injuries o'er what is right prevail,
When her brave sons, that have so long withstood
The vain attempts of France and Bourbon's blood,

* Madam Maintenon, who lived openly with the King of France, in defiance of God and his holy religion.
† Sways the councils of the court of Spain.

Shall wish this friend had been their open foe,
And feel a sad increase of shame and woe.
As they, at last, this just conclusion make,
Lewis turn'd hypocrite for Lewis's sake,
And stood by the succession to the throne,
Not for his grandson's interest, but his own.

Paris.

The souls of princes are of moulds divine,
And from superior orbs enlighten'd shine;
No scanty beings that confinement bear,
But are enlarg'd as elemental air,
That knows no limit, but what nature bounds,
And fleets about the globe in endless rounds.
Ambition fires 'em, and dominion warms,
And shoots them forth in search of glory's charms,
As fame and greatness claims their sole regard,
And conquest offers crowns as their reward.
Such thoughts as these thy monarch's breast inspir'd,
And made him nobly seek what he desir'd;
Forc'd him rough seas and tempests to explore,
And try the dangers of thy faithless shore,
Else had he still, contented with his state,
Forborne to do the glorious work of fate,
And sat at home, that burghers might propose
Business for him, that was to scepters chose;
And those illustrious chiefs *, who swell his veins
With princely blood, that servitude disdains,
Never had shaken off the Spaniard's chains.
This godlike ardor made 'em grasp the shield,
And run to vict'ry, as they took the field,
While they let these † that were their masters see,
They durst revolt, be conquerors, and be free.
If acts, like these, are worthy of applause,
Why should not praise attend my sovereign's cause,
If lust of empire boils within his soul,
And he slights half the universe for the whole?
In them such daring thoughts have gain'd esteem,
And ought likewise to be admir'd in him.

London.

Such are the thoughts that fill thy prince's breast,
And turbulently keep him from his rest:
Theft, murder, violence, fraud, and perj'ry join,
To push him forward to some mean design,
And prompt him to perform what's scorn'd by mine.

* The Prince of Orange's ancestors, who delivered Holland from the tyranny of Spain.
† Spaniards.

'Tis not ambition wings him forth for fame,
But a base niggard soul that covets shame,
That still subjects his reason to his will,
And would be talk'd of, tho' for doing ill;
Desirous to be known in after-days,
And to employ our tongues, if not our praise.
When, if you search my careful Monarch's mind,
You'll see the noble passions all refin'd,
All of a piece, just, regular, and true,
And fitting for a prince to have in view;
Well temper'd thoughts, not over hot, nor cool,
Ready to act, but acting still by rule;
Wisdom his pilot, and content his guide,
A known experience, and a judgment try'd;
Boundless in wishes for his people's good,
And prodigal of industry and blood;
For their sakes, covetous of being known,
But wholly unambitious for his own.

Paris.

With grief I speak it, and confess with pain,
Could but my Lewis like thy William reign,
Contract his wishes, and withdraw his claim
To universal empire, and to fame,
No prince more envied could adorn a crown,
Or have more fair pretensions to renown.
How would my sons within these walls appear,
And gladness be successive to their fear;
If trade could once return into the Seine,
Or Thames his riches be exchang'd for mine?

London.

Please not thyself with vain delusive schemes,
Nor feed my willing hopes with empty dreams;
Who can expect such welcome joys to share,
When monarchs fatten on the spoils of war?
When in thy courts no treaties are of force,
And solemn leagues are render'd void of course;
When trade's deny'd us that's to others free,
And we must lose th' advantage of the sea;
As edicts break through the most sacred ties,
And oaths are trivial things in royal eyes:
As perjury's an act of special grace,
And James the Third has James the Second's place*,
For England's king, within thy borders own'd,
Though England has another prince inthron'd,

* As soon as King James the Second died at St. Germains, Lewis, the King of France, ordered James's pretended son to be proclaimed King of Great-Britain, by the title of James the Third.

Whose lawful title France would ne'er oppose,
Did she regard the peace, beyond my foes.

Paris.

What has my prince against his treaties done?
He kept the father, and maintains the son.
Nor arms, nor force, nor treasure does he lend,
Just only to the word he gave his friend *,
Whose dying breath bequeath'd him to his care,
He seeks no kingdoms, though he's own'd their heir.
Titles are empty sounds, and cannot break
Treaties, unless he arms for titles sake;
Asserts his right, and vindicates his claim,
Beyond a specious compliment of name.
That's all he gives him, and that gift's no more,
Than what the father was allow'd before;
And since that recognition broke no vow,
Why is it styl'd the cause of rupture now?
As for your commerce, and decrease of trade,
Ev'n thank your Senate † for the laws they've made;
Their votes occasion what my prince enjoins;
We tax your products, 'cause you tax our wines;
Else had your merchants traffick'd on my coast,
And both our nations gain'd what both have lost;
Yet may we still those mutual joys restore,
And plenty spread its wings on either shore,
Would but your sons e'en now with mine agree,
And what I'd suffer them they suffer me.

London.

Think not of peace, nor, with expecting eyes,
Hope for the Goddess that my courtship flies.
Long she can ne'er within thy walls abide,
While men for private ends the publick guide;
While modern whigs are in my courts receiv'd,
And those are trusted who the nation griev'd;
While O——d still enjoys his master's smiles,
Like beast of prey escap'd from hunter's toils;
While serious S——, sprung from a saint-like race,
Advises war with a religious grace,
To hide the irreligion of his place;
And H—— puff'd up with pride, and praise,
For making use of other's means and ways,
Looks big and pow'rful at the council-board,
Rais'd from a party-poet to a lord.
War is their theme, though peace is their delight;
Would peace with-hold their crimes from publick sight,
And suffer wrong to take the place of right.

* He promised this to James the Second, upon his death-bed. † Parliament.

Thus pilf'rers pass with undistinguish'd names,
And fish for others goods amidst the flames,
While the poor sufferers their engines turn
To quench the fire that in their houses burn.
All hands are busied to direct its course,
And houses are blown up to stop its force,
When, at the last, impoverish'd by their stealth,
They save their dwellings, but they lose their wealth.

Paris.

I see too plainly that your thoughts are true,
And our old enmities break out-anew;
Like wounds skinn'd o'er, a-fresh they rage and bleed,
And the most skilful artists councils need,
Who timely can the patients lives insure,
And by incision make a perfect cure.
Since war's the gen'ral cry, let war be chose,
My sons were never us'd to fly their foes;
Fearless in fight, they cannot fights refuse,
And us'd to gain, they know not how to lose;
Witness when Europe all contending strove,
Like giants in a league to conquer Jove.
Troops join'd with troops, and states with states combin'd,
To bring down Lewis his exalted mind;
When ev'ry nation found it to its cost,
That in ten years he ne'er one battle lost.
The same success will still his arms attend,
And fortune must of course be now his friend,
Since kingdoms, when divided, needs must fall,
And he must conquer part that conquer'd all.
Go —— let your prince recal his subjects hence,
And M—— shew manners like his sense,
Let Pousin * be return'd us back again,
With all the marks of hate, and cold disdain,
The times may come, you may this action rue,
And wish for peace with me, as I with you,
Since wounds and death are still the gains of war,
And you can be at last but what you are.

London.

To be but what he is, is all the claim,
My prince does make from empire and from fame;
Grief swells his breast to think of subjects wounds,
But France must be withheld within its bounds,
And her false king, who thinks no crimes amiss,
Be made what he is not from what he is.

* The French Ambassador.

Look on thy sons, so daring and so brave,
And see th' * Italians climb once more their grave:
Thro' rocks of stone the German passage makes,
Levels the mountains, and dries up the lakes;
From hill to hill the pond'rous cannon flings,
And climb's imperious cliffs with eagle's wings.
As Eugene acts the † Carthagin'an's part,
Shewing much more of industry and art,
And cuts out roads, where nature did intend
Nothing, almost, like human should ascend;
While adverse troops, astonish'd at the sight,
Leave floods unguarded to avoid the fight.
These are the champions which thy cause maintain,
And vindicate a base inglor'ous reign,
That plead prescription from their father's pride,
'To lord it over all the world beside.'
Nothing like this is by my prince ‡ design'd,
'Just are his thoughts, and right'ous is his mind;'
He fears no danger, and he seeks no war,
Tho' it appears to gather from a-far:
Fleets he provides, and armies he prepares,
To calm our troubles, and remove our fears.
'Grant, that he ne'er increase his large demains,'
And by his conquest 'no new kingdoms gains,'
That Mexico, tho' sav'd from Gallick hands,
Be none of his, nor rich Peruv'an lands,
Ease and content would fill the monarch's breast,
Were not his rival § of their wealth possess'd:
So the fierce bull that has in battle strove
For the reward of empire and of love,
Weary'd with fight, his head declining lays,
Joyful to see the prize at distance graze,
While his tir'd foe alike contented lies,
And views, what he can't seize, with longing eyes,
Paid fully for the dangers he has run,
Since neither does possess what neither won.

* As before at the battle of Pavia, where Francis the First was taken prisoner.
† Hannibal, that melted the Alps with vinegar, according to Livy's account.
‡ The King of Great-Britain. § France and Spain.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

USE AND ORIGINAL

OF

THE NOBLE ART OF PRINTING.

BY F. BURGES, NORWICH*.

The Author of this little Piece was Mr. Francis Burges, a Printer, who first carried that Art and Mystery to Norwich. But, meeting with small Encouragement, and great Opposition, as if he had brought an additional Expence to the City, he published this, by way of Apology: In the first Place, shewing, that he broke not in upon any other Persons Property, that his Trade was of great Use in a trading Place, a great Means to promote Piety, and a certain Method to do Good to several other Trades; because, under the Printer, the Bookseller, Bookbinder, Joiner, Smith, &c. may hope to reap Advantage.

Concerning the Usefulness of Printing.

THIS (says a late author) is so plain to all discerning men, that I need say the less; this illustrious art being sufficiently known to be the great propagator and diffuser of all useful knowledge. For, since the art of printing was found out, which is not yet three-hundred years, all sorts of learning have been more diffused and cultivated, than in a thousand years before. And what great advances, and mighty progress is daily made, in finding out abstruse secrets, and discovering the hidden mysteries of art and nature, those that are conversant among books do very well know. And all this is justly to be attributed to this incomparable art, which gives men such an advantage of communicating their thoughts to each other, in so plain and easy a manner, as the ages, before this invention, were ignorant of. And therefore erudition and learning, the improvement of all the works of nature, and the perfection of all arts and sciences, are the genuine effects of this noble mystery, and an evident demonstration of its usefulness, as well as its excellency.

It is by the art of printing, that we come to know the lives and actions of the renowned worthies of the first ages of the world; whereby those things that were transacted some thousand years ago, are as familiar to us, as if they had been done but yesterday. It is printing that does immortalise the memory of ancient and modern heroes, and transmits their worthy deeds and actions to the end of time.

* This was the first book that ever was printed at Norwich, which was published on the 27th of September, 1701. Octavo, containing seventeen pages.

And it is in respect of its usefulness, that Polydore Virgil stiles it, 'A divine benefit afforded to mankind; and therefore Cardan tell us, that it is an art inferior to none, either for usefulness or wit; far out-doing the most dextrous writer, both for neatness and expedition: For one press can dispatch more business in one day, than the swiftest writer can transcribe in a year or two. On this account also, Petrus Scriverius calls it, *Palladium, præsidium, & tutelam musarum, & omnis doctrinæ;* that is, 'the fortress, garison, and defence, not only of the muses, but of all literature whatsoever.'

This noble mystery has illustriously shewn its usefulness in the assistance it has given to the propagation of the true religion; having banished that Cimmerian darkness that had overspread the face of the earth, and caused the glorious light of the gospel to shine forth with a resplendent lustre, by the printing that incomparable treasure of a Christian 'The Holy Scriptures.' Before the finding out of this illustrious art, the Epistle of St. James was thought a mighty penny-worth, when purchased for a load of hay; whereas now, both the Old and New Testament may be bought for five shillings.

But it is not by printing of the Holy Bible only, that this noble art and mystery (for so it was stiled by Queen Elisabeth, when she did it the honour to go and see it) has been serviceable to religion, but also by emitting many other good books and useful tracts into the world, whereby the errors of Popery have been discovered and confuted, and the way of truth made known. Hence says N. Billingsley, in his *Brachy-Martyrologia.*

'The gospel-light appear'd not very clear,
'Until the fourteen-hundred fiftieth year,
'Wherein God pleased to unbosom night,
'The art of printing being brought to light.'

And another ingenious author to the same purpose says:

'The noble art of printing found
'No sooner, but it Rome did wound;
'And ever since, with nimble ray,
'Spreads knowledge to a perfect day.'

Lastly, this art of printing was first brought into England by Simon Islip, in the year 1471, at the charge of King Henry VI. Whence printing was for may years accounted the King's prerogative as much as coining: But in process of time it became a free trade. The first printing-press, in England, was set up by the fore-named Simon Islip, in Westminster-Abbey, London; and printing first used there by William Caxton. And its being first set up in a church, occasioned all printing-houses in England to be called chapels, which name they retain to this day.

Concerning the Original of Printing.

IT would certainly redound very much to the dishonour of printers, if the original of this noble art should not be transmitted to posterity: Since it is by printing alone, that the earliest actions of antiquity are brought down to the present age. For this art, by multiplying books, hath multiplied knowledge, and brought to our cognisance both persons and things vastly remote from us, and long before our time; which otherwise had perished in oblivion, and been as things which never had a being.

I have therefore endeavoured, in this short essay, to rescue from the iron-teeth of time, the original of that noble mystery, which gives immortality even to learning itself, and is the great conservator of all arts and sciences.

And yet, to whom the world is indebted, for this excellent invention, we do not certainly know. This being one of the *inventa adespota* of the masterless inventions, of which the only reason, that can be assigned, is,

Laus veterum est meruisse omnis præconia famæ,
Et sprevisse simul———

Brave men more studious were, in former days,
Of doing good, than of obtaining praise.

That it is a Teutonick invention, is agreed upon by most voices. From hence the poet sings,

O Germanica! muneris repertrix,
Quo nihil utilius dedit vetustas;
Libros scribere, quæ doces premendo.

Which may thus be paraphrased,

O noble German! author of this gift,
(Which ev'n to heav'n itself thy fame does lift)
Antiquity ne'er yet divulg'd that thing
Which did more profit unto mankind bring;
Or unto learned labours more incite,
Since, by the press, thou dost large volumes write.

But, whether Higher or Lower Germany shall have the honour of it is yet a controversy undecided: And in the Upper Germany, whether Mentz or Basil, or Strasburg, for all these do not only challenge it, but contend no less for the birth-place of this noble mystery, than the Grecian cities did for the cradle of Homer. Which, by the way, is no small indication of the just value which the world has of it, since there is such striving for the honour of its original. The general voice is for Mentz, and that one John Guttemberg (or Fust, or Faustemberg, as others term him) a knight and citizen of that city, was the true father and inventer of this

art, about the year 1440. And that the occasion of it was, he having cut the letters of his name out of the bark of a tree, which was green, and full of sap, and afterwards putting them into a fine linnen handkerchief, the letters impressed upon the linnen their own characters: This first inspired him with the thoughts of making characters of metal, that might make an impression upon paper, which he afterwards effected. This is strongly affirmed by the citizens of Mentz, saith Polydore Virgil, lib. ii. cap. 7. *de invent. rerum:* And for proof hereof they produce a copy of Tully's Offices, printed in parchment, and preserved in the library of Augsburg, having this memorandum at the latter end of it, '*Præsens M. Tullii opus clarissimum, Jo. Fust, Moguntinus civis non atramento plumali canna, neque ærea, sed arte quadam perpulchra manu Petri Gersheim, pueri mei, fæliciter effeci: Finitum, anno* 1440. *Die quarto Mens. Feb.*' In English thus: 'I John Fust, citizen of Moguntia, have happily effected the present most illustrious work of Mark Tully, performed neither by pen and ink, nor brass, but by a certain art, purely by the fair hand of my son Peter Gersheim: Done in the year 1440, on the fourth day of February.' This is cited by Salmuth, in his annotations on Pancirollus, who stands stifly for Germany (his own country) in this point: And also cites another argument from the library of Francfort, wherein an old copy of the decisions of the Rota are kept; at the latter end thereof it is said, 'That it was printed in *civitate Moguntiæ artis impressoriæ inventrice & elimatrice prima;* that is, In the city of Moguntia, being the first inventer and refiner of the art of printing.'

But, nothwithstanding all these evidences for High Germany, yet Hadrianus Junius, a very learned man of the Low-Countries, is as stiff, on the other side for Haerlem, making that the birth-place of this noble art. This Junius (in his history of the Netherlands) tells us, 'That one Laurence John (others call him Laurence Coster) a burgher of good note and quality in the city of Haerlem, was the first inventer of it;' and saith, 'That he made letters at first of the barks of trees (as was before said of the other) which being set and ranked in order, and put with their heels upwards upon paper, he made the first essay and experiment of this art: At first he made but a line or two, then whole pages, and then books, but printed on one side only:' Which rudiments of the art, Junius says, he saw in the town.

And then to turn John Guttemberg, or Fust, or Faustus, quite out of doors, he gives us this further account: 'That, after this, the aforenamed Laurence John made types or characters of tin, and brought the art to further perfection daily: But one John Faustus (though he proved *Infaustus* to him) who was his servant and had learned the mystery, stole away all the letters, and other utensils belonging to the trade; and, after several removes, set up for himself at Mentz, making as if he were the first inventer of it; (whereas, if what Junius says be true, he had only stole it from Laurence John) and the first book, he printed there, was the

Doctrinal of one Alexander Gallus, which he printed in the year 1440.

This is further confirmed by Hegenitz, who saith, that house the of Laurence John is yet standing in the market-place of Haerlem, with this inscription in golden letters over the door:

Memoriæ Sacrum.

Typographiæ Ars, Artium Conservatrix, hic primum Inventa, circa Annum MCCCCXL.

That is,

Sacred to Memory.

The Art of Printing, the Preserver of Arts, was first invented here, about the year MCCCCXL.

And underneath, these verses:

Vana quid archetypos & præla Moguntia jactas?
Haerlemi archetypos prælaque nota scias.
Extulit hic, monstrante Deo, Laurentius artem;
Dissimulare virum hunc, dissimulare Deum est.

Which I have thus paraphrased,

Moguntia, why do you thus vainly boast
Of archetypes and presses, at your cost,
Whereas at Haerlem they were first, thou know'st.
There to Laurentius first, inspir'd by heav'n,
The knowledge of this noble art was giv'n.
To rob the man, who did this art reveal,
Is a like crime as 'tis from heav'n to steal.

Thus I have given the different pleas of both parties; yet will not pretend to determine which is in the right, but leave the decision to the reader's judgment.

But this is certain, that, though, the chief honour is due to the inventer, yet that perfection and beauty, that printing is now arrived to, is very much owing to them that came after, many in the present age having not a little contributed thereto, here in England, where it is at as great perfection as in any part of the world. And it is as true as strange that, where printing was invented, the art is almost lost, and did never there arrive to any great perfection.

Printing has been in China, above two-thousand years; but their way is so vastly different from the method we use in Europe, that no comparison can be made between them, the former having so many boards, as they have pages in their book, on which their characters are carved, one representing (or standing for) a man, another an house, &c. as they have occasion to place them; and of

these characters they have such great numbers, that few of them know the one half; they not making use of four and twenty letters to make words, as is used here. This way of the Chinese was not heard of, till within these very few years.

It is well known of the Turks, that they have not the learning, the art in trades, or war, as their neighbours the Germans; and the chief reason is, they have not printing among them, which they will not suffer; for fear, as is thought, it should undermine their false religion, and plant Christianity in its stead.

SCOTLAND CHARACTERISED:

IN A

LETTER WRITTEN TO A YOUNG GENTLEMAN,

TO DISSUADE HIM FROM AN INTENDED JOURNEY THITHER.

Scotica si diris devotum, terra tulisset
Cainum; non alias exul peragraverat oras.
Ipsa suis contenta malis: Non indiga pestis
Externæ: Infensi satiasse numinis iras.
Cleaveland translated.

By the Author of 'The Trip to North Wales.' 1701. Folio. Containing four Pages.

IT was not without the greatest surprise in the world, that I heard, from my Lady your mother, your intentions led you to our neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, to perfect and give the grace-stroke to that very liberal education, you have so signally improved in England. I confess, it is very irksome, to some spirits, to be contradicted and thwarted in either their expressions, or designs: and they do, with such an unpersuadable obstinacy, cherish their own ideas, that you might as well expect grapes from a thistle, as to make them change their party, though upon the most demonstrative arguments, that can be produced. But I hope better things of you; and do not in the least doubt, but you are so much reason's humble servant, that, if I convince you this ramble of yours will neither be for your credit, pleasure, nor advantage (which I shall make the topicks of my discourse) you will even stay where you are, and not hazard three things so very precious to all rational creatures; and, if you meet with any harsh, rugged expressions in this epistle, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, that it was nothing, but a grateful sense of my own obligations, and a

hearty desire of your welfare, that extorted them from me. And let so much suffice, by way of preface.

You are now advanced to those years, in which, if ever, men begin to consider and propose some end to themselves in what they do. But, under favour, if, by going into Scotland, you imagine to improve your intellect, you are as wide of your purpose, as if you should take West-Chester in your way from London to Dover; and, before I will believe, that ever any man, that has lived a gentleman, or fellow-commoner, in either of our two Universities, and a little tasted of the education of an inn of court (as you have done) can ampliate his understanding by grazing in the Caledonian forest, I will subscribe to the calling in of the Jews, and the Pope's being turned protestant.

I will not deny, but Scotland has formerly given very eminent scholars to the world; nay, I will go further, there are no finer gentlemen in the world, than that nation can justly boast of; but then they are such as have travelled, and are indebted to other countries for those accomplishments that render them so esteemed, their own affording only pedantry, poverty, brutality, and hypocrisy.

To make this evident, give me leave a little to pursue my proposed method: And here pleasure (which influences most people, young especially, that care not much to look forwards) leads the van. Now, Sir, you would take him for a very unaccountable man, that should pretend to regale his nose with *asa fœtida*, or, in the heat of summer, take sanctuary in a bagnio, for coldness; and yet you do the same thing in effect, when you make the tour of Scotland for diversion.

For the charms of conversation (which, considering man as a sociable creature, are most universally desired) it may be presumed, Nebuchadnezzar, when turned out a grasing, had full as eligible companions, as you are like to meet with; and you might, with as much safety, enter into a league of friendship with a cannibal, who would upon the first opportunity eat you up, as with a Scotchman; for what Sir John Chardin says of the Mingrelians, may be truly applied to them, 'That they are perfidy itself. 'The most sacred ties, as oaths and the like, are snapped asunder by them with as much ease, as the new cords were by Sampson. And there is nothing amongst them, to their very kings (of which the last age afforded us a very memorable example) that is not vendible. Civility is not so much as known in the idea amongst that proverbially clownish people. The conscience of a custom-house officer, the integrity of a knight of the post, the modesty of a common prostitute, and the courage of a town-bully amount to full as much.

Their women are, if possible, yet worse than the men, and carry no temptations, but what have at hand suitable antidotes; and you must be qualified for the embraces of a Succubus, before you can break the seventh, or one article of the tenth commandment here. The skin of their faces looks like vellum; and a good Orientalist

might easily spy out the Arabick alphabet between their Eye-brows. Their legs resemble mill-posts, both for shape, bigness, and strength; their hair is like that of an overgrown hostess; their gait like a Muscovian duck's; and their fingers strut out with the itch, like so many country justices going to keep a petty sessions. Their voice is like thunder, and will as effectually sowre all the milk in a dairy, or beer in a cellar, as forty drums beating a preparative. It is a very common thing for a woman of quality to say to her footman, 'Andrew, take a fast gripe of my a——, and help me over the stile.'

They pretend to be descended from one Madam Scota, daughter to King Pharaoh; but the best proof, they give of it, is their bringing two of the plagues of Egypt along with them, viz. lice and the itch; which they have intailed upon their posterity ever since.

Some are of opinion, that, when the Devil shewed our Saviour the kingdoms of the earth, he laid his thumb upon Scotland, and that for a twofold reason: First, because it was not like to be any temptation. Next, being part of his mother's jointure, he could not dispose of it during her life.

For their cookery and bedding, they are the antipodes of all cleanly folks. Can you like to breakfast upon *steen bannock*? (An oaten cake, often baked upon my hostess's warm womb.) Or drink ropy ale, that is full as palpable, as ever the Egyptian darkness was? Would it please you to see a joint of meat ready to run away from you? And yet such must be your entertainment there.

In Edinburgh, the capital city, whither you are going, they have not a private *forica;* but, as their houses, which are incredibly high, consist of eight or ten distinct families, each of which possesses an intire floor, so, at every stair's-head, you may see a great tub, called a *cogue*, that is the receptacle-general of the nastiness of a whole family; for all disembogue here promiscuously, both males and females, masters and mistresses, with their servants, without the least restraint of modesty or shame. When this is competently full, two lusty fellows, by the help of a cowl-staff, carry it by night to a window, and, after crying, 'Geud peeple, leuk to yar selles there,' out they throw it; he, that comes by, has great cause to bless his stars, if he comes off with piss. It may be, at high noon, and in the principal street, you shall meet a tattered wretch, with a monstrous cloke, and a close-stool under it, bawling out, 'Wha wants me?' For a half-penny you may be accommodated, and covered, whilst you are so.

Trees are great rarities: This made Sir Anthony Weldon, who knew the country very well, say, 'That, had Christ lived there, and been betrayed, as most certainly he would have been, if he had lived there, Judas might sooner have found the grace of repentance, than a tree to hang himself on.' The high-street in Edinburgh, about three quarters of a mile long, is very fit, by reason of its breadth, for a triumph, from the Castle to Holy-rood-

house; but the rest of the lanes, as they call them, are absolutely common-sewers, which make the city look like a comb.

No wonder, then, if the Scots, who are not unfitly resembled to a *crepitus ventris*, once Anglified, care not for returning to their native country; and yet, as the French refugees take all occasions to extol their monarch, his armies, palaces, &c. so these gentlemen, though in England, cannot forbear to magnify their own 'gude land.' He is happy, that believes their report, without going thither to refute it.

If you call to have your sheets aired, forty to one, but the wench, in great civility, proffers to uncase, and come into bed to you. I was much surprised at my landlady's asking me one night, 'If my cods lay right?' But I quickly cleared her from any ill meaning, when I understood, it is their name for the pillows.

You shall commonly hear a beggarly Scot, whose every meal is a stratagem, here in England, tell you of his felicities there, and how he used to walk about his father's perk, with a lacquey at his heels; but you must not immediately conceive too extraordinary an opinion of his grandeur; for, upon inquiry how many deer his father had in his perk, the truth will out, though to shame both Scot and Devil, 'That his father kept no deer in his perk, and that they call an inclosure a perk, in his country.' A Scotch laird, having got boosy, and mounted upon a mole-hill to survey his large demeans, asked his man, 'If he knew a greater lord than himself?' He was told, 'Yes, viz. the Lord Jehovah.' Says he, 'Ise neer heard of that Lord, but get ye to him, and will him immediately to surrender all to me, or Ise pull him out by the lugs.' The servant, to honour his master's pride, seems to do so, and, upon his return, tells him he need not use such violent methods, it was but ask, and he might have his kingdom. 'Well, replies my gentleman, since he be so civil, deel take me, if ever I, or any of mine, set our foot where he's got to do.'

But, Sir, if you have the least regard to your own, or your country's reputation, you will never go thither to feed upon husks with swine, especially since you may have bread enough, and that of the finest sort, in our own universities. In a word, a Padua physician, a Salamanca doctor of divinity, and a Scotch master of arts, are three animals sunk below contempt, and not to be paralleled in the universe.

In the last place, for any advantage you are like to get, I dare be bold to say, you might hope for as much in one of those Lithuanian academies Dr. Crull speaks of, that are erected for the education of bears and other wild beasts.

Their colleges are neither, for learning, libraries, learned men, revenues, or structure, any more to be compared to ours, than a dancing-master's kit to a bass-viol, or a Welch vicarage to St. Paul's cathedral.

None but the principal and professors lodge within the walls at Edinburgh, to which you are going (I meddle not with St. Andrew's, Glascow, or Aberdeen, because I never saw them, and

hardly know how to believe the relations of those that have) so that you must undavoidably take up in the town with some *faute loon*, who will stick to you as close as the ivy does to the oak, and for the same reason too, to draw away your sap from you. The scholars go like sword-men, and never can be called the *gens togata*, till they are laureated, *i. e.* take their degrees of masters of arts, which is constantly done at four years standing, and not unfrequently, especially if there be money in the case, sooner; then they oblige you with a most ample diploma, written in an effeminate sort of Latin, and as fulsome as a mountebank's panegyrick on his own balsam, or wonder-working *Panacea:* The scope of it is to satisfy your friends, to whom returning, that you have spent much money, travelled many miles, endured great hardships, and taken extraordinary pains, to very little purpose.

This college is divided into five distinct classes: Each of these has a several regent, who, from nine till twelve in the morning, and from two till five in the afternoon, shall entertain you with a lecture as jejune as a homily, but as terrible for length, as an old parliament fast; and they, you know, were reckoned dreadful enough. The only degree they confer, is that of master of arts; Dr. Rule, the present principal, is doctor of medicine, though a divine. They have two pretty tolerable philosophers, one an Aristotelian, the other a disciple of Cartes; but not a good mathematician, or sound Grecian, in their whole college. For their divinity, it is so so. They are intirely of the presbyterian cut, and made more haste to throw out bishops, than the Israelites did of old to expel the Canaanites. Theft, as being one of their liberal sciences, is rather cherished than punished: But adulterers and fornicators are miserably persecuted by them. If they detect a lady of pleasure, they oblige her, publickly, in the time of divine worship, to mount a theatre of ignominy, called, forsooth, the stool of repentance, to the end all the geude brethren may know where to have a whore. They are professed foes to all copy-hold tenures in divinity, and will much rather preach extempore nonsense, than use notes. In the time of King James I. soon after his coming into England, one of his own country thus accosted him, 'Sir,' says he, 'I am sorry to see your Majesty so dealt with by your prelatical tantivies, as you are: Alas! they can neither preach, nor pray, but by a beuk; if your Majesty will please to hear me, Ise doe bath without.' And so he did, till the King told him, 'He preached and prayed, as if he had never leuked in a beuk in his whole life.'

In the College library, they keep Buchanan's scull; however the lining be wanting, which had, methought, a pretty distich upon it: The first line I have forgot, but the second was thus:

Et decus es tumulo jam, Buchanane, tuo.

But I must correct myself. I intended only a letter, but have insensibly swelled it to the dimensions of a treatise. I will conclude my observations of the country with one short, and true, story. The

famous Duke of Lauderdale, when first minister of state, was invited to dinner by the then Lord Chancellor, and as splendidly entertained as the poverty of the country would permit: At taking leave, says he, 'My Lord, Ise con you mickle thanks for your generous and noble treat, which puts me in mind of one proverb we have in use amongst us, viz. That feuls make feasts, and wise men eat them.' The other, loth to be out-done in point of civility, replied, 'Ye say vary right, my Lord; and it is as true, That wise men make proverbs, and feuls repeat them.' Well, lest I should surfeit you with my rugged prose, I will, for once and away, try to fall into the amble of rhyme doggrel:

And what, dear Sir, then is it *quid reale*,
That you design an *iter boreale*?
Are you so much a stoick, that this hot-land
You fear not to exchange for gelid Scotland?
Where, when you rise 'ith morning, e're a dozen
Can well be told, your fingers-ends are frozen.
Debate's the only fuel of that nation;
And you'll be hot alone in disputation.
Here you may warm your inside with a bottle,
But there must try to do't with Aristotle.
Good food's a thing so scarce too, that I'll tell ye,
Philosophy alone must fill your belly.
Instead of having that with dainties cram'd,
You must take up with Cartes and Le Grand.
And, if you'd keep your purse-strings quiet,
Live merrily on a Chamelion's diet.
Next: For its dressing 'tis assuredly
A perfect antidote 'gainst gluttony:
For he, that on their carbonado's looks,
Must needs say, God sends meat, the devil cooks.
Be therefore rul'd for once, abstain from it,
Unless you mean to take a northern vomit:
To be a brute's the only thing in fashion;
And nastiness the genius of that nation.
The things, that are abominated there,
Are clean shirts, swines-flesh, and the common-prayer.
But stay —What's your pretence? come let me know,
Is't to refine your intellect you go?
Sir, you affront your English education,
To borrow learning from its neighbour nation.
Whate'er there have been, I'm afraid you'll light on,
But few such men as Buchanan and Creighton.
They're all apostatiz'd to arrant sots,
Bœotum Terra is the land of Scots.
In short, if naught's sufficient to dissuade you,
Wou'd all the dreadful plagues of Scotland had you.
Hunger, slovenliness, and troops of vermin,
Companions of Scotch gentry, and English carmen:

All these you are sure to meet, with many more,
More grievous than those mentioned before.
Your voyage all your cordial friends lament,
Where you'll be under rule, not government.
But he especially, who protests he's fervent,
When he subscribes himself your humble servant.

E. B.

PROPOSALS FOR CARRYING ON

AN

EFFECTUAL WAR IN AMERICA,

AGAINST THE FRENCH AND SPANIARDS.

Bellum justum, quibus necessarium, & pia arma, quibus in armis spes est.
TIT. LIV.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the King's most Excellent Majesty, the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Honourable the House of Commons.

From a Quarto Edition, printed at London, in the Year MDCCII.

ALL Europe is justly alarmed at the succession of Spain so unexpectedly falling to the house of Bourbon, already too great. The intire reconciliation, and, as may be said, union of these two formidable monarchies, cannot but with good reasons cause the utmost jealousies in all their neighbours, who may be in danger of becoming their prey. Insomuch that a general confederacy, and well-cemented league, is absolutely necessary to support a vigorous and sudden war.

If you give these two powers time, they will more firmly unite together, induced to it, by the apprehensions they have of other nations. The French will inspire the Spaniards with their active and martial temper,

———Residesq; movebit.
Rursus ad arma viros.

with their art of government and management of their revenues, with their methods of advancing and engrossing trade; and we must expect in a short time to see the riches of the West-Indies fall into hands of these two nations, and they exclude all others.

Of all their neighbours the English have the greatest interest to hinder this mischief, and England is the only power that can, and ought to do it; since its colonies are so vast, and populous, and

since America is the only place where England can well with honour and profit enlarge its dominions, and soon become the most potent nation in the world: And it looks as if Providence had pointed out that way, when we consider the vast increase of the English in the West-Indies.

The English may easily ruin all the French colonies in America, and drive all the Spaniards out of their vast, but ill-fortified plantations. They are effeminate, and would surrender to a general enemy, and many of them are willing to be transported to Spain, where they have estates in land or money.

The Spaniards have possessed the fountains of gold and silver long enough; it is high time, they should pass into the hands of the English, who have in the same part of the world so many populous colonies, and out of which young people may be drawn, and transported to better places, as swarms out of bee-hives, to the incredible advantage of the nation in general.

If twenty-four years experience in those parts, some employments not very inconsiderable in peace and war, which the writer of this paper has had among the English and the French; if having seen and been concerned in most, if not all the actions that have been in those countries; if all these things can enable him to judge rightly of the matter, he thinks that he may, upon very good grounds, affirm, that a war in America may be very practicable, and, with God's assistance, very successful.

The miscarriages and ill success of most of the undertakings there in the late war, and the great mortality which fell among the forces sent thither, is, perhaps, an objection, but many things may be replied to it: The incapacity of most of the commanders, their little skill in military affairs, the disaffection in some, the want of discipline and order in general: And you may add to this, the ill practices about the plunder; such disorders will hinder the best troops from doing any thing, much more such people as those forces were composed of.

As to the mortality and the great loss of men, it could not well be otherwise with unruly, drunken, and dissolute people, who, falling sick, had no body to assist and look to them. Good discipline, good order, good provisions, good physick, and such like necessaries, would certainly remedy all these evils.

I do here, with all submission and respect, propose a method by which I am persuaded, that a war may be carried on in America with very little charge; I mean, by managing the plunder, and other things of that nature, in such a manner as the proposed war should feed and maintain itself; and there is no doubt, but that, making war in a rich country, if affairs are rightly and honestly carried, the conquered people may be made to defray the charges, and so consequently the war would be enabled to support and maintain itself.

I likewise propose to raise forces as soon as possible in all the colonies out of the young people, who could be more easily transported any where. I would order them all into independent com-

panies, each of an hundred centinels, with one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, and four serjeants. When they form a battalion, or go upon service, the eldest or senior officer should command.

Regimenting of forces is subject to a great many inconveniences, and is of no use when the regiment is not all together, and serves in different places; besides that, the state-major takes up all the spoil.

All the standing forces the French have, in America, and all their militia are independent companies. When they draw into a battalion, the senior officer takes the right hand, and every other according to the seniority of their commission; so that the service is performed as well as if they had colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, and it saves the king a great sum of money.

Perhaps his Majesty may think it convenient to model after that manner the forces raised here in England, to be sent to the West-Indies, since, in a series of time, it would save a great sum of money, please very much the militia, and take off all occasions of dissatisfaction and murmurings about the division of spoil and plunder, which might then be all equally divided to the several companies, without distinction of standing and militia forces. The militia never repines at the right hand and post of honour being taken by the standing forces, but cannot willingly see those, who are allowed pay, pretend to a greater share than they who have no salary, and endure commonly more hardship, and are usually put upon more difficult service.

The well ordering of plunder, and justly and impartially dividing it, is of very great consequence; all our divisions and misunderstandings proceeded from thence.

At the taking of St. Christophers some were very busy about getting, hiding, securing, and transporting of plunder, whilst others were intent on service, and minded their duty, so that the division of the spoil and plunder was not justly made.

I would provide good arms and good powder; and, as most of those countries have store of horses, I would carry a great number of small ordinary saddles and bridles, to mount the greatest part of the forces, and make them dragoons, the most useful sort of troops.

People in those parts use, upon travelling in woods, or such like places, to carry along with them each man his pavilion to sleep under, and defend him from gnats, a most troublesome and intolerable insect, and of an extraordinary bigness in some places. This pavilion is made of thin canvas, in such a form that, being spread and supported upon some sticks planted in the ground, a man lies under it, the canvas falling like the curtains of a bed, and so leaves no room for gnats to get in. The man has his fusee between his legs, and lies upon some grass or leaves, and in a march carries his pavilion like a shoulder-belt. Tents would never hinder the gnats. This is the buccaneers fashion, and

by these means their incampments are soon made and soon raised.

Every soldier should have a good fusee with a bayonet of that sort, that he may fire off his fusee with the bayonet fixed; one pistol and a good sword, and one pavilion; to every four men I would give a brass pot, well tinned within, to dress victuals, and a good hatchet.

Of ordnance I would carry eight brass guns, of eighteen, or at least twelve pounds bullet, some hollow bullets, and three or four mortar-pieces of the middle size; a great number of shells, some field-pieces, store of hand granadoes, and all ingredients for carcases and fire-works, with a good quantity of the best gun-powder, together with all tools necessary for miners and pioneers.

Among the shipping I would have two bomb-ketches. Out of every ship may be drawn a sufficient number of people to serve the batteries, or any service a-shore for some time. These also to be ordered into independent companies.

Besides the forces to be sent from Europe, his Majesty may, out of all his dominions in America, without any danger or prejudice to them, draw a great number of brisk and active people, sending thither before-hand somebody that should carry them his commissions, and encourage them to go where the service should require, and list them to that purpose. The officers would instruct and exercise them in the mean while, until they should be ordered to march towards the rendezvous.

What I propose of the number of people, which may be drawn from every place, may be altered more or less, as the officer sent, and the governors of the respective places, shall judge for the best.

Such an army well governed, and wanting no necessaries, nor supplies of arms and amunition, may, under the command of good officers, conquer and subdue all the West-Indies, and secure to England the greatest part of the riches of the world.

I observed before the ill effects of sharing the plunder, and the bad consequences of it; the remedy may be this. If his Majesty would give order that such plunder, as pieces of plate from churches, publick and private houses, sums of money out of publick houses, pigs of silver, ingots of gold, slaves, coppers, mills for sugar, quantities of indigo, cotton, natto, cocoa, sugars, tobacco, hides, dying wood, &c. be all reserved for the king's use, and suffer nothing to be plundered but cloaths, linnen, and loose money, which may be also considerable. And if, out of the produce of the aforesaid goods retained and reserved, the king would be pleased to give such a gratuity as he may think fit to his standing forces, such perhaps as may amount to half pay, and whole pay to his militia, it would, I conceive, satisfy every body, and prevent disorders and murmurings. I reckon the number of people each colony may send, after this following manner:

Places.	Companies.	Men.
Barbadoes,	4	400
Antegoa,	2	200
Mountserrat,	1	100
Nevis,	2	200
St. Christophers,	1	100
Jamaica,	5	500
Providence,	1	100
Bermudos,	1	100
Carolina,	8	800
Virginia,	40	4000
Pensilvania,	8	800
Mary-land,	8	800
New-Jersey,	8	800
New-York,	10	1000
New-England,	40	4000
Buccaneers,	10	1000
	149	14900
Officers to each company,		596
	In all	15496 men.

His Majesty sending out a general pardon and amnesty to all Buccaneer-pyrates, would soon bring in a great number of them, of all nations. They agree well together against the Spaniards, would be fit for any service, and soon be at Jamaica.

The French may have in America, by what I could observe myself, and learn of others, men fit for service.

	Men.
In Cyenne,	400
Martinico,	1500
Guardeloupe,	800
Marie Galante,	200
St. Christophers,	500
Granada,	300
Hispaniola,	5000
Canada,	5000
In all	13700

The Dutch may have also in all,

In Surinam,	900
Essecape,	200
Berbiche,	200
Eustathia,	200
Saba,	100
Curacao,	500
	2100 men.

The Spaniards have not, in all America, by the best informations I could get, one hundred thousand men; and, perhaps, not near so many. They are dispersed into several places, very distant one from another. It is easily to be believed, if we rightly consider the disposition of the Spaniards in general, the barrenness of their women, and the nature of the country, where they are for the most part settled.

New England and Virginia can afford some thousands of men more than I mention; Virginia especially, which has no troublesome neighbours to fear. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of New-England, all the people of Pescatway, Acadie, and Newfoundland, live and depend upon the fishing-trade; the best half of their ships go for Spain, Portugal, and the Streights; the rest are employed in voyages to the Southern Colonies; so that most of those people, if we have a war, will be at leisure, and may be very serviceable. In what I propose about the islands, an objection may arise, that they must keep their people to guard and defend themselves. But this may be remedied, by transporting thither good numbers of Scotch servants, engaged to serve, as usually, for so many years. The planters like them very well, and will freely entertain them. They will soon learn the use of their arms, and help to guard and defend the place.

When I consider the great inconveniences which I have observed to attend giving of the plunder to soldiers, the difficulties, or rather, the impossibilities of dividing it to their content and satisfaction, I cannot but urge and insist again, on what I had but hinted at before, That his Majesty would be pleased to grant and send his commissions to all the officers to be raised, to encourage them the better; and to allow them all, officers and soldiers, such a pay as they may deserve, and esteem just; considering that they shall have, whilst upon service, all provisions and ammunitions found at the king's charge.

And the king may easily do it, providing in time good store of beef and pork from Ireland; of beef and pork, salt-fish, bisket and pease, from New-England; and a ship or two loaded with salt, if possible, from France, being the best to preserve flesh and fish.

There is, in most parts of America, a vast number of cattle, wild and tame, of sheep, goats, and hogs, finding victuals for every body. Killing and destroying of cattle and stock should be strictly forbidden; and you may procure people, as butchers, and such like, whose whole business would be to dress and salt such meats. There is also, in some places, a great quantity of manatees, or sea-cows, of turtles, and other sorts of fish. The islands, likewise, will furnish abundance of rum, lime-juice, and sugar, to make drink.

If the King would be pleased to send some few officers of the Mint in his fleet, with all things necessary for coining: They may coin the Spanish gold and silver that should fall into our hands, and the army might be paid with it. This way would make a large addition to the English coin, to the great and general benefit of the nation.

The taking of Canada may be easy enough, if we attack it at once, both by sea and land; and not as it was done lately, by very unskilful people. The keeping of Canada, and settling and fortifying that large island of Newfoundland, will hinder the French from fishing upon the great bank, and consequently diminish greatly, if not totally ruin their maritime power.

Martinico is the only place of strength the French have in America; its Fort-Royal is impregnable any other way than by famine, but it may easily be bombarded, whereby you may ruin and burn the houses and buildings in it; and perhaps the very magazines and cisterns, after which they cannot subsist long, and will be forced to surrender.

Granada is of very little strength, having but few inhabitants: its fort is on the top of a hill, and was surprised and taken by one Erasmus, a single Dutch privateer. Its harbour is very large, and capable of holding many of the greatest ships. This island is not subject to hurricanes, its situation lying near Trinity island, and the Spanish coast; and those other places, by which most of the Spanish ships pass in going to the West-India plantations, make it very considerable.

It has many rivers of excellent water; the land is hilly about the harbour, and the north side; but, towards the south and west, very level; cocoa trees, and the vanilio, grow there naturally.

In lieu of sending two regiments (as it is discoursed of) to Jamaica, I would only draw detachments from all the regiments here in England, and Ireland, perhaps, also, from Scotland; model them all into independent companies, and give them commanders out of the reformed and half-pay officers.

The regiments, keeping all their officers, would soon recruit, and be filled again, with new soldiers, who would presently be disciplined; and these independent companies would be as serviceable as if they were regimented, and be of less charge to the nation.

I would also propose to send these companies, as soon as possible, to the north continent of America: for example, two to Newfoundland, six to New-England, four to New-York, and so of all the other companies; it would make no great noise, and alarm no body, not being likely to be thought, or presumed to intend, farther than the defence of all those places. The transport from that northern continent, to the southward, is very easy, and may be done at any time, together with the provisions, all the parts of New-England having a great number of ships of their own.

The sending of two regiments to the island of Jamaica will cause many inconveniences. Jamaica is unhealthy, and many will be sick and die, before you can bring them to action. The northern parts of America are as healthy as England. Jamaica lies to the leeward of all the French colonies, so that it is very difficult and sometimes impossible, always very tedious, and long, to turn up to the windward; the winds are contrary, and the current is against you, very often so strong, that a brisk, favourable, westerly wind cannot make you overcome it.

I would gather all the forces to the islands of Barbadoes and the Caribbees: they lie to the westward of all the French and Spanish colonies; the wind is always favourable to go to them at pleasure.

I humbly propose the attacking of the French first. If a war breaks out towards the spring, most of the forces being ready in the continent of New England, I would begin, by attacking Canada by sea and land in the beginning of the summer; the conquest of it may be thoroughly perfected before the fit time of attempting any considerable action in the southern colonies.

The timing well your attempt is so very necessary, that, without it, you cannot, with any probability, succeed; yet it has been hitherto so little regarded, that all our fleets for the West Indies, in the late war, arrived always, and thought of some action, when the hurricanes began to be feared and expected.

It was very far in June, when we attacked St. Christophers; it was the beginning of it, also, when we landed at Martinico; and it was also in June, when Willmot and Lillingston attacked Port de Paix in Hispaniola.

Had Ruiter been at Martinico any other time but June, he would have certainly taken it. The Dutch committed many errors in their attack; but the only thing, which forced them to withdraw, was, that, it being hurricane time, Ruiter, seeing great appearance of a storm, would not venture his fleet, and caused that sudden retreat.

The French, who were but few, had no other defence, but a very bad pallisado, and a narrow trench, almost filled up in many places, could not possibly have resisted a brisk attack with sword and pistol in hand. But the Dutch must needs land in order, though they saw nobody to oppose their landing, and would not advance upon the enemy, until they had formed their battalions, as if they had been in a pitched battle; they were all this while exposed, from head to foot, to the musquets of the enemy, and the great and small guns of a man of war, which lay in the then careening place, commanded by Monsieur d'Amblimont, who died lately General for the French King in America. The same night the Dutch retreated, the French left and abandoned their fort, judging it untenable, and expecting the Dutch would have stormed it the next morning.

All things should be so ordered, that the fleet and forces may arrive where you intend to make your attack. In the beginning of October, the hurricane time is just over, and you may venture your fleet any where, during nine months, and you have then three months that the heat is but moderate, and the weather, for the most part, very clear and dry; the best time for action.

I would put the forces upon action and attack, as soon as they arrive; and so make the best use of their strength and health, and not stay until the heat of the weather, or any other cause, should pull their courage down, or they should fall sick, and be out of order.

In the West Indies, I would begin with Martinico; take that

island from the French, and you will ruin them in all their colonies: there they keep all their stores for ships and land forces. It is easy to block up Fort Royal by sea and land; by falling upon the island unexpectedly, and landing near the fort of a sudden, you may hinder the people from going and carrying any provisions and water into the fort; and dry weather may happen, so that there may be but little water in the cistern. One may encamp round about it very well, and commodiously, all along a river of good water: the country about it is also full of provisions.

The fort being besieged and blocked up, I would ply them night and day with bombs and carcases, in order to burn and destroy their houses, magazines, and cisterns. From some of the neighbouring hills, guns may shoot at random into the fort, and, raking along, may do much damage.

Having left people enough to maintain and continue the siege, some considerable body of forces may be sent all over the island to subdue it; which I am confident would be easy enough, especially, if his Majesty, intending the conquest of all the colonies, would give out and proclaim, that he intends to keep the island to himself, and would receive its inhabitants into his protection as subjects, and so forbid burning and destroying of plantations and houses. Very many, if not all, would submit; and it would be easy afterwards to banish and force away those, that should be deemed unfit to be kept there as inhabitants.

I would also take, keep, and fortify, the island of Granada; it has an excellent large harbour; it is never troubled with hurricanes. And the Spanish ships, going to their western plantations, pass near and often in sight of it. That island is better than any of the English Caribbees, Barbadoes excepted. It might soon be settled, and made a profitable colony.

All the rest of the French colonies would easily be subdued. I would ruin them, and transport what I would keep of them, to Martinico, or Granada. There are still, in the French islands, many Protestants, French and Dutch, who may be trusted and depended upon.

The taking of Martinico would discourage the French, and, I am confident, would hinder them from assisting the Spaniards in the West Indies. How could they with reason venture out thither a considerable fleet, after the loss of Martinico, the only strong hold they have, being sensible that the English can be always their superiors in those parts, whensoever they please?

All our Caribbee islands being secured by the taking and keeping Martinico, some few frigates might suffice to protect and defend them from any insult, and they may spare some of their people to help to attack the Spaniards.

The island of Cuba is that of the Spanish I would begin with. The Havannah, its chief town, is very strong on the harbour and sea-side; but would be easily enough taken, if besieged on the country and land-side; and, as we commonly say, in form, with those preparations that are requisite in sieges. You may land in many places, and the march is easy from thence to the town: the

country abounds in cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs: the bays are well stored with fish, manatees, and turtles: the country provisions very plenty every where: the Bay of Mattancas would, perhaps, be the fittest place to land in, and to preserve the fleet, some few frigates being sufficient to stop and block up the harbour's mouth, during the siege.

The taking and keeping the Havannah would soon ruin the Spaniards in the West Indies: as their ships, coming, pass near Granada; going home, they must pass also near the Havannah, and so through the Bahamas: so that some frigates at Granada, and some at Havannah, would annoy the Spaniards going and coming.

I would, by all means, keep and settle Cuba, though forced to abandon some other settlements. It may, perhaps, be done, without deserting any other place, with some people out of New-England, the least profitable of all the colonies.

Having Cuba, we may easily seize Porto Bello, Chiagre, and Panama, and so command both the North and South Seas in America.

The design I propose is great, and may, perhaps, appear impossible to some people; but I am sincerely persuaded of the feasibleness of it to the English nation, so very populous, and so very strong in the West Indies.

> —— *Quod nemo promittere divum*
> *Auderet volvenda dies certe afferet ultro.*

There is nothing wanting for so great an undertaking, but a faithful, honest, hearty, and honourable disinterested mind in the commanding officers. The success of such an enterprise would inrich the English nation beyond measure, making her mistress of most of the mines of gold and silver, besides all the productions peculiar to that part of the world, as sugars, cocoa's, cotton, indigo, natto, tobacco, &c. What increase would it not bring to its navigation and shipping? All sorts of merchant-ships may be built in the northern America, or with timber brought from thence, whilst the English oak, so very excellent for building, may be kept and reserved only for building of men of war.

I am confident, and I dare maintain it, that the conquest of all the Spanish and French colonies, in America, would never cost England, what the taking of Namur did, in blood and money. It would, without doubt, make the English nation the strongest and the richest of the world: and, that it may be so, is the hearty wish of a faithful and devoted subject.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

ARRAIGNMENTS AND TRYALS

OF

COLONEL RICHARD KIRKBY, CAPTAIN JOHN CONSTABLE, CAPTAIN COOPER WADE, CAPTAIN SAMUEL VINCENT, AND CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER FOGG,

On a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate on Behalf of her Majesty, at a Court-Martial, held on Board the Ship, Bredah, in Port-Royal Harbour, in Jamaica, in America, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth Days of October, 1702, for Cowardice, Neglect of Duty, Breach of Orders, and other Crimes, committed by them in a Fight at Sea, commenced the Nineteenth of August, 1702, off St. Martha, in the Latitude of ten Degrees North, near the main Land of America, between the Honourable John Benbow, Esq. and Admiral Du Casse, with four French Ships of War; for which Colonel Kirkby and Captain Wade were sentenced to be shot to Death. Transmitted from two eminent Merchants at Port-Royal in Jamaica, to a Person of Quality in the City of London. From a Folio Edition, printed at London, 1703.

AT a court-martial held on board her Majesty's ship, the Bredah, in Port-Royal harbour in Jamaica in America, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth days of October, 1702.

Present,

The Honourable William Whiston, Esq. Rear-Admiral of her Majesty's ships for the West-India squadron, president.

Samuel Vincent,	William Russel,
John Hartnoll,	Barrow Harris,
Christopher Fogg,	Hercules Mitchell,
John Smith,	Philip Boyce,
John Redman,	Charles Smith.
George Walton,	

Arnold Browne, Esq. Judge-Advocate.

Who being all duly sworn, pursuant to the Act of Parliament

Proceeded * to the tryal of John Arthur, gunner of the Defiance, on a complaint exhibited by Francis Knighton, third Lieutenant of the Defiance, and George Foster, gunner of for hiding and concealing forty-three barrels of powder in the wad-room, and covering them with wads and coins, &c. when a survey of her Majesty's stores of ammunition after an engagement was ordered;

* October 8th.

and denying to the surveyors that there was any more powder on board, than was in the powder-room and gun-room, viz. one hundred; which upon a second survey were discovered. It was proved also, that he had two keys to the powder-room; and that, having lost or mislaid his own, he, without making any application to the commanding officer then on board, who kept the other key, prevailed with William Baker, carpenter of the said ship, to break open the door.

In mitigation of his offence, he alledged, that, examining into the powder-room, he found three barrels that had received wet, which caused his removal of the forty-three barrels; but had little to say for his concealing them from the surveyors. Whereupon the court adjudged, that, the said offence falling under the thirty-third article of war, the said John Arthur should be carried from ship to ship in a boat, with a halter about his neck, the provost-marshal declaring his crimes; and all his pay, as gunner, to be mulcted and forfeited to the chest at Chatham, and be rendered uncapable of serving her Majesty in any other employment.

Colonel Richard Kirkby, commander of the Defiance, was tried* before the aforesaid court (except Captain Samuel Vincent, and Captain Christopher Fogg, who appeared as witnesses for the Queen) on a complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate, on the behalf of her Majesty, of cowardice, neglect of duty, breach of orders, and other crimes committed by him in a fight at sea, commenced the nineteenth of August, 1702, off of St. Martha, in the latitude of ten degrees north, near the main land of America, between the Honourable John Benbow, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the blue squadron of her Majesty's fleet, and Admiral and commander in chief, &c. on board her Majesty's ship Bredah, Christopher Fogg, commander, and six other of her Majesty's ships, viz. the Defiance, Richard Kirkby commander; the Falmouth, Samuel Vincent commander; the Windsor, John Constable commander; the Greenwich, Cooper Wade commander; the Ruby, George Walton commander; and the Pendennis, Thomas Hudson commander; and Monsieur Du Casse, with four French ships of war: which continued until the twenty-fourth of August, inclusive.

The witnesses that were sworn in behalf of the Queen, viz.

The Honourable John Benbow, Esq. Admiral	1
Captains	2
Lieutenants	8
Masters	5
Inferior officers	5
In all	21

Who deposed, that the said Colonel Richard Kirkby, the van in the line of battle, the nineteenth of August, about three in the

* October 8th and 9th.

afternoon, the signal of battle being out, the Admiral was forced to send his boat on board of Kirkby, and command his making more sail, and get a-breast of the enemy's van, for he was resolved to fight them. About four the fight began; but the said Kirkby did not fire above three broadsides, then luffed up out of the line, and out of gun-shot, leaving the Admiral engaged with two French ships till dark, and the said Kirkby receiving no damage; that his behaviour caused great fear of his desertion. At night, the said Kirkby fell astern, leaving the Admiral to pursue the enemy.

That on the twentieth, at day-light, the Admiral and Ruby were within shot of all the enemy's ships, but Colonel Kirkby was near three or four miles a-stern. The Admiral then made a new line of battle, and took the van himself, and sent to each ship, with a command to the said Kirkby to keep his line and station; which he promised to do, but did not, keeping two or three miles a-stern, though the signal for battle was out all night; the French making a running fight, the Admiral and Ruby plied the enemy with their chace guns till night. That the twenty-first day, at light, the Admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's rear, and the Ruby on the board side, very near, who plied him warmly, and met the same return, by which he was so much disabled, though the Admiral came in to his assistance, that he was forced to be towed off; and this prevented the Admiral's design of cutting off the enemy's sternmost ship. This action lasted two hours, during which time the said Kirkby lay a broad-side of the sternmost ship; as did also the Windsor, John Constable commander. The Admiral then commanded the said Kirkby to ply his broad-sides on him; but, this having no effect, the second time he commanded the same, but he fired not one gun; nay, his own boatswain and seamen repeated the Admiral's command to him, but were severely used, and threatened that he would run his sword through the boatswain: and, had the said Kirkby done his duty, and Captain Constable his, they must have taken or destroyed the said French ships. The Admiral, though he received much damage in his sails, rigging, yards, &c. yet continued the race all night. That the twenty-second in the morning, at day-light, the Greenwich was three leagues a-stern, and the Defiance, Colonel Kirkby, with the rest of the ships, three or four miles, the Falmouth excepted, whose station was in the rear: that the said Captain Samuel Vincent, seeing the behaviour of the said Kirkby and the rest, came up with the Admiral, and sent his Lieutenant on board, desiring leave to assist him, which was accepted: the said Kirkby never coming up, and, by his example, the rest did the same, as if they had a design to sacrifice the Admiral and Falmouth to the enemy, or desert. The enemy were now about a mile and a half a-head, standing in to the shore, with a small breese at west, fetched within Sambey, the Admiral firing at the sternmost till night, and continuing the pursuit; and a Flemish ship that was in Monsieur Du Casse's company, on board of which were all the French and Spanish new governors and other officers, made her escape. That

the twenty-third in the morning, at day-light, the enemy bore north-west, distant about four or five miles, the Admiral and Falmouth pursuing; but the said Colonel Kirkby, with the rest of the ships, being three or four miles a-stern (though there was not a ship, but, before and after the battle, sailed better than the Admiral:) about seven in the evening, it having been some time calm, a gale of wind sprung up; the Admiral and Falmouth were about two miles from the enemy, and at eight the said Kirkby and his separate squadron were fair up with the Admiral; and this day the Admiral sent away the disabled Ruby, George Walton, commander, to Port-Royal, and under his convoy the Anna galley, retaken from the French.

That the twenty-fourth in the morning, about two of the clock, the Admiral came up with the sternmost of the enemy within call, and the Falmouth pretty near; but the said Colonel Kirkby, with the rest of the ships, according to custom, were three or four miles a-stern: the Admiral and Falmouth engaged the said ship, and at three the Admiral was wounded, his right leg being broke, but commanded the fight to be vigorously maintained; and at day-light the enemy's ship appeared like a wreck, her mizen-mast shot by the board, her main-yard in three or four pieces, her fore-top sail-yard the same, her stays and rigging all shot to pieces. Soon after day, the said Kirkby, with the rest of the ships, being to windward of the said disabled ship, he the said Kirkby, with the rest of his separate squadron, fired about twelve guns at the said ship; and, fearing a smart return from her, he lowered his mizen-yard, his top-sails on the caps, set his sprit-sail, sprit-sail top-sail, and fore-top-sail stay-sail, and, having waired his ship, set his sail, and run away before the wind from the poor disabled ship, the rest following his said example; though they had but eight men killed on board them all (except the Admiral.) The other three French men of war were, at this time of action, about four miles distant from their maimed ship; whereupon the enemy, seeing the cowardice of the said Colonel Kirkby, and the rest of the English ships, in a squall bore down upon the Admiral, who lay close by the disabled ship, and, having got in their sprit-sail-yard, gave him all their fire, and, running between him and the disabled ship, remanned her, and took her in. The Admiral's rigging, being very much shattered, was obliged to lie and refit till ten o'clock, and then continued the pursuit, and the rest of the fleet following in the greatest disorder imaginable; the Admiral commanded Captain Fogg to stand a-breast of the enemy's van, and then to attack him, and having then a fine steady gale, the like not happening during the whole engagement; and further ordered that he should send to all the Captains to keep the line of battle, and behave themselves like Englishmen; and this message was sent by Captain Wade, then on board the Bredah. That the said Colonel Kirkby, on the receipt of this message, and seeing the Admiral's resolution to engage, came on board him, who then lay wounded in a cradle; and, without common respect of enquiring after his

health, he the said Kirkby expressed these words following: viz. 'That he wondered that the Admiral should offer to engage the French again, it being not necessary, safe, nor convenient, having had six days trial of their strength;' and then magnified that of the French, and lessened that of the English. But the Admiral, being surprised at his speech, said it was but one man's opinion, and that he would have the rest of the Captains; and accordingly ordered the signal to be made for all the Captains to come on board; and at this time the Admiral, and the rest of the ships, were to windward, and within shot of the enemy, and had the fairest opportunity that in six days presented to chace, engage, and destroy the enemy.

That the said Colonel Kirkby had endeavoured to poison the rest of the Captains, forming a writing under his own hand, which was cowardly and erroneous. The substance of which was, not to engage the enemy any more; he the said Colonel Kirkby brought it to the Admiral, who reproved him for it, saying it would be the ruin of them all. Upon which he the said Colonel Kirkby went away, but writ another in the following words:

At a Consultation held on Board her Majesty's Ship, Bredah, the Twenty-fourth of August, 1702, off of Carthagena, on the main Continent of America.

'IT is the opinion of us whose names are under-written,

'1. Of the great want of men in number, quality, and the weakness of those they have.

'2. The general want of ammunition of most sorts.

'3. Each ship, masts, yards, sails, and rigging, being all, in a great measure, disabled.

'4. The winds are so small and variable, that the ships cannot be governed by any strength; each ship,

'5. Having experienced the enemy in six days battle, following the squadron consisting of five men of war and a fire-ship, under the command of Monsieur Du Casse; their equipage consisting in guns from sixty to eighty, and having a great number of seamen and soldiers on board, for the service of Spain.

'For which reasons above-mentioned, we think it not fit to engage the enemy at this time, but to keep them company this night, and observe their motion; and, if a fair opportunity shall happen of wind and weather, once more to try our strength with them.'

Richard Kirkby, Samuel Vincent, John Constable, Christopher Fogg, Cooper Wade, and Thomas Hudson.

That, during the six days engagement, he never encouraged his men; but, by his own example of dodging behind the mizen-mast, and falling down upon the deck on the noise of shot, and denying

them the provisions of the ship, the said men were under great discouragement. That he amended the master of the ship's journal of the transactions of the fight, according to his own inclination.

All which being proved, as aforesaid:

The said Colonel Richard Kirkby denied the whole, excepting the pretended written consultation; which being shewn to him, he owned his own hand and name too. He brought several of his men to give an account of his behaviour during the fight; but their testimonies were insignificant, and his behaviour to the court and witnesses most unbecoming a gentleman. And being particularly asked by the court, why he did not fire at the enemy's sternmost ship, which lay point-blank with him, the twenty-first of August? He replied, because they did not fire at him, for that they had a respect for him; which words upon several occasions, during the trial, he repeated three several times.

Whereupon due consideration of the premises, of great advantages the English had in number, being seven to four, of guns one hundred and twenty-two more than the other; with his acts and behaviour as aforesaid, and more particularly his ill-timed paper or consultation, as afore recited, which obliged the Admiral, for the preservation of her Majesty's fleet, to give over the chace and fight, to the irreparable dishonour of the Queen, her crown and dignity, and come to Port-Royal, Jamaica: for which reasons the court was of opinion, that he fell under the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, and twentieth articles of war; and adjudged accordingly, that he should be shot to death. But further decreed, that the execution of Colonel Kirkby be deferred, till her Majesty's pleasure be known therein; but be continued a close prisoner, till that time.

Captain John Constable, commander of the Windsor, was tried before the aforesaid court, on a complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate on the behalf of the Queen, for breach of orders, neglect of duty, and other ill practices committed during a fight commenced the nineteenth of August, 1702, as aforesaid. (Refer to Colonel Kirkby's trial.)

The witnesses, sworn on the behalf of the Queen, were;

Captains - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	2
Lieutenants - - - - - - - - - - - -	7
Masters - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	5
Other officers - - - - - - - - - - - -	2
The Honourable John Benbow, Esq. Admiral -	1
Witnesses	17

Who deposed, that the Captain John Constable never kept his first nor second line of battle, but acted in all things, as Colonel Kirkby had done. That the Admiral had fired two guns to command him into the second line of battle. That he did set more

sail, in order to come into the line and his station; but, upon Colonel Kirkby's calling to him, to keep his line, he accordingly did. That the Admiral sent his Lieutenant Landgridge to command him the said Constable to keep his line of battle, within half a cable's length of the ship before him, which was twice verbally delivered. And that he signed the paper, Consultation, as is in Colonel Kirkby's trial aforesaid; tending to the hinderance and disservice of her Majesty, &c. and was drunk during the fight, &c.

All which being fully proved, as aforesaid; the said Captain John Constable denied his breach of orders, or neglect of duty; but owned the signing the paper or consultation prepared by Colonel Kirkby, and did it at his request, and for that he had received damage in his masts and rigging; and owned no other article to be true, but that he had signed to: he called several witnesses to his behaviour during the fight, who all declared he kept the quarter-deck during the engagement, and encouraged his men to fight; and that sometimes he gave them drams of rum; and that verbal message, delivered by Lieutenant Landgridge, was delivered him in some heat and passion, and was understood to be, to keep the line within half a cable's length, and to follow Kirkby; which he did. That he so understood it himself, and several of his men: he prayed the mercy of the court, and so concluded, &c.

Where upon due consideration of the premises, the court was of opinion, that the said John Constable, Captain, fell under the 12th, 14th, and 20th articles of war; and adjudged the said Captain John Constable to be immediately cashiered, and rendered incapable of serving her Majesty, and be imprisoned during her Majesty's pleasure, and sent home to England a prisoner in the first ship, the Admiral shall think fit; and be confined a prisoner, till then.

Captain Cooper Wade, commander of the Greenwich, was tried * before the aforesaid court, on a complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate, on the behalf of the Queen, of high crimes and misdemeanors, of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty, and other ill practices; committed during a fight, commenced the nineteenth of August, 1702, as aforesaid. (Refer to that part of Colonel Kirkby's tryal.)

The witnesses sworn on behalf of the Queen;

The Honourable John Benbow, Esq. Admiral -	1
Lieutenants - - - - - - - - - - - - -	9
Masters - - - - - - - - - - - - -	3
Inferior officers - - - - - - - - - - - -	3
Witnesses	16

Who deposed, that, during the six days engagement, he never kept the line of battle, fired all his shot in vain, not reaching half

* October 10th, and 12th.

way to the enemy; that he was often told the same by his Lieutenants and other officers, but notwithstanding he commanded them to fire, saying, they must do so, or the Admiral would not believe they fought, if they did not continue the fire. That, during the whole fight the Admiral was engaged in, the said Captain Wade received but one shot from the enemy; that he was in drink the greatest part of the time of action; and that he signed the paper or consultation drawn up by Colonel Kirkby, as aforesaid; and, in the time of fight, arraigned the honourable courage and conduct of the Admiral.

All which being fully proved, as aforesaid:

That the said Captain Cooper Wade denied the arraignment of the honourable courage and conduct of the Admiral, during the whole six days engagement, declaring the bravery and good management of the Admiral in this time of action, and that no man living could do more or better, for the honour of the Queen and nation. He called some persons to justify his behaviour, who said little in his favour. He begged the mercy of the court, and so concluded. Whereupon the court was of opinion, that the said Cooper Wade fell under the 11th, 12th, 14th, and 20th articles of war; and accordingly adjudged the said Cooper Wade to be shot to death: but it is farther declared by the court, that the execution of the said Captain Cooper Wade be deferred, till her Majesty's pleasure be known therein; but be continued a close prisoner till that time.

Captain Samuel Vincent, commander of the Falmouth, and Captain Christopher Fogg, commander of the Bredah, were tried * before the aforesaid court, on a complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and ill practices in the time of Admiral Benbow's fight with Monsieur Du Casse, as aforesaid, in signing a paper called a consultation and opinion held on board the Bredah, the 24th of August, 1702. (Which is *verbatim* recited in Colonel Kirkby's tryal, to which I refer.) It tending to the great hinderance and disservice of her Majesty's fleet then in fight: and the said paper so written, being shewed to each of them, they severally owned their hands to the same. But the said Captain Vincent and Captain Fogg, for reason of signing the same, alledged, that, being deserted during each day's engagement by Colonel Richard Kirkby in the Defiance, Captain John Constable in the Windsor, Captain Cooper Wade in the Greenwich, and Captain Thomas Hudson in the Pendennis, and left as a prey to Monsieur Du Casse, they had great reason to believe they should be captives to the enemy. And the Honourable John Benbow, Esq. Admiral, &c. coming in court, declared, that during the six days fight the said Captain Fogg behaved himself with great courage, bravery, and conduct, like a true Englishman, and lover of his

* October 19th.

Queen and country: and that the said Captain Samuel Vincent valiantly and courageously behaved himself during the said action, and desired leave to come into the said Admiral's assistance, then engaged with the enemy, and deserted by all the rest of the above-said ships, which he did to the relief of the said Admiral, who otherwise had fallen into the hands of Monsieur Du Casse.

Whereupon the court, being of opinion, that the signing of the aforesaid paper brought them under the censure of the twentieth article of war, accordingly adjudged Captain Samuel Vincent, and Captain Christopher Fogg, to be suspended: but the execution thereof is hereby respited, till his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of England, &c. his further pleasure be known therein.

Captain Thomas Hudson, commander of the Pendennis, died on board his said ship in the harbour of Port-Royal, at Jamaica, the

At five o'clock the twelfth day of October, 1702, the president, &c. having finished all the business before the court, dissolved the same.

DIVISION OUR DESTRUCTION:

OR,

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE FRENCH FACTION IN ENGLAND.

Nought else but Treason from the first this Land did foil.
Spencer's second Book of the Fairy Queen, Cant. 10. Stan. 48.

London: printed and sold by John Nutt, near Stationers'-hall, 1702. Quarto, containing twenty-two Pages.

SINCE it is certain, that the greatness which France has acquired, and the dangers which the rest of Europe is obnoxious to, arise both from the same cause, which is that maxim the French have so firmly observed, viz. to create and foment divisions among neighbouring states and princes; therefore, at this juncture, a short dissection of that maxim is necessary to invigorate our resentments against France, and to unseal the eyes of some among us, whose credulity has rendered them agents in their own destruction. I shall say nothing of the divisions France has raised in the empire, in Spain, in Poland, in Holland, and, indeed, in all places where the French ministers have resided, but will confine myself to a short account of what they have done in England only. I shall begin

with the Revolution, when no nation was ever more immediately preserved from slavery, both in conscience and estate. We were amazed at our deliverance, and acknowledged the wonderful mercy of God in that instance of our gratitude, the crowning his great instrument of our freedom. We were then so truly possessed of the source of our misfortunes, we so plainly saw our slavery come rolling down, in full tides, from those inexhaustible springs of oppression, the ambition and power of France, that we unanimously addressed our deliverer to direct us how we might remove the principles of our fear, and raise up liberty to our posterity. The King told us (and we agreed with him) that, whilst France possessed the overgrown power he was at that time master of, the liberty, not only of England, but of Europe, was in a very precarious condition; and we could then see his strength increased yearly, his dominions were daily inlarged, and the strongest towns were too weak to resist the battery of his money. And the depredations of his neighbouring countries were the exercise and reward of his armies; and his power at sea was grown to so surprising a height, that he was a match for Holland and England in conjunction. That ambitious monarch no longer disguised his intentions; he let the world see, that he thought himself strong enough to conquer Christendom, and that the conquest of Christendom was the quarry he flew at. But, though our dangers were great at that time, yet our eyes were open, and we put on our brave old English principles; the common danger not only united our factions, but the impending tyranny of France reconciled the jarring interests of the rest of Europe, and finished that confederacy, which the intrigues of France, and our two former Kings, had rendered abortive for so many years before. At that time, our circumstances were happily come to a crisis scarce hoped for a few weeks before. A set of persons sprung up, brave, wise, and honest; and, though the cankered tongue of envy has been hard upon them since, it is to the virtue of those men that we owe the unravelling of our entangled affairs, and the hopes of liberty which are yet left. The late ferment of the nation had worked off part of its phlegm; a new spirit of gallantry warmed our youth, and our old men fell out with avarice; Westminster-hall was purged, and property was put into clean hands. The church was truly in the King's interest, and we had at last got a King, who had no separate interest from his people.

Thus our affairs stood when the confederacy commenced. The French King wisely foresaw his ruin, if we proceeded as we began; and, knowing it fruitless to tamper with the new ministers, he was necessitated to play on his game, with those that were left of his old pack. He found our new measures were not to be broke any way, but by our old divisions, so he concerted with his friends here in secret to divide us; and the war was not a year old, before the wretches of the last reigns were warm in the merciful bosom of the new government; they began to hiss, and were readier to sting, than kiss the hand that signed the act for their pardons. Those

very men, who were the instruments of our late Kings, whose heads at the Revolution tottered on their shoulders, now skreened from justice by the act of indemnity, began to resume their old principles, and wish again for those masters, under whose tyranny they had indulged their luxury and covetousness. But they found it impossible openly to bring about their designs, the ability and integrity of the new ministry being so apparent and necessary at that time: all they could then do was to work themselves into the secrets of the nation, and discover them to France. They privately, at first, made what new proselytes they could, and slily lamented their country, insinuating, that it was oppressed with taxes, and worn out with the ignorance and pride of its new governor. As they grew stronger, they embarrassed all publick affairs as much as was possible, and they were particularly assiduous in the destruction of our money; and, when they had drawn on an inevitable necessity to recoin it, they struck in with the court, and were very zealous for recoining, hoping that so dead a stop to trade, in the midst of a heavy war, would undoubtedly have broke the back of the present constitution; and we were, as the French faction had foreseen, in the very agonies of confusion; our trade, and ministry, both civil and military, were at a plunge. Our enemies rejoiced, and our friends were dejected, at the loss of our current money. We stared on one another, and knew not what to think, when Exchequer bills, which are now ridiculed, revived our trade, set out our fleets, brought our army into the field, and supported our alliances. The French party were surprised, the loss of so sure a game made them desperate, and, from that time, they have resolved the destruction of him who, in preserving England, disappointed them.

The war continuing, and the charges growing heavier, the most Christian faction took hold of the popular end of the staff, and began to rail publickly, at visionary mismanagements, and corrupt ministers; and this step was the foundation of the heats and divisions among us since. Thus, the Tory party commenced patriots; grown patriots they rail at all men, and all things, that do not chime in with their interests. They entertain the King, after the fatigues of a campaign, with vexation all the winter; they grow bolder every day than other; and, when the most Christian King found it necessary to have a peace, they, by delaying the King's business, and frustrating his designs, tired him into the peace of Reswick. That peace was no sooner concluded, but the Tories fell into the old specious arguments and artifices, to inflame the nation; mismanagements, favourites, corrupt ministers, foreigners, and standing armies; the King, to satisfy them, sends away the Dutch, and disbands the army.

They then demand the forfeited estates in Ireland, and plainly tell the King, that he ought not to have disposed of them, and that they will take them from him again. The best King takes no notice of the indignity offered him; but sacrifices his just rights and resentments, to the ease and happiness of his people.

The King of Spain dying about this time, and France, contrary to all faith and honour, possessed of the whole Spanish dominions, Holland in the greatest danger, and Europe expecting, where slavery would first settle, the King dissolved this, and called a new Parliament, to preserve us in this juncture. But this late success of France had made his party here so bold and powerful, that instead of settling to the defence of the nation, and addressing his Majesty early, to form alliances, they, to amuse people, voted a great fleet, which was a prodigious expence, and signified no more, than to impoverish us, France having (as they well knew) no designs at sea, at that time. After this, they fell to wrangling, and revived the story of Kidd, and struck, at once, at five of the King's faithfullest servants, villainously tempting that unhappy wretch to save his own life, by swearing falsly against those Lords. Kidd failing them, they fall next on the treaty of partition, a treaty designed to establish a lasting tranquillity to Europe. Here they impeach the four Lords, and through their sides abuse the King, in the most base and porter-like language; they drive on with the greatest vehemence, and France had gained his point, if the House of Lords had not stood resolved and steady, in the defence of innocence, and England. Let this be for ever remembered to the eternal honour of that illustrious body. Here the faction was stung again, and railed at the Lords, because, right or wrong, they would not ruin whomsoever they are pleased to impeach; and since, how industriously has that party strove to raise a flame, which, if the consummate wisdom of his Majesty had not prevented, might have ended in the ruin of England. After this, they did nothing but trifle away their time, in invidious and vindictive matters, and empty addresses, till the King, in the plainest manner, laid before them, and the whole nation, the destruction, which was daily expected to fall on the United Provinces. The people's eyes beginning to open at the last Dutch memorial, they perceived they were betraying, and began to grow clamorous, and some Kentish gentlemen, being at this time imprisoned, contrary to all equity, only for petitioning the Parliament, to take care of the nation, had very much incensed them. The faction, to silence these clamours, and, if possible, to regain their credit, voted ten thousand men, which the Hollanders demanded, by vertue of a treaty made with King Charles the Second; but to shew, how heartily they designed our ruin, they voted twelve regiments of foot out of Ireland, which should be made ten thousand men, and that no other regiments should be raised in their places, absolutely tying up the King's hands from the defence of that country. This was the openest avowing their designs, that I have met with, to make which plainer, I must go back to a little after the peace of Reswick, when the disputes in Parliament, about disbanding the army, were at the highest. It was then thought absolutely necessary, in consideration of the papistical and rebellious principle of the Irish, that a body of twelve thousand men should be kept up in Ireland, which were established there accordingly. Now

when the King of Spain was dead, and the most Christian King in actual possession of his whole monarchy; when all mankind agreed, a war was unavoidable, unless France receded from those measures, he had taken, which none ever thought he would, without force; then I say, to strip Ireland of its guard, and leave it naked and defenceless, is to me the plainest owning their intentions in nature. Were I in the French interests, and had been reproached by Mr. Poussin, for want of vigour, in consideration of the numerous Lewis d'Ors received, I would justify myself thus: 'Good God, 'Mr. Poussin, what would you have us do? Have we not, from 'the King's first coming to this time, delayed all things, that were 'for the interest of England? What have we not done, that could 'tend to your service? Or what have we done, that the King re- 'commended to us, at the opening of last sessions? Have we not 'used the vilest means by Kidd, to take off five of your irrecon- 'cileable enemies? And when that would not answer our ends, did 'we not impeach three of the chief of them? Did we not fall into 'the greatest heats, and grosly abuse the House of Lords, only for 'remembering us, to bring the impeached Lords to their trials? 'And have not our whole faction fallen on my Lord Haversham, 'notwithstanding one of our managers was the aggressor? Pray, tell 'me, what have we done, without your advice, before the Kentish 'petition, and the legion letter? And when yourself acknowledged, 'there was an unavoidable necessity of sending those forces to 'Holland: did we not surprise even you, by leaving Ireland open to 'whatever designs his most Christian Majesty might have on it? 'And after all, have we not cajoled the King and country, to con- 'tinue us another sessions? Come, come, Mr. Poussin, have pa- 'tience, and assure your great master, that we will deliver Eng- 'land, dispirited and defenceless, into the arms of his mercy.' I cannot see what Monsieur Poussin could have said to me, and I am sure I must have silenced him, if there is any verity in this old proverb, 'Truth will prevail.'

Thus, have we seen our best friends oppressed, by the villainy of our worst enemies; this is the end of the blood and treasure, which have been spent, to settle us on a firm basis of liberty. After a short period of twelve years, we are almost in the same hands that brought us to the brink of destruction, so lately.

The King, a little after his return from Holland, dissolved the last Parliament, as he was addressed to do, by his people; with what confusion to his enemies, their violent reflexions on his person were a sufficient evidence. They were, for a time, distracted with anger and envy, and, when they began to cool, they found it necessary to consider of their safeties, and of ways and means to support their detestable faction; in order to which, their council was often called, and (whether it were fear, or the Devil, that sharpened their inventions) they resolved upon a most villainous expedient, which was this. They declared in all places, that whatever opposition, they had made to the court, was in order to preserve the church; to confirm this, I appeal to all the counties and boroughs in England,

if those members, who were charged with delaying the King's business, did not use almost the same argument to their electors. The sum of which was, that they were ill used, and reproached for nothing in the world, but their desire to save the nation's money, and their unshaken sincerity to the church, in opposition to those who would destroy her, the Whigs.

Thus, the continual efforts of the French faction is to divide us; and it is our misfortune to be the easiliest divided of any people in nature, one artifice of France having been sufficient to do it, for the greater part of a century. The old Cavalier and Roundhead, the latter Whig and Tory, and the immediate church-party and whig-party, are all the same; France sometimes new christens our factions, and we, an unthinking generation, let a little jargon divide, distract, and ruin us.

But the partisans of France have been lately more assiduous than ordinary to poison our ear; they buz the disaffected nobility, and great factions, or foolish commoners, with being shut out from all profits and share in the government; their great parts and capacities for the ministry are cried up; neither do they forget to tell them of the injustice and dishonour they receive by being left at the tail of affairs, whilst a few unworthy flatterers go away with all the honours and advantages. The commonalty are possessed with new hardships, taxes, misapplication of their money, evil counsellors, &c. and the church with retrenchments on their honours and privileges, and designs of totally subverting, or at least new modelling their authority and jurisdiction. They are continually remembered of what their fathers suffered from Cromwell; from whence it is inferred, that the Whigs will play the same game. And it is these arguments which have drawn the ignorant and unthinking, or the designing, part of the clergy into their interests. Now, that I may not seem to reflect on churchmen without reason, I will give a particular instance, that some of them were mistaken, at the electing knights of the shire for a neighbouring county. Five gentlemen stood candidates, four of them undeniably in the King's interests, but the other was said to be absolutely against him: yet there was a doctor of divinity, and a convocation man too, who, besides all the votes among the clergy that he could influence, gave the gentleman, who was reproached for being against the King, his single vote, which, I think, was neither the wise, nor well bred part of the churchman. But it would be an unhandsome part to reflect on the gentlemen who sent him to the convocation, because he has done this; and I doubt not but those gentlemen will shew their resentment of this action of his, by sending a new representative to the next convocation.

I will not aggravate this matter by heaping up more instances of the like nature, because the mistakes or credulity of some few of the divines ought not to bring a reflexion on the honest men of that profession: neither must we think the whole body of the clergy in the St. Germain interest, because we have seen some of their coat so zealous in their service to gentlemen generally es-

teemed in the French faction. On the contrary, the virtue and steadiness of the church in the cause of liberty, at the Revolution, should, in justice, cover the failings of her weak members. But France is under a necessity of using all its arts at this juncture to divide us; it is the last card he has to play; and if England has virtue enough to be united, and countermine his emissaries, that aspiring monarch must be humbled; his chief hopes of universal monarchy are built on our divisions; it is this he applies his utmost ability to procure; it is for this, as much as any thing, that he sighs for the arrival of his plate fleet. It was our divisions that founded the greatness of his monarchy, and nothing else can finish the super-structure. To curb the genius of Great Britain was ever the load-star of the French ministry. That great Cardinal Richlieu, who laid the first stone of the French greatness, improved all opportunities to divide us. I question not but he was the fomenter of our civil wars, and Charles the First's head paid for his designs on the Isle of Rhee. The French always apprehending our agreement as a sure presage of misfortune to them; when we were but a little reconciled in the person of Oliver Cromwell, they bought our friendship with the most base and unworthy action, the banishing and exposing two miserable princes, who had taken sanctuary in that court. Mazarine and his succeeding ministers have still kept up to this darling maxim of division, and, from the Restoration to the Revolution, they have maintained a brave and towering faction; the two Kings, and their courts, were the parties of France, in opposition to the people of England. France was at a miserable plunge, at the coming of King William; he was obliged intirely to shift his sails, and, since he could no longer have our Kings his pensioners, he submitted to more inferior agents, and fell into those measures before mentioned. But money being an excellent promoter of division, and France having ever found it the most unerring persuasive, both with worldly men, and men of revelation too, begins already to fear the failure of this almost irresistible rhetorick. It will be impossible to spin out his wars, without an annual return from the West Indies; the short remora's of that fleet have already thrown him on his extremest measures of oppression, the capitation tax, and raising the value of his money. He foresees every year's increasing difficulties, and how impossible it will be to stem them, without the Spanish money; and nothing can retard the return of the galleons, at any time, but the English fleet. Wherefore, an expedient must be found to make that fleet always necessary at home; in order thereto, his friends already begin to rail at any proposal for increasing the army. They argue in all places, that an army, if the King pleases, may inslave the nation; that the Emperor may raise and maintain men much easier and cheaper than we can, and they are very willing to give the King what money he pleases, to support the Emperor. This is a smart and well concerted matter; the complimenting the King with designs of tyranny is the least part of it. This is closer laid, and if France cannot wheedle us into a

peace (which he will accept on almost any terms) his next best will be to keep us without an army: without an army our fleet must stay to protect us, or we shall be left open and defenceless to French invasions. I foresee, the friends of France will expose this, as a chimerical notion; but let honest men take care of being too credulous; let them consider the great number of flat bottomed barques, which, for several years, have lain in the ports of France, that are near England; and, allowing we had more men of war than the French might have for their convoy, yet the same wind, which brings them, may keep us in our harbours; and, if the French can land twenty-thousand men, we cannot oppose them afterwards. What shall hinder them from ruining all our docks, and burning our naval magazines? Let any body tell me, What shall stop their marching to London, ravaging the country, all the way they march, and plundering and burning the city? I can name a shrill speech-maker, with a vinegar satyr, that will ridicule all I have said, and, probably, some such way as this: 'What a mighty concern is this poor man in, a disbanded officer, I will warrant him, both by his arguments and reasonings? Let me see,' says he (fleeringly) 'first, the French are to land twenty-thousand men; very well, he makes no more of transporting them, than so many oysters. Then they are to come to town, I suppose, like the rehearsal army, in disguise, nothing is to be known of them, till we hear our wives and daughters squeak. Lord, how will our poor old ladies do to bear ravishment! and our bankers will be so confounded, at the loss of their money, that they will not have impudence enough left to desire God to save them; then all our men, from Dover to Windsor, may be engaged at nine-pins, and want leisure to oppose the French. I vow, I think we had best raise an army, and inslave ourselves, to prevent this; but then I desire to add one thing more, which is this, That there may be an act made for erecting a competent number of stone pillars round every house in England, to prevent the sky from hurting us, if it should happen to fall; for I am of the man's mind, that we ought to provide against all dangers;' so, putting on his particular sneer, sets a whole coffee-house into a tee-hee.

For that Gentleman's sake, I shall farther tell you, that the King of France has a much superior number, than what I speak of, lies always on (or within a day's march of) the coasts of France and Flanders, and he may, when he pleases, in two days time, imbarque that number of pickt men, and a fair wind, in twelve hours, may land them in England. Now, if we had an account of their designs brought by the messenger, that carries the orders to the French general, who commands the descent, it would be a day, at least, after that general had received his orders, before the account could come to the Secretary's office; and suppose a council immediately called, and orders given for three-thousand men to march next morning, and they do march accordingly, it would be three days more before they could reach the nearest coasts of Kent, or Sussex, and march twenty miles a day too, and suppose them joined with

all the country. But I trifle. Did ever any foreigners attempt to land in England, and did not, from the time of Julius Cæsar, to the Revolution? As for that notion, that our mob would tear twenty-thousand French to pieces, all men, that know any thing of soldiery, laugh at it, as a ridiculous story; a regular army, of that strength, is not to be opposed by the confusion of a multitude, be they never so brave. I know some gentlemen, who pretend to be very fond of beating French armies with spits and fowling-pieces, that would be almost as easily persuaded to be hanged as to head such an army against the French. I do not pretend, that they can absolutely inslave us with so small a number as twenty-thousand (though it might be some difficulty to get them out, when their friends had joined them) but I do maintain, that their ruining our harbours, and city, would be practicable; and what a step to slavery that would be, let any man judge. Another instance, worth our consideration, is, that an army, which will defend England, is also capable of offending France. If we are strong enough, in shipping, to cover a descent on any part of his coast, ten-thousand men, incamped near Dover or Deal, or any where in Kent, or Sussex, near the sea, will oblige France to keep forty-thousand of his best troops, to secure his own country.

What a vast charge was he at, in intrenching and fortifying his coast last war, when General Talmash, with less than seven-thousand men, alarmed his countries, bordering on the sea, from Dunkirk to Brest? And though, as we are told, the design of landing at Brest was known to France, yet he would not trust any part of his coasts defenceless. What a hurry was there! what raising his militia, and forming a flying-camp! all his ports were strongly garisoned, and he had fifteen-thousand men intrenched at Camaret-Bay. Thus, at least, fifty-thousand of his best troops, besides the militia, were diverted by a lieutenant-general, and seven-thousand men. But, if we have no army to molest France, I see no reasons to induce him to keep above ten-thousand men in that part of his country; which, with his militia, will be security enough for the ports there, and he may dispose of the remainder of the forty-thousand, which we might divert, into the Empire, into Italy, or where else he pleases. And it may happen, that, when we are destitute of an army, those numerical men, finding their own ports in no danger, may come, and garison ours for us. Thus, I think, it is plain, that we must have an army, or keep our fleet at home; and, if the Gallican engines can bring that about, the galleons may come yearly for the reward of their services, and the support of the French tyranny.

Now I may possibly be attacked by some graver person of the faction, who will say, 'Is not this pamphlet-man very abusive on gentlemen, who have contributed so much, and heartily, to save the nation? And then he gives you a formal list of all the good actions of the last parliament, which he calls theirs.' Part of this may be true too, which is so much the worse; for it is these plausible stories blind us. The French party do, and will join with the true

patriots, in all, but raising an army, and loving the impeached lords. Let those two things alone, and they will come in with you; they will seem as vigorous as any; they will address as often as you please; they will pretend to pay the national debts; they will part with their privileges; they will desire the king to make alliances; they will declare the Electress next heir to the three crowns; or, if their minds are altered, and you are willing to relinquish her highness, and chuse the Czar, the Sophy, the Sultan, or Prester John, with all their hearts; they will oblige you in any thing but an army. An army! No, no, my masters; an army might effect the aforementioned matters in good earnest. Do you think they will save the nation? That is what those rogues, the Earl of O. the Lord S. the Lord H. and the Whigs, would do, if they could but discover how. Now let us see into what circumstances this one policy of France has reduced us, and, if possible, to find a means to disengage ourselves. It is to our divisions that we owe the peace of Reswick, not to mention any thing before; it was division exposed us naked, impeached our friends, and left unpaid the debts of the nation; it was that maxim, improved to the height in England, which made France himself break the treaty of partition; it made the Elector of Bavaria, and Prince Vaudemont, declare for France; it brought Cologne, Bavaria, and Portugal, into his alliance, and it set up all the neutralities in Italy, and in the empire. Division has set us on the edge of destruction, and we must exert our utmost vertue to recover ourselves; we must shake off the lethargy which has seized us, and we must resolve to sacrifice mutual injuries to the common safety of ourselves in particular, and of Europe in general. Providence has pointed out means for rejoining and recovering our former grandeur, a chain of blessings is let down to us, to which we may add the link of our own security. The late King's death has given a fair opportunity to drop the invidious name of Jacobite; many, who thought themselves tied by oaths, or personal obligations, to that unfortunate prince, are, by his death, at liberty, and they must have some respect for a government, which has used them moderately, though known enemies to it. But if any are so stupid, or inveterate, to persist in the interests of a supposed part of his family, which the nation has renounced, they ought to be treated as monsters of ingratitude, and traitors to their king and country.

The division between our greatest merchants is reconciled, by the marriage of the two East-India companies; and our unfortunate heats, in the last parliament, have no reason to be revived, since we have a new one; we have a true noble House of Lords, and, at the head of all these, we have a brave and wise King. These are great steps to the reconciling of England, and we have the most compendious and generous way to do this, which is mutually and sincerely to sink at once all injuries. Then, and not till then, shall we meet friends, and then we shall abolish all the damned names and distinctions of parties, and factions, in this great and glorious one, a party for the Protestant religion in all its branches,

and for the liberty of Europe. Now, and only now, is the time for this great agreement, which will, and nothing else can, effectually reduce this exorbitant power of France. It is in our hands to repel that voracious monarchy into its ancient boundaries; and we have the good fortune to be sure of our allies, from those undeniable principles, their interests; the Emperor firm, in the vindication of his honour, and the rights of his family; the States-General resolved to have a barrier to their commonwealth (and I contemplate their beating down the fort, near *Sas van Ghent*, was more to convince our Parliament, of the steadiness of their resolution, than to insult the French); the King of Prussia will, to the utmost, oppose that Boutefeu, amongst the states and princes, that have scrupled to own him as king; the Elector of Hanover, the Duke of Zell, and the Elector Palatine, have those notorious reasons to be stifly against France, that I think it superfluous to name them. On the other side, the disadvantages the French have met with in Italy, and the charges of the war, are so excessively great, that, though the most Christian court assumes their grandest airs, it lies heavy at their hearts, they find themselves surrounded with necessities at the beginning of a war; their constitution is languishing, and nothing, but the cordial of money, can revive it; each new dose must be increased, and, if the cordial is never so little abated, the crazy carcase of the absolute French Monarch must give up the ghost. Whereas our allies have had success beyond expectation, and they are invigorated with the hopes, that England will fall, with its whole weight, into the scales against France. The neutral princes and states are waiting to see what we shall do. And if the terror of our fleet was so great in a perfect peace, what new measures must an avowed war influence Portugal to take? That proud King Lewis, who formerly declared, he warred on Holland for his glory, and made that the base excuse for his barbarous invasion of the United Provinces, is now reduced to those necessities, that he is forced to stifle his anger and resentments against the Dutch. Is it not extraordinary to see that haughty and ambitious prince, whose long reign has been a continual distraction to his neighbours, whose pride and malice sacrificed whoever dared to oppose him, that he could by private villainy, or open force, come at, on a sudden, grow the humblest creature, and the best-natured soul in the world? He thinks the beating down his fort, and insulting his incroachments, are not sufficient reasons to break with his good friends the States-General. He, quiet prince, is willinger to enter into negotiations to preserve the peace, than to take those just revenges, which the goodness of his cause and the bravery of his troops would give him. But he was of another mind, the beginning of last spring, when he seized the towns in Flanders, which were mortgaged to the Hollanders, and, instead of paying the debt, confined their troops, and kept them prisoners during pleasure. When his army hovered near their frontiers, and built forts under the cannon of their town; he knew they were then weak, and dared not oppose him; he then apprehended none of those cross accidents in Italy, which have mor-

tified him since; he seems now quiet and humble minded, and troth I believe him:

Pauper videri Cinna vult, & est pauper.

He is certainly humbled at present, and must be so for ever, if we do not give him opportunities to forget his humility, and resume his ambition. This seeming moderation of his has given his friends a dainty occasion to declare against war. What, break with a king, who puts up the greatest insults, rather than break the peace? A king that has no inclination for war, and would rather grant any terms, than disturb the world, and himself, the few days he has to live? This is a specious pretence, but the truth is, France is brought to his last efforts, and cannot support the additional weight of Spain, two years longer, if we fall upon him. But if we can be so far imposed on, as to let him get a peace for but three years, France will then be able once more to make war for his glory.

As we have these great advantages, so let us set against them our visible disadvantages. For though France has squeesed the last drops into his exchequer, yet with that money which he has barbarously wrung from his poor slaves, he is finishing our ruin. It is that money has carried his troops into the Electorate of Cologne, and has opened him a way into the bowels of the Empire. It is that money which carries the recruit of twenty-thousand men, with an additional strength of twenty-thousand fresh men more into Italy. It is that by which he hopes to discover the measures of his enemies this winter, and the designed operations of the next campaign. Wherefore if we do not now oppose him with our utmost strength, but fall into divisions and delays, the heart of the confederacy will be dead, the Emperor must take what equivalent France will give him, the glory of the last campaign in Italy will pass as a dream, the unparalleled preparations the Dutch have made in defence of our common liberty must come to nothing, and these brave states must compound and come under France, as a maritime province of their new empire.

Thus in all human appearances the fate of Europe depends on the results of this parliament. If they are united, we are free: But should they be so unhappy as to be wheedled into a peace, or resolve but on a defensive war, both which God forefend, I can then think of nothing better for the interest of poor England, than by an early submission to gain the best terms we can, and get as easy a slavery as is possible from our new master Lewis the Great.

POLITICAL REMARKS

ON THE

LIFE AND REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III.

FIRST,

From his Birth to the Abdication of King James II.

SECONDLY,

From his Accession to the Crown of England to his Death.

First. THOUGH fortune might seem a step-mother to this prince, by depriving him of a father, before scarce a human soul had been breathed into the infant, yet she abundantly made amends for that unkindness, by the prudence and indulgency of his mother, eldest daughter of King Charles the First, who, by means of the blood from whence she sprung, not only conveyed to him a prospect of attaining to three kingdoms, but also, by the care she took of his education, she formed his soul worthy of the crowns he was destined by Providence to wear.

We read a story of Sempronius, that he caught two snakes ingendering, and that, being surprised at the novelty, he consulted the oracle what the unlucky omen meant: The priests returned an answer, 'That either himself or his wife must die; and that it was at his election, whether he would submit to death himself, or doom the partner of his bed to that misfortune: That, upon his killing the male snake, it was his turn to die; and that, upon the death of the female, his wife must undergo the same destiny.' This generous Roman, unterrified with the apprehensions of another world, caused the snake to die, whose fate was twisted with his, confiding in the known piety and prudence of his lady, and believing her life more necessary to the common good of his family than his own. The oracle and his uxurious confidence were just; he died according to the prediction of the first, and his family, by the conduct of his widow, found themselves little prejudiced in the loss of so eminent an example of tenderness.

I shall not insist upon the truth of this story, we have some good authors to vouch it; but certainly, if the Prince of Orange, father to the late King William, had been permitted such an unhappy choice, he might, without a blemish to his character, have followed the steps of that illustrious Roman, and spared his lady, whose wisdom, courage, and civility laid the first foundation of that grandeur, which her warlike son, in succeeding ages, attained to.

The States of the Seven Provinces stood his godfathers; nor did

his mother, though so nearly allied to the crown of England, think it beneath her quality to implore the protection of persons meanly born, in comparison of her illustrious offspring, nor were the methods she undertook unagreeable to sound policy. The princely widow understood her interest very well, and the godson of those High and Mighty Potentates received, both in his own person, and in the respect was paid his mother, the greatest arguments of their sincere friendship and esteem.

No blasing star preceded his birth, and, with its prophetick beams, presaged his future grandeur. The Dutch astrologers could not see so clearly as the English, who affirmed, that a star of such a nature was seen just before the nativity of King Charles the Second. In this his country-men acted unhandsomely, in depriving his birth of so glorious and remarkable an accident.

And it must be acknowledged, as more reasonable in itself, if those celestial luminaries attend our actions here below, that the brightest of them should rather have waited on the nativity of King William, who restored the glory of the English, than upon King Charles the Second, who, by the supineness of his conduct, had near lost the reputation of his country, and the balance of Europe.

This humility of the Princess of Orange was as much commended by some as censured by others; but whoever weighs it, must acknowlege it a piece of refined policy, and that her consideration was both just and rational. By this step, and others of the like nature, she intirely rooted out those ideas, and that umbrage, the States had conceived at the greatness of the house of Orange, and shewed herself rather a grand-daughter of King James the First, than a sister of King James the Second.

His education was consistent with the manners of the country where he was educated; the methods, prescribed him by those that had the honour of his tuition, were solid and severe; nothing gay or glittering was seen in his court, or the conversation of those persons who were intrusted with the management of his tender years. His mind adjusted itself to the admonitions of his tutors, and produced a temper serious and thoughtful, quite averse from the usual gallantries practised in the more refined and polite courts, as they stiled themselves, of Europe.

He was never a mighty scholar himself, nor did he much affect learning, or the charms of a witty conversation. Such, as were masters of those happy qualities, were seldom employed by him, unless some of the first in the affairs of the church; and if ever he made use of persons, so distinguished, in his secular concerns, it was rather to please others than himself, and to acquire a reputation to his councils, more than for any pleasure he took in their harangues or conversation; and this may be truly said of him, without injustice to his memory, That he was a much greater king, but nothing so fine a gentleman as his uncle.

Though he was no great friend to polite learning, yet he took

care to acquire the French and English languages, which, afterwards, were of the highest importance to his management of several treaties of the last consequence to himself and his allies.

He never had many favourites, and it was well for England that he had no more than two; the first of these was Monsieur Bentinck, now Earl of Portland, who obtained his esteem and friendship by one of the most generous actions imaginable. This young gentleman was page to the Prince of Orange, and much of the same age with his master. It happened that the Prince was taken ill of the small-pox, which not rising kindly upon him, his physicians judged it necessary that some young person should lie in the same bed with the Prince, imagining, that the natural heat of another would drive out the disease, and expel it from the nobler parts. No-body of quality could be found in all the court to make this experiment; at last, Monsieur Bentinck, though he had never had the small-pox, resolved to run the risque; he did so, the Prince recovered, his Page fell ill, and, in a little time, had the happiness to find himself in a healthy condition as well as his master. Ever after this action of Monsieur Bentinck's, which was truly great and noble, the Prince had an intire affection for so faithful a servant, and particularly trusted him in affairs of the highest consequence. It was my Lord Portland that transacted the peace of Reswick, and the same nobleman managed the negotiations that were set on foot betwixt the then Prince of Orange and the English nobility, who had recourse to his Highness before his accession to these realms. If the favours of the King had stopped here, and his faithful minister had received no other arguments of his master's esteem, than reasonable gifts and honours, perchance the character of the deceased Monarch might have been something greater; but things were pushed too far, and, when the Parliament put a stop to some concessions intended for my Lord, it was a plain discovery of a weakness which had been better omitted.

Though his Highness commanded the army of the States, very young, when he was scarcely seventeen, an age when some noblemen are hardly exempt from the tuition of a pedant, yet he behaved himself with greater vigilance, prudence, and conduct, than could be reasonably expected of him, at that time of day.

But though his conduct was surprising, when he entered upon those high employments of Stadt-holder and General, yet he seems rather indebted to chance and the miseries of his country for those posts, than to any personal merit of his own, or the atchievements of his ancestors.

The French had near over-run all Holland, their armies had possessed themselves of Utrecht, and most of the rest of the frontier towns belonging to the States had submitted themselves to that invincible deluge, which their troops could not resist, nor their prudence or negotiations avoid. The faction of Barnevelt, well known by that name in the Low-Countries, were then at the helm, and the two brothers, the De Wits, were looked upon as chiefs of a party who opposed the grandeur of the house of Orange. One of these

was pensionary, which is principal secretary of state, and was either, in reality, a traytor to his country, or esteemed as such by the boors and common people, whose misfortunes sowred their humours, and made them ripe for tumults and rebellions. Upon the constant series of their ill success, the populace arose, tore in pieces the two unhappy brothers, and wrested the government from the hands of those who were averse to the house of Orange. They continued their resentments, and obliged the States to restore his highness to all the ancient honours of his family. Yet, though this young gentleman was made general by a tumult, yet, once possessed of that high command, he behaved himself not like a tumultuary general; he soon repulsed the French out of their new conquests, with a greater chain of success than ever afterwards attended his military actions.

Though severe and reserved in the cabinet, yet, in the camp, he was fiery to a fault, and often exposed himself, and the cause he defended, with a rashness blameable in an officer of his dignity.

Yet one thing is very observable in his conduct, though he had the spirit and gallantry of a hero, yet he wanted the passion of love to make that character compleat. Neither before, at the time of his marriage, or afterwards, was he ever noted for any extraordinary tenderness; nor could the beauty of his queen, nor the address of any other lady, raise in him extraordinary transports. His soul was free from these weaknesess, or he had the art to conceal them.

But notwithstanding his whole life was an instance of his prudence in affairs of this nature (one case only excepted), yet he never shewed so great a reservedness, nor, indeed, a greater piece of wisdom, than upon his marriage with the Lady Mary, eldest daughter of the late King James. She was a princess, who, for her beauty, good humour, sense, and piety, had no equal in Europe. Her zeal for the Protestant religion was surprising in a lady of her youth, and what did not a little add to her shining qualities, was her being presumptive heiress to three kingdoms. The people of England were infinitely desirous this match should take effect, and King Charles persuaded the world he had the same inclinations, but privately insinuated to the Prince, that his making a peace with France, and his inducing the Spaniards to do the same, upon such terms as his Britannick Majesty proposed (which terms, in truth, were too favourable to the French) were the only means his Highness had to obtain the lady. Here was love and glory in opposition to one another; but the Prince, under these extraordinary circumstances, shewed an unchangeable temper, and a mind impregnable against the strongest assaults. He assured the crown of England, that, although he had the highest veneration for the Princess Mary, yet nothing could make him recede from the interest of the Allies, and he should always prefer his honour to all other considerations whatsoever. Fortune was just to his virtue; he gained his point both ways, and obtained the best of princesses for himself, and those articles of peace he insisted upon for his confederates.

It seems a wonder if King Charles was a Roman Catholick, or, in reality, inclinable to that interest, he should permit the princesses to be educated in the Protestant faith: Yet there seem so many arguments for this opinion, that I believe few persons stand in doubt of it; but, if so, it is plain he preferred the easiness of a crown to his future considerations.

If the Prince was fond of any thing to a degree, it was of hunting and the diversions of the field. He paid his servants well that took care of his pleasures this way, and gave them all reasonable encouragement. Perchance some of these might receive their superfluous pensions, when the army abroad wanted their necessary subsistence.

Some persons are of opinion, that the Prince held predestination; that it was his judgment all balls were commissioned, and had their bounds set them, further than which they were not able to go. It is true, at the fight of Seneff, and the battle of the Boyne, he fought with such a spirit, as generally possesses those who have firmly imbibed a belief of this nature; but, whether his judgment induced him to be of this opinion or not, he countenanced the thought, which he was satisfied made his soldiers regardless of danger, and contributed to their courage and resolution.

During his being at the helm of the Dutch government in Holland, he was sparing of his own money, but yet not tenacious to that degree, but he concluded several alliances with the Protestant powers of Germany, for which he paid dear enough; and it is even said, that the Holy Father himself entered into an engagement with him against the King of France, that disturber of mankind. Certain it is, he knew how to spare, and how to lay out, his money to a good advantage; and, if he could have commanded the purse of England, when he was only Prince of Orange, as he did afterwards, when he was King of England, in all probability, he had never permitted the growth of a power which grew, in time, to be so formidable to all Europe.

It is no strange thing that the Pope opposed the King of France; interest cements the closest friendship. The head of the most Holy Church and St. Peter's successor, as he stiles himself, joins with a prince of a different faith, in order to protect their common liberties: His most Christian Majesty acts the same part, and confederates with his good friends the Musselmen. The one leagues with a Protestant, the other with an Infidel, each for their separate advantage; and, in this affair, the Pope's dealings must be owned the juster of the two. His reason for the union was self-defence; and what obliged the King of France to his confederacy, was no other than the dishonest motives of tyranny and ambition.

The Prince of Orange, landing in the west of England, marched from thence to Exeter, of which city he made himself master, and went forward with the success that we all know of. Yet his preparations for this descent were not carried so privately, but the Count de Vaux, ambassador for his most Christian Majesty at the Hague, discovered the whole affair, and gave notice of it to his

master, and to the envoy of King James the Second. The King of France immediately caused a memorial to be presented to the States of Holland on this subject, who very fairly denied the matter, and turned the blame of the whole affair on the Prince of Orange. The King of France was satisfied with this answer, and certainly the genius of that empire was then asleep, or so employed about the war going to be made against the house of Austria, that it could not be at leisure to respect the affairs of the Low-Countries. If the troops of his most Christian Majesty had fell down into the Spanish Netherlands, instead of marching into Germany, the Dutch had been obliged to have kept that warlike Prince at home, to defend their own territories; England might have justly despaired of a revolution, and Europe of its liberties. But Providence had ordered things otherwise; the court of France committed this unalterable blunder, and the great Lewis, upon this occasion, failed to exert that judgment which he so often convinced the world he was master of, both before and afterwards.

The battle of Mons was an action in which the Prince of Orange acquired a great deal of glory. He beat the Duke of Luxemburgh, who lay incamped before that town, out of his intrenchments, and forced his army to a precipitate flight. This relation, without other circumstances, is indeed extremely honourable to the memory of that monarch; but, if it be also true, which tradition acquaints us with, concerning that battle, the Prince deserved no laurels. It is most certain, that, a few hours before the fight, a peace was concluded betwixt his most Christian Majesty and the States of Holland; but, whether the Prince had any notice of this pacification, I cannot tell; but, if so, to fight with the articles of peace in his pocket, proves him vain-glorious and revengeful.

His enterprise upon England must be allowed very just. That step towards the revolution, there are but few which cavil at. It is true, some persons would have been contented that he had proceeded but little further, and only tied up the hands of his unfortunate predecessor. But these gentlemen argue very little like politicians; King James would have been King James still, and soon, by the violation of the people's liberties, returned to that course from whence the success of the Prince's arms had obliged him to deviate; and, admitting King James to have kept within the bounds of reason and moderation, yet still the Protestant religion, and the liberties of all Europe, must have been betrayed to the ambition of France, by the bare neutrality of England, our island being the only balance to that incredible power which the French has lately assumed. So that King William's taking upon him the regency of this nation, seems rather to have been an act of necessity than ambition. Happy is that prince who finds such an opportunity of mounting a throne, where fate or Providence push upon him that grandeur, which it is the nature of all mankind to be desirous of.

The securing those lords, by the Prince of Orange, which were sent to him on the part of King James, when he fixed his victorious standards at Windsor, carried with it an air of ill nature and hard-

ship, and looked like a violence upon the law of nations; but they were soon discharged, and were only secured from receiving injuries themselves, and injuring others by their ill-timed errand.

The message which the son-in-law sent to his royal father, a little before the blue guards took their post before Whitehall, was looked upon, in those times, by such who had an inclination to their old master, as bitter, undutiful, and wicked; but, certainly, the Prince never shewed his clemency, or indeed his tenderness, for King James, more than upon that occasion. The Prince was under an unavoidable necessity of entering London, the heart and capital of this realm, in order to bring those great designs to a conclusion, on account of which he had run so many hazards. The troops that he commanded, and would, in all likelihood, have took possession of Whitehall, were foreigners, of a different language and religion than King James, and such who might have offered violence to the person of that monarch, notwithstanding their orders to the contrary. But allowing that King William had detached for that service the Scotch and English, which bore his colours, still the hazards of King James would have been the greater; several of the officers, belonging to those regiments, had served in Ireland under King James, and had been broke of their commissions, purely for being Protestants; others had voluntarily quitted England or Ireland, to find a liberty of their religion abroad, and which they conceived was in danger at home. In the number of these were Major General Mackay, and several others. Another party were personally disgusted by the late King James; such were Lieutenant-General Talmash, my Lord Cutts, and many more of quality and distinction: To have commanded, therefore, these to guard their old master, against whom they had, or pretended to have, so many causes of dissatisfaction, would have been madness in any person, who intended or designed that monarch should live, till cut off by the course of nature; which was the visible design of King William in respect to the late King James, as appears by this, and will be made yet further apparent by the subsequent observations. It is true, the honour of General Talmash and my Lord Cutts would have guarded the late King from violence and injuries to their power: But who could answer for the caprice and whimsies of the private sentinels? or, who can say to their humours, thus far shall thou go, and no further.

Thus, we frequently see the best of accounts misinterpreted; we turn the great or little end of perspective suitable to our own inclination or fancy, and the fact bears no colour from itself, but from the false and prejudiced gloss we put upon it.

The church of England was as forward in soliciting King William to invade England as the dissenters. The reason of this was evident; because King James invaded the church, assumed a power to new-model the Universities, silenced Dr. Sharpe, then minister of St. Giles's in the Fields, set up an ecclesiastical court, superior to that of Doctor's Commons, and imprisoned the bishops in the Tower. Yet this very church of England, I mean some of the

clergy, the representatives of the church, refused to take the oaths to King William, equally dissatisfied with their elective and hereditary king. They forgot the memorials delivered, on their behalf, to the Prince of Orange, their honour, and their misfortunes; but the reason of this uneasiness appeared most plainly; King William had not dishes enough to satisfy all the longings and expectations of his guests; he could not cut out the whole state into deaneries and bishopricks; and, indeed, King William, as politick a prince as he was, had not yet craft enough to humour the clergy, neither, perchance, at that time of day did he think it his interest so to do; believing that, here in England, the tribe of Levi, and their doctrines, always depended on the government, as in Holland.

Sir Charles Sidley, in a speech made to the House of Commons, took the liberty to say, 'That King William, though a prince in years, was but a young king;' insinuating, that monarch, though a very wise man, was not, by reason of the shortness of his reign, at that time acquainted with several systems of government, necessary to be known by English princes. And, sure, one of the mistakes of that reign appeared, in not managing the various factions of the clergy at first; which if the King had done with address, they had perfectly forgot the notions * of Sherlock, Sibthorp, or Manwaring.

The Prince made a bridge of gold for King James; he was taken by his own subjects, and, in a sort of confinement, brought back to London. That sun, which was dreaded in the west as bad as death itself, sets in a small town, the scorn and mockery of the rabble. But the unhappy King, however barbarous his subjects were to him, would have had no great cause of complaint, had his government been equal. The King of Kings was despised by his friends and relations; and that Monarch, like the suffering Jesus, met with ill usage from those creatures he had made.

Yet the permission allowed King James to retire where he would, was a plain indication that the Prince had no manner of design of injuring his person, nor harboured any sentiments of revenge against a father, whom he conceived endeavoured, by ungentleman-like methods, to deprive him of a throne, and his right, by the birth and merits of his lady, a princess of inimitable piety and virtue.

It was an unaccountable mistake in policy, and an error ill agreeing with the prudence of King William, in not securing and bringing to justice those traytors, who, by their flagitious councils, had near ruined the church and state; I mean those who once disgraced the bench, and from that seat of justice, forgetting the duty they owed their God, their king, and their country, and as little mindful of their own honour and the publick liberty, gave their opinion, 'That the King might dispense with the penal laws and the test, those bulwarks of the English franchises.' A just severity upon these people, and a retrospection into their actions, would

* Of passive obedience.

have given their successors sufficient warning to make them honest; and, though our modern judges have behaved themselves with all the worth and probity imaginable, yet their impartiality must not be esteemed the effects of any terror that was struck into them by a just punishment of their predecessors, but rather springing from their own internal goodness and virtue.

As those gentlemen, which were false to their country, might have easily felt the resentments of the convention, just before the Prince's accession to these realms; so he had an extraordinary opportunity of doing himself and the nation justice, upon such infamous persons, as betrayed both, without exposing himself in the quarrel. An Old Bailey jury would certainly have measured to them the same mercy, as other supposed criminals had found from their bloody hands; for, by the way, most juries are for the strongest side, and few persons, as I ever heard or read of, when indicted for treason, had the good fortune to escape safe and sound from their fiery trial. And all this might have been done without reflexion upon the Prince, or calling his nature or mercy into question. If any odium had happened, it would have been charged upon the ferment of the nation.

A scrutiny of this nature, though it had let some ill persons blood, it might have been yet very necessary for the health of the republick; and I believe few persons would have been angry, if the blood of Russel, Sidney, and Cornish had been sufficiently expiated.

My Lord Chief Justice Herbert, who exercised that office in those times, perchance a man more innocent than some of his contemporaries, and not inferior to any of his successors in learning, foresaw such a storm a coming, and very fairly got away into France, beyond the reach of it. But his prospect was erroneous, and he banished himself to no purpose. Yet his flight plainly evinced, what he thought would be the fate, or was the merit of his associates, and, whether the English would have pardoned him or not, it is plain he did not pardon himself.

No wonder then our navy, our councils, and our army were betrayed; no wonder our ships wanted men, and our men victuals; nor is it surprising that our army had no pay, whilst pay-masters, agents, and clothiers, sucked the blood of the subject, and hamstringed the sinews of war. All these misfortunes were owing to this piece of indulgence, and it may be justly affirmed, that he who neglects to punish one known traitor, makes a hundred more.

Thus the Prince of Orange, through a thousand difficulties, mounted the imperial throne of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a parliamentary title, rather than by any other. It is true, his lady was next in blood, supposing the pretended Prince of Wales illegitimate. But he never insisted upon that title, so much as upon the Election of the people by their representatives convened in the most solemn manner. Yet such is the wickedness of mankind, and the baseness of their nature, that even when he had enjoyed these realms with the general consent of his people, and they had quietly

enough submitted to the government they had made; yet these Pontifens must needs be giving him a new right, which forsooth was that of conquest. The Dutch at first were well enough pleased with the fancy, and the court itself shewed not much aversion to the ill grounded chimera: But the Parliament soon took up the quarrel, and shewed the vanity of these pretensions, and gave the world to understand, that England never submitted but once (if it did so) in the reign of William the Conqueror. And thus I conclude my observations on the life of the Prince of Orange, now called to throne of England, on the abdication of King James the Second. So that it remains to remark on the latter part of his life and reign, as was at first proposed. And,

Secondly, I have chosen to divide these political remarks on the life and actions of our late monarch, into two divisions, because there seems to be a vast variety in the fortune of that Prince, in these several periods of his life.

The first part of his life he struggled with all the difficulties of a crasy state, at a time when his youth and frequent indispositions gave those, who were really in the interest of their country, little hopes from him of bettering their melancholy circumstances. But he equally deceived the expectations of his friends and enemies, asserted the honour and happiness of his country, vindicated its liberties, raised himself and those Provinces, which gave him birth, to a degree of grandeur, which neither the house of Orange, nor the United States of the Netherlands, had before that time been acquainted with.

The faction of Barnevelt, when this Prince first took the helm of the Belgick Provinces into his protection, had ingrossed all the chief employments of the state under the specious pretence of liberty. They had deluded the better and wealthier part of the commonwealth, to take part with them, and be at their devotion. The military commands were in their hands, the treasure and all things else in disorder at home, and the King of France's armies at their gates; yet from all these misfortunes the Prince rescued the commonwealth, and by its miseries made himself the happier.

The second part of his life was yet more glorious. He obliged King James to do him justice, asserted his right to the imperial crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, conquered the last, restored the reformed religion to its former vigour in these kingdoms, and suppressed the enemies of himself and the nation he ruled over; he was triumphant at the Boyne and Athlone, gave peace to Scotland, and saw himself master, as far as agrees with our constitution, of a bold and daring people.

But the remainder of his life was nothing so glorious to the state, or fortunate to himself. He lost the memorable battles of Steinkirk and Landen, and though he took Namur, after an obstinate defence, made by the besieged, yet he threw away more reputation by that patched up peace at Reswick, than he gained honour by the acquisition of that important fortress.

King William, upon his taking upon him the government of these realms, found England inclinable to his wishes. Some few indeed of the clergy and laity forgot their recent obligations to him, and the late danger of their country; but he soon reconciled their jarring spirits to his government, or made them uncapable of injuring him.

Thus far his administration sailed with a successful wind; but his affairs in Scotland soon took another face. The scene was changed there. A few of the noblemen indeed adhered to his interest, the rest in general were dissatisfied; and the worst of it was, that the episcopal clergy, for the most part, struck in with the interest of the late King James. This obliged the kirk of Scotland, which now by the concessions of King William might be called the church of Scotland, to stand upon their guard; and indeed, fairly speaking, they used the non-conformists to the new model of religious worship a little hardly. From hence sprung the rebellion of my Lord Dundee, and of several of the Highland clans, many of whom followed his lordship's fortune for affection or plunder, and some, very few, on the score of religion.

It is most certain, that my Lord Dundee did not originally design to break with King William. He had served under his late Majesty in Flanders, was a protestant, and it is generally believed had no great inclination to King James; but he was forced upon what he did, by the haughty carriage of a fine gentleman, and a very good officer,* who afterwards lost his life in the quarrel,† and who by his own death, and the disservice he did the government, may teach us, that, if it is dangerous to drive a coward, it is much more so to push a brave man to extremities.

Yet, however cloudy this affair was at the beginning, it ended fortunately enough for King William. My Lord Dundee was killed at the battle of Killicranky, at a time when victory sat upon his helmet, who, had he lived, might have pushed our late monarch, as far as the same shores on which he landed.

But heaven had decreed it otherwise. That Lord received a shot under his arm, or, as some will have it, a thrust by a halbert thro' his armour, convincing us, that there is no defence against fate, and that Providence regarded more our happiness than the council of Scotland.

Soon after the decease of this gentleman, the Laird of Glencow, with several of his followers and dependants, were put to the sword in their beds, after they had embraced a pardon, which the government condescended to offer. If King William was truly acquainted thoroughly with the matter, and they suffered after their submission by his express order, it was an action contrary to all justice, below the majesty of a king, and beneath the character of his courage, which he had acquired at the peril of his life, in several bloody rencounters.

* Mr. Cleeland, Lieutenant-Colonel to my Lord Angus.
† At the battle of Killicranky.

By viewing this King at the battle of Seneff, at the battle of the Boyne, and the fight of Landen, a man would not easily conjecture, that his soul could entertain thoughts of so infamous a nature; but what startles our imagination, and makes us doubtful in this argument is, the authority produced by those who committed these homicides in their own vindication; but what arguments induced the grant of these powers is uncertain; heaven pardon the authors of so bloody an enterprise!

The siege of London-Derry gave a greater turn to King William's affairs than could be expected, and plainly demonstrates to the unthinking part of mankind, that there is no such thing as certainty in human affairs. King James sent thither the Duke of Berwick, several French Generals, and the best of his militia, rather to obtain glory and plunder, according to their several capacities, than to hazard themselves and his army, before a town he conceived naked and defenceless. But what was his success? All his fine troops were ruined or killed, that city and Iniskillin changed the complexion of his conquests, and he never succeeded in one single attempt he made afterwards.

Had this town surrendered to the Catholick forces, the late King James had intirely made himself master of Ireland, and been at leisure to have poured in a numerous army upon Scotland; which he might easily have done, the passage from one kingdom to another being not above four hours sail; and what would have been the consequence it is not hard to judge, when my Lord Dundee was in arms at the same time, and had, if he had lived, over-run all Scotland, and endangered the loss of England into the bargain.

What rewards then were suitable to the merit of those gentlemen, who stopped a deluge, which might have proved fatal to these kingdoms, more than at first blush can be imagined? But, let their deserts be what they will, they starved, as my Lord Haversham expresses himself, with testimonials of their service in their pockets.

The battle of Bantrey Bay, in which the late Sir Cloudesly Shovel exerted a most remarkable courage, taught King William, as wise a Prince as he was, a secret which he was a stranger to, and that was, that the French were no despisable enemies by sea; and, if he was not thoroughly convinced of this truth, in a little time afterwards he knew it by a dear experience.

All that were witnesses to Cloudesly's conduct and bravery, upon the occasion I have just mentioned, thought it a piece of extraordinary merit; but our monarch was obliged to him in a higher degree soon after, for that Admiral, in the sight of King James, and in the presence of his guards, who were drawn up to their relief, burnt or took a man of war in Dublin Bay, and two or three other ships. The extraordinary merit of the service lay here; a great many officers of the fleet, at the same time, were not sufficiently hearty to the government, and this action was a precedent to the rest, and quite dispirited several persons who were in the interest of the abdicated King.

The King had a great opinion of Duke Schomberg, and indeed

that gentleman deserved it; but I am fully persuaded, that there was an English officer, in his dominions, every jot as fit for the high command of Captain-General, and time has abundantly declared it.

The camp of Dundalk was fatal to the English. We lost a great many brave men there, amongst whom were Colonel Wharton, Colonel Deering, and several other persons of quality; and it is thought, that, if his Grace the Duke of Schomberg had fought the Irish with all their boasted odds, he would hardly, though beaten, been a greater loser.

But, whether King William approved the Duke of Schomberg's managing the army or not, it is plain he acted contrary to his Grace; for no sooner could he reach the Boyne with his troops, but he gave the enemy battle, humouring or approving of the inclinations of the English, whose custom it has been, always to engage at sight, without counting numbers.

What made the King so fiery at the Boyne is uncertain. Some attribute it to the rashness of his temper, others, with more justice, believe the precipitation, he then shewed, was occasioned by the ill news he had received from England, that my Lord Torrington had engaged the French fleet off Beachy-head, and was worsted in the combate. He lost the Anne, commanded by Captain Tyrrel, and the Dutch suffered extremely in the engagement. See here the vanity of the English, and the industry of our enemies. We proudly imagined, that a single squadron of ours was a superior match for all the naval power of France, and now we find, that our united fleets give way to the Admirals of France.

My Lord Torrington's conduct was mightily blamed; with what reason I shall not determine. At the instance of the Dutch Captains he was tried at a court martial, and acquitted immediately; thereupon he laid down his commission, and it is yet uncertain, whether we did not sacrifice a brave man, who deserved a better fate, to the ferment of the people, and the fury of their resentments; and it is equally strange, that in such publick actions, where so many thousands were witnesses of the fact, the common-wealth should not be capable of knowing whether an officer did his duty, or omitted it.

Had the French staid much longer on our coasts, it is reported King William designed to have commanded his fleet himself, and to have given them battle. But, as the world is malicious, so this monarch found this design of his ridiculed by some pretended politicians, who imagined, that the command of an army at land is very different from the management of a fleet at sea; never considering, that the Dutch had an Opdam, and the English a Monk, and an Ossory, who, though they were no marine officers yet behaved themselves with as much honour, prudence, and courage, as any who ever ploughed the surface of the ocean.

The reduction of Ireland, some two or three towns excepted, was the consequence of the battle of the Boyne, and King James himself took shipping at Waterford, deserting now this realm, as he had lately done that of England some time before; and indeed, by so

precipitate a flight, he made himself unworthy of any other fate than that which he sustained.

King William found himself repulsed at the first siege of Limerick, more by the inclemency of the air, and the badness of the season, than by the valour of the garison, though the town was commanded by three officers of great experience, and sheltered the remains of the whole Irish army. But there's no fighting against the elements, they were appointed and commanded by a greater King than William the Third; and Canutus, the Danish monarch, might have instructed our royal General in the truth of this maxim, if the latter had given himself the trouble of consulting the English history.

The King quitted Ireland the latter end of this campaign, and left Monsieur Ginkle, afterwards Earl of Athlone, to reduce that part of the kingdom which continued in the interest of King James. It is true, that Lord, by the instances of the English commanders, and by the valour of their troops, ventured to fight, and won the battle of Aghrim, and obliged all the enemies of his master to submit themselves to his obedience; yet it is the opinion of our officers, if a General of our own nation had commanded our troops, the matter would as soon have been effected.

Thus far King William had all the success he could in reason desire; but fortune was not always indulgent to his wishes, and the rest of her conduct towards that monarch shewed, that Kings as well as peasants are often mortified by her caprices.

The battle of Steinkirk was glorious to the English, though they smarted severely by the numbers, and continual fire of the French. My Lord Cutts was wounded in the action, the Generals Lanier and Mackay killed, and troops of our bravest officers attended them to the regions of futurity.

The English were exasperated at the cowardice or ill-nature of some Dutch officers, who refused to sustain our battalions, and seemed to make a jest of their ruin. Our soldiers took all opportunities of quarrelling with the officers and soldiers belonging to the States, and the umbrage, we had received from the misfortunes of that skirmish, had like to have been of the worst consequence to both nations.

But the prudence of King William, or, to speak plainly, the influence he had over the superior officers, allayed the ferment our soldiers were in, which, perchance, had he not been King of England, and Stadtholder of the United Provinces, he had never effected.

But vengeance seldom sleeps; and, if Count Soames, by his omitting to succour the English, occasioned the death of several brave men, he himself died soon after, being struck with a cannon ball; and that General, in the hour of his death, so far forgot his honour, as to call to the soldiers to shoot him, in order to be freed from the violent pains he was tormented with.

If our loss at Steinkirk was considerable, it was much more so at Landen. Several reasons were given out to colour the shame of

our defeat, but nothing could be alledged to vindicate our disgrace, or extenuate the glory of the French.

The intelligence, which the Duke of Bavaria's Secretary held with the French, was generally assigned to be the cause of the loss of this battle. Whether the correspondence he managed was by the order of his master, is uncertain, but the servant was hanged very fairly, and tried afterwards.

The Elector of Bavaria is reckoned a superstitious Prince, brave enough, and very much devoted to his religion; but the execution of this gentleman in so odd a manner, without any examination, tryal, or conviction, convinced us of the late Elector's policy, but gave us no great proofs of his piety.

Our horse, excepting two or three regiments, behaved themselves but indifferently, and they declared openly, that they fought as they were paid. But our foot did good service, if not to the English nation, yet to the rest of the confederates; for they stood very firmly, and maintained their ground with all the courage imaginable, and by this means gave the allies an opportunity of running away.

General Talmash and Sir Henry Bellasis continued last upon the field of battle, and one of these had won immortal reputation, if the memory of Vigo and Port St. Mary's did not cancel the glory he acquired in Flanders.

But he survives, and Talmash lies as low as envy or jealousy could desire him. Though it is impossible to imagine he was sacrificed to the resentment of a court party; yet it is easy to believe some in the ministry heartily wished his ruin.

He was too brave and too publick a spirited man, either to let himself, the Parliament, or nation be imposed on; he loved a soldier, and, as he was the readiest to lead his men to battle, so he took the greatest care to see them rewarded after the combate. His principles of honour and his sense were too good to be bribed or amused, and his personal courage and integrity too great to be forced or threatened into an unworthy silence.

Such qualifications as these were, without dispute, made him obnoxious to such as hated the interest of England; and, at last, they prevailed so far as to have him employed in an attempt, where he must of necessity lose his honour or his life.

But these were not the only losses that afflicted King William. He had the misfortune to see his Queen fall ill of the small-pox, and a few days robbed the English of a Princess, a better than whom never mounted a throne, or gave laws to a willing people.

She died as unconcerned as his Majesty her husband fought, and braved the King of Terrors with as great a resolution on her bed of sickness, as he did in the field of battle. And certainly that lady's piety or courage was the greater, since, as she said herself to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, she was always prepared to die, and her royal spouse very often took the sacrament before a battle.

King William, as it is reported, was very much concerned at her death; and, if he had expressed a more visible concern, the

nation would have resented it still more kindly, who sincerely mourned the loss of that Princess, and still do upon her memory.

But, though the loss of so good a Princess afflicted King William very much, yet the peace of Reswick mortified him much more. He was obliged, at last, by the murmuring temper of his subjects, to acquiesce in terms very dishonourable to Europe, and not over glorious to his Majesty. By this treaty of pacification, the French were to retain Luxemburgh and Strasburgh, those bulwarks of Flanders and the empire; who, instead of them, were only to have an equivalent, which, in fact, was far from the intrinsick value of those provinces. But, notwithstanding the inequality of these and other articles, the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, and the neutrality in Italy, powerfully persuaded the allies to put an end to the war.

Soon after the peace, the partition treaty followed; and, by too much precaution, the government involved the nation in a dreadful war, which, to their best thinking, they endeavoured to avoid. The Spaniards, who are a haughty people, so much resented the intended division of their monarchy, that their grandees made a will, or influenced their monarch so to do; by which he devised all his dominions in Italy, Spain, and the West Indies, to the house of Bourbon, in the person of the Duke of Anjou, who, notwithstanding the most dreadful imprecations of his grandfather to the contrary, took possession of those states and provinces, by the assistance of that monarch, who, to prefer his family, despised all sanctions, both divine and human.

It is frequently observable in politicks, that men often lose the substance, by an inquisition after the shadow. Old Æsop told us this a great many years ago; and we see it every day's experience, that, greedily desiring the whole, we even lose that part of which we might have securely possessed ourselves. But it fell out quite otherwise, in relation to this partition treaty; for the house of Austria, not being contented with a part of the Spanish provinces, lost them the whole, and the balance of Europe was turned to the part of France, which they thought would have been at the discretion of the confederates.

When the peace of Reswick was brought to a conclusion, the Parliament of England thought it high time to disband some of their national regiments, and all the foreigners in their service. Amonst these last were the Dutch blue guards, and my Lord Portland's regiment of Dutch horse, who attended his Majesty in all his expeditions, long before and after his accession to the throne of England. His Majesty was much dissatisfied at the proceedings, and made all the interest he possibly could in the house, to disannul the injunctions of his supreme council; but all to no effect. He used intreaties to the Parliament, but to no purpose; and, upon this occasion, behaved much different from the haughty character he had all along maintained.

He laid the scheme of the present war we are engaged in against France and Spain, and made all the provision the grandeur of such

a design required. After the unfortunate accident of breaking his collar-bone, he fell into a fever, which quickly put an end to his reign and glory.

During his sickness, he behaved himself with that greatness of soul, which he had often shewed in the field, and died with the same bravery as he had expressed in the heat of action.

PROPOSALS

FOR THE

REFORMATION OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES,

IN ORDER TO THE BETTER EDUCATION OF YOUTH;

Humbly offered to the serious Consideration of the High Court of Parliament.

[From a Quarto, containing nine Pages, printed in 1704.]

These proposals were calculated for the reformation of learning in North Britain, and though the individuals, contained in them, are peculiar to Scotland, yet the substance of the whole, *mutatis mutandis*, may not be improperly applied to that part of the realm, which lies South of the Tweed, where the same objections are as forcible against schools and schoolmasters; the aspiring of poor and mechanical spirits to the ministerial office, and the admission into holy orders of those, who either have never been initiated with the advanced studies of an University, or, perchance, on account of their poverty, have been permitted, after a very short stay at those fountains of learning, to return home, and seek after a title to orders, that they may get a morsel of bread *. Though it must be confessed, that no nation has produced more learned and pious divines, than the two famous Universities of England. But it is wished, that a method could be found to prevent so many extra-university men, who, without due education, creep into the ministry for a maintenance; and to reform the extraordinary expences, that are squandered away in the excesses of our young gentlemen, in the great schools and universities of this nation.

THERE has been a great decay of learning in this kingdom for many years: for instance, where we have now one, who can write one single sheet, an hundred years ago we had twenty, who

* See 1 Sam. ii. 36.

could have written volumes in good sense, and good Latin. And though the causes of the low ebb, learning has sunk to among us, are very obvious, yet I must confess, it is no easy matter to put a stop to the growing evil. It is hard to make a scheme of education which will generally please, and harder still to put it in execution; it is difficult to alter an old constitution, though full of errors, and more difficult, in our circumstances, to establish a new one, though ever so just and reasonable. We have been too long pursuing the wrong road, to be set easily right. We neither take just measures, nor allow sufficient time for the education of our youth. However, since the encouragement and improvement of learning is certainly so much for the true interest of the nation, I shall adventure to tell my opinion frankly, and shall be heartily glad, if it can be found of any use or service; at least, I hope it shall excite others of greater ability, to make farther inquiries into these matters, such as may convince the Parliament of the necessity of reforming our schools and Universities, for the good and benefit of learning.

One main cause of the low estate of learning is, that 'it is too easily and cheaply purchased.' One can make his son, what now with us passes for a scholar, at a much cheaper rate, than he can breed him a shoe-maker or weaver. For a short time at the schools, and three or four years at the Universities, upon little or no expence, in our way, is enough to make a Master of Arts, who immediately gets into the most considerable employments, which require the longest study and best qualifications, before he have years, sense, prudence, or learning: upon which account, the mechanicks, and poorer sort of people, are encouraged to send their sons to schools and universities, finding a very little money, and as little time, sufficient to make what we call a scholar. But, in my opinion, were these put to the plough and other trades, it would be better for themselves (who would be kept within their proper spheres) and more for the interest of the nation, which is overstocked with scholars, and in extreme want of people, for mechanical employments. This is one great cause of the low condition of learning. People, who are daily pinched for the back and the belly, cannot bestow much time upon the improvement of their minds; their spirits are depressed under their poverty; they have not money to afford them books, or to bring them into the conversation of the world: and how, without these, a man can become a good scholar, passes my comprehension.

But it may be said, by debarring the poorer sort from learning, some good spirits may be excluded; which as it is the only objection, so it is as easily removed.

We have as much use for good spirits, to be employed in mechanical trades and merchandising, as for learning; and by admitting one, upon the pretence of good spirit, we certainly must admit an hundred of low and dull capacities. And let their spirits be as good as you please, unless you give them money too, they will never be able to make any tolerable advance in learning;

and, by the following scheme for rectifying our bursaries, a competency is provided for them, as far as the funds will go.

Another great cause of the decay of learning is, 'the bad methods, which are followed in our schools and universities, and the insufficiency of the masters, who are provided for the government of them.' There are in the kingdom near one thousand parishes, and in most of them, Latin is pretended to be taught, though not one of fifty of the school-masters is capable of teaching it; and no wonder, for not one of fifty of them was tolerably taught it, and not one of an hundred, however capable, has books to enable him to acquire it by his after industry. At the Universities, we bestow a few months, upon the study of the Greek; whereas that noble language, and the learned and useful books, which are written in it, may perhaps deserve our care and pains for as many years. We allow too much time upon old antiquated metaphysical jargon: and as for natural philosophy, which, in this and the last age, has been so happily brought, from an idle prattling about words of no signification, to a solid science; it requires such a deep insight into the most profound parts of the mathematicks, that I am afraid few of those, who profess it, are capable of teaching it. We get too hastily through our divinity, history, law, and medicine we have none.

The cheapness of learning brings it into the hands of the poorer and meaner people. Their poverty, the wrong methods which are taken in teaching, and the insufficiency of the teachers, unavoidably subject them to the greatest ignorance. And both together, the ignorance and the poverty of our scholars, infallibly bring learning itself under disgrace and contempt. Poverty deprives them, as of a great many other advantages, so particularly of that due assurance, that address and that freedom of spirit, which are so natural to quality and gentry. Nay sometimes under difficult circumstances, to prevent starving, it forces them upon courses unworthy of their professions, to the no small scandal of others who should be led by their examples. And in one word, the natural tendency of our present methods is to unfit a scholar for a gentleman, and to render a gentleman ashamed of being a scholar. And, till we reconcile the gentleman with the scholar, it is impossible learning should ever flourish. But was this once done, was learning taken out of the hands of the vulgar, and brought to be as honourable and fashionable among the gentry, as it is now contemptible, I think it would be indeed in a fair way of prospering. For were the younger sons of the nobility and gentry (who now are idle at home, or sent abroad to be knocked on the head) kept the due time at schools and universities, they being encouraged with all things proper for studying, and having their time in their own hands for reading, and not being forced, out of pure necessity, to enter too soon on business, would in all probability make considerable advances in learning. And when possessed of employments, gentlemen would be as tender of their character, as they are of their honour; besides, that, being generally able to live without

them, they would not lie under such temptations as poorer people do. This, as it would considerably add to the honour of learning, and interest of the nation, in general, so it would be no dishonourable way to dispose of the younger sons of the nobility and gentry. For, besides what encouragement they might expect from the study of the laws and of medicine, there are in the kingdom at least an hundred places in the church and universities which yield two thousand marks yearly, and few of the other church benefices are under one thousand. Now in my humble opinion, the younger sons of even the best families, especially when not sufficiently provided for, might be as wisely and honourably disposed of this way, as by being kept idle at home, or sent off to be soldiers abroad. It is plain to dispose of them so would put them in a way of being more serviceable to God, their country, and their kindred, than commonly they are. And, were matters ordered after this manner, it is probable the church government would not be so ambulatory as it has hitherto been in this kingdom, since the nobility and gentry, of whom the Parliaments are made up, would not readily make acts, which should oblige them to take back their brothers and sons to their houses. And nothing could contribute more to the quiet and peace of the nation, than that the government of the church was at last effectually secured against so frequent changes.

Now, that so good a design may take effect, it is necessary to raise the price of learning, so as to discourage the poorer sort from attempting it; that those only, whose circumstances enable them to make successful advances in learning, may have access to it. To make learning dearer, the number of the schools, at least, must be diminished, and the masters salaries and fees augmented. And the time and methods of teaching in schools and universities should be regulated according to the following, or some such like scheme.

I think there should be only one grammar school in a county or shire, two at most in the largest, and where two lesser lie together, one may serve for both. These schools ought to be well endowed, and some of the best men of the nation for prudence and learning, provided to be masters and ushers. A master and four doctors or ushers, at least, will be necessary for every school. And besides those publick schools, at all the country churches, I would have the precentor of the parish (who needs not to be a master of arts) to teach the children to read and write English, and the common rules of arithmetick, which is all the learning that is needful or useful to the mechanicks and poorer people. But it may be enquired, where shall funds be had for maintaining those schools? I answer, that is not my business, let the wisdom of the nation consider it: but perhaps, it would be no difficult task to find out funds, if some people would apply themselves a little that way. There are, for example, in the shire of Fife, about eighty parishes, and every parish has a salary, one with another, above one hundred pounds Scots a year for a school-master. Now, take the one half of this salary, and give to the teacher of the English language; this, with the advantage of his scholars, and his emolu-

ments as precentor and session-clerk, may make him live pretty well; for he has no great character to maintain. Apply the other half for the publick grammar schools; this will maintain two, being six thousand marks a year; to wit, the master of each school should have one thousand marks, and four doctors, each of them, five hundred marks salary a year; which, with the benefit of their scholars (for, because I would have learning dear, I would have the scholars pay much more liberally than they commonly do), would be a very comfortable and handsome provision for both masters and ushers.

My designed brevity will not allow me to be very particular in naming all the books that should be taught in schools. I shall only say in general, they ought to teach some plain and short grammar in English prose. Thus they will bestow less time on grammar, and have more to employ in reading authors; some of which they should read, not by shreds, as is commonly done, but from beginning to ending, such as Justin's History, Florus's Epitome, Cornelius Nepos's lives, Salust, Curtius, Terence, Ovid's Metamorphosis, as being the compleatest system of the Heathenish Mythology, &c. Some Odes, Satyres, and Epistles of Horace may be taught, and some particular places of Virgil, and other poets, at the master's discretion. And perhaps it may be very convenient, if not necessary, that boys, while at school, be taught the rudiments of geography and chronology, so far as they are capable, that they may read their authors to the best advantage. The last year they are at school (for I would have them, at least fourteen years of age before they leave it) they ought to learn the Greek grammar, and some easy Greek authors, such as Æsop's Fables, Lucian's select Dialogues, Herodian, &c. and so we bring them to the University.

At the University, the youth must be obliged to stay six years, passing regularly through all the classes, before they can be made Masters of Arts. For examinations and trials, how rigorously soever designed, may be abused and shammed: but a long time, and due exercises performed, is the best and most probable way to make good scholars. In Oxford and Cambridge, which are famous Universities for learning all the world over, none can be made Master of Arts, until he stay seven years; none Doctor of Medicine or Law, till he stay fourteen; and none Doctor of Divinity, till he has been eighteen years about the University: yet after all, according to this calculation, our young men may commence Masters of Arts in the twentieth, or twenty-first year of their age, which I suppose every body will think soon enough.

In my opinion, two Universities are enough for this nation*, for there are no more in England. But since we are to ingraft on an old stock, we can only conveniently reform, not abolish any of our Universities. As I said, the students ought to stay six years at the University, and three of these years should be employed in reading

* Scotland.

Greek and Latin jointly. Such of the Latin and Greek historians and orators as they have not read at school, with the art of rhetorick, will be employment enough for two years. The poets, with the art of poetry, may furnish more than enough for the third.

Though one cannot find any great difficulty, in chusing the fittest authors that are to be taught; yet, for preventing all possible mistakes, and preserving uniformity, in all the colleges within the kingdom, it is highly convenient, that some persons of good reputation for learning, and who understand the constitutions and customs of foreign universities, should be appointed to meet, and particularly determine what books, and in what order, they are to be read.

Perhaps it might be proper to read together Greek and Latin authors, who write on the same or like subject: For example, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and the three first books of Livy, the third book of Polybius, and the twenty-first of Livy, Appianus Alexandrinus, and Cæsar de Bello Civili; the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, the pastorals of Theocritus and Virgil, Hesiod and Virgil's Georgicks, Homer's Ilias and Virgil's Æneis, Pindar and Horace, &c.

A great many of the best modern books of all sorts, and on all subjects, being written in the stile of the modern schools; it would seem necessary, that short compends of logick, ethicks, and metaphysicks should be printed and taught in the fourth year. The professor may likewise recommend as a private task Aristotle's ethicks and politicks; some select dialogues of Plato, Xenophon's Apomemoneumata, some of Plutarch's moral treatises, Hierocles in Aurora Carmina, Tully's philosophick works, some books of Seneca, &c. and one day of the week may be appointed for enquiring into the diligence of the students, and resolving their doubts.

And seeing all the ancient orators and poets and even historians, nay, and fathers of the church too, have been addicted to the hypothesis and principles of some one or other of the philosophical sects, and often reason from their notions, and use their terms and phrases: It would seem proper (besides the recommending of Diogenes Laertius, Eunapius, &c. to be diligently read and considered by the students) that some learned person or persons should compile a clear and distinct, but compendious history of all the ancient philosophies, distinguishing their hypothesis judiciously, digesting their principles methodically, explaining their terms of art and phrases, and putting their notions in as clear light as possible. This would mightily facilitate the understanding of the ancient learning.

During these four years, the students should be also taught arithmetick, geography, and chronology, to greater perfection, the first six, with the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid, the elements of algebra, the plain and spherical trigonometry.

The two last years are to be spent in learning mixt mathematicks, or natural philosophy, viz. the laws of motion, mechanicks,

hydrostaticks, opticks, astronomy, &c. and experimental philosophy.

All along, from their first going to school, till they leave the university, the students ought carefully to be taught and instructed in the principles of religion; nothing being more certain than that, where there is not a well directed conscience, men are rather the worse than the better, for being learned in any science.

In every university, there must be, at least, three professors of Greek and Latin, one of logick, ethicks, and metaphysicks, two of mathematicks, and natural philosophy, one of divinity, one of civil history, another of ecclesiastical, and one of Hebrew, and other Oriental languages. Where scholars are numerous, the number of professors ought to be augmented in proportion: For I would have many masters, and few scholars. One master who pretends to teach eight or nine score of scholars (as we commonly see done) may as well undertake to teach eight or nine thousand. One master should not have above thirty scholars: And according to our scheme of making learning dear, let each of them pay 5 lib. sterling yearly to his master, at which rate thirty will afford 150 lib. sterling, which, with a small salary, may maintain the professor handsomely enough.

Besides this private teaching, I would have every professor to have, once a week, one publick lecture in the common school, that who pleases may come and hear him. Thus we may have one or more such lectures every day, and on different subjects, according to the number and professions of the lecturers. Nothing can contribute more, than this, to the honour and advancement of learning.

There is nothing more deserves the consideration of the Parliament, than that our youth are obliged to travel abroad, to study physick and law, and carry so much money out of the kingdom; ten or twelve thousand pounds sterling, by modest calculation, is every year spent abroad this way. Now, would the Parliament, but for once, give two months cess, which is but about what is spent in foreign universities in one year, the interest of it might establish professions of law and physick at home, where our youth might learn more in one year, than they can do abroad in three. For they are generally sent abroad about the twentieth year of their age, which is the nicest part of it: Then their passions are strong, and they have little sense to govern them, and they are just let loose from their parents and tutors; so that they acquire neither virtue nor learning, but habits of all sorts of debauchery, as we are taught by every day's experience. I would have the professions of law and physick established in the University of Edinburgh, where the students of law may have the advantage of excellent libraries for the civil law, and opportunity to hear the pleadings, and learn the form of the house, which our young men who study abroad, for all the money they have spent, are altogether ignorant of. And the physicians can have no subjects nor rooms for anatomy, nor

laboratories for chymistry, nor gardens for botany, but at Edinburgh.

I would have none entered into the house of advocates, but such as have certificates, from the professors of law, that they had studied four years with them, after they had passed the University; and none made doctors of medicine but such as have certificates, from the professors of physick, that they had studied four years, with them; and none allowed to practise, but such as are graduated in our own universities. And their paying liberally to their respective masters every year (and thereby saving so much from being squandered away abroad) with some salary, might prove a very good allowance to the professors. This might also hold concerning the students of divinity, that they should not be admitted into the church, without testimonials from the professors of divinity, that they had been a competent time (perhaps four years may be too little) at the lectures.

I do not design by this to discourage the publick or private donations of charity for educating the children of honest parents, who shall be found to have good spirits. I would only have them regulated: For example, our bursaries,* as we call them, are commonly but one hundred marks or one hundred pounds,† which cannot maintain any person. I would therefore advise to cast four or five of them together, which, besides that it would abridge the number of pretenders to learning, might furnish sufficient funds for handsomely maintaining some few, and providing them with necessaries for prosecuting their studies. Neither ought this to be thought contrary to the intentions of those who made the donations, since, perhaps, at the time when they were first bestowed, an hundred marks might have gone further than now four hundred can do. The genuine design therefore being still pursued, it is to be presumed, that it was the will of the donators that such alterations should be made, when they should be found necessary.

One thing I forgot relating to funds: Perhaps, were the funds, belonging to some universities, carefully and narrowly enquired into, some of them might be found not so usefully applied, as they might be, and others yet unbestowed, which might help to erect new professions, where they are wanting.

* Scholarships, or donations for providing for scholars in a college.
† Scotch.

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